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CORPUS INSCRIPTIONUM INDICARUM

VOL. I

<sup>f</sup>INSCRIPTIONS OF ASOKA<sup>s</sup>

By  
Hultzsch

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NEW EDITION

BY

E. HULTZSCH, PH.D.

EPIGRAPHIST TO THE GOVERNMENT OF MADRAS, RETIRED

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WITH 55 PLATES



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## PREFACE

THE printing of this volume was stopped in 1914 by the outbreak of war. In 1920 the Government sanctioned a resumption of printing, and the re-composition of those sheets which had been already struck off, but had become antiquated in the meantime owing to fresh researches. I have tried to sift critically, and to quote, when necessary, whatever has been written by scholars on the subject in the course of nearly a century. The transcripts of the texts are based on mechanical copies furnished by the Archæological Survey Department under orders of Sir John MARSHALL. The most perfect among these were contributed by my former assistant, now Government Epigraphist for India, Rao Bahadur H. KRISHNA SASTRI. The plates issued with this volume are collotype reproductions of negatives which were prepared under my personal supervision by Mr. Carl PLETTNER. With the exception of the two Shāhbāzgarhī edicts VII and XII, the impressions of the two Kharōshthī versions of the fourteen rock-edicts proved unsuitable for reproduction, partly owing to the extreme roughness of the rocks on which these records are engraved, and partly because Sir Aurel STEIN's careful estampages of them had become torn and damaged by frequent use. It is a pleasant duty to thank those scholars who have rendered me valuable assistance. Before the war I could avail myself of the ever ready advice of my late friend Dr. J. F. FLEET. To the late Professor Arthur VENIS I am indebted for detailed criticisms of my rendering of the Gīrnār and Kālsī versions. Professor A. A. MACDONELL kindly looked at the proof-sheets of portions of the texts and translations. The proofs of the introduction were minutely examined by two old friends, Mr. Robert SEWELL and Professor Th. ZACHARIAE.

E. HULTZSCH.

HALLE,  
 October, 1922.

*Printed for the Govt. of India  
 at the Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1925*



## POSTSCRIPT

THE issuing of this volume was still delayed by the printing of the collotype plates when I received from Mr. H. HARGREAVES, Superintendent, Archæological Survey, Frontier Province, Peshawar, a fresh set of inked estampages of the two north-western versions of the rock-edicts. These estampages have been made with great care and skill, and enable me at the last moment to furnish illustrations of the whole of the Shāhbāzgarhī and Mānsehrā edicts. The overlapping sections were clipped and pinned together in my presence by Mr. PLETTNER. In this way the creases and slips disfiguring other facsimiles which I had received in a pasted condition were avoided. Although, owing to the rough surface of the rocks, the new estampages are not quite perfect in every detail, they are the first ever made which admit of reproduction by photography, and they will thus allow students to check the transcripts of those valuable ancient records, and to acquire a first-hand knowledge of the whimsical and often ambiguous Kharōshthī characters. Scholars will feel much indebted to Mr. HARGREAVES, who has now supplied this want, and to Sir John MARSHALL, at whose instance the new impressions were prepared by him.

HALLE,  
*January, 1924.*

E. H.



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## ABBREVIATIONS

- AJP = American Journal of Philology.  
ASSI = Archaeological Survey of Southern India.  
ASWI = Archaeological Survey of Western India.  
BRWW = Buddhist Records of the Western World (Beal).  
CR = Comptes Rendus. Académie des Inscriptions & Belles-Lettres.  
EI = Epigraphia Indica.  
GGA = Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen.  
GN = Nachrichten der Königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen.  
Grammatik = Grammatik der Prākṛit-Sprachen (Pischel).  
IA = Indian Antiquary.  
IF = Indogermanische Forschungen.  
Ind. Alt. = Indische Alterthumskunde (Lassen).  
Ind. Pal. = Indian Paleography (Bühler).  
JA = Journal Asiatique.  
Jaartelling = Over de Jaartelling der Zuidelijke Buddhisten (Kern).  
JAOS = Journal of the American Oriental Society.  
JASB = Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.  
JBBRAS = Journal of the Bombay Branch Royal Asiatic Society.  
JPASB = Journal & Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.  
JRAS = Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.  
KZ = Kuhn's Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung.  
Lotus = Le Lotus de la Bonne Loi (Burnouf).  
Memoirs, ASB = Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.  
SBE = Sacred Books of the East.  
Skt. = Sanskrit.  
SPAW = Sitzungsberichte der Königlich Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.  
VOJ = Vienna Oriental Journal.  
ZDMG = Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft.



# INTRODUCTION

## CHAPTER I. DESCRIPTION OF THE INSCRIPTIONS

### FIRST PART: THE ROCK-EDICTS

THE above term is meant to comprise (1) the existing versions of the well-known 'fourteen edicts', and (2) the two 'separate edicts' which the Dhauli and Jaugada versions substitute for edicts XI to XIII. It does not include the minor rock-inscriptions, which will be treated in the fourth part.

#### I. THE GIRNAR ROCK (Text, p. 1).

This famous set of Aśoka's fourteen edicts is found about a mile to the east of Junāgarh, the capital of the Junāgarh State in the Kāthiāvār Peninsula, 'and at the entry of the dell or gorge which leads into the valley that girdles the mighty and sacred Gīrnār' mountain.<sup>1</sup> The inscription 'covers considerably over a hundred square feet of the uneven surface of a huge rounded and somewhat conical granite boulder, rising 12 feet above the surface of the ground, and about 75 feet in circumference at the base.'<sup>2</sup> The boulder bears, beside Aśoka's edicts, two other valuable documents: An inscription of the *Mahākshatrapa* Rudradāman records the restoration of the lake Sudarśana, which had been 'originally constructed by the *Vaiśya* Pushyagupta, the provincial governor (*rāshṭriya*) of the Maurya king Chandragupta, and subsequently adorned with conduits by the Yavana king Tushāspa for Aśoka the Maurya.'<sup>3</sup> Among local names it mentions Girinagara, i. e. the town of Junāgarh or its ancient representative, and Ūrjayat, i. e. the mountain now called Gīrnār.<sup>4</sup> The third inscription on the boulder is dated in the reign of the Gupta king Skandagupta and records further repairs of the lake Sudarśana made in A. D. 456-7 by Chakrapālita, the son of Parnadatta who was governor of Surāshṭra.<sup>5</sup>

The Aśoka inscription occupies the north-east face of the boulder. The fourteen edicts are arranged in two columns and divided from one another by straight lines. As may be seen on the third of the plates issued with Wilson's article in JRAS, 12. 153 ff., the left column consists of edicts I to V and the right one of edicts VI to XII; and

<sup>1</sup> ASWI, 2. 94. The position of the inscribed stone is marked on Lieutenant Postans' sketch of Gīrnār in JASB, vol. 7, plate 54.

<sup>2</sup> ASWI, 2. 97. A photograph of the boulder is given on the plate facing page 94 of the same volume.

<sup>3</sup> Lüders, *List of Brāhmī Inscriptions* (EI, vol. 10, Appendix), p. 99.

<sup>4</sup> EI, 8. 42. The later (Prākṛit) form of Ūrjayat is Ujjayanta. Cf. Hēmachandra's *Anīkārthasaṃgraha*, III, 279, and his *Abhidhānachintāmaṇi*, IV, 97; ASWI, 2. 154 ff., and 8. 328 ff.; Tawney's translation of Mērutuṅga's *Prabandhachintāmaṇi*, Index. Another name of the Gīrnār mountain is Raivata or Raivataka. See e. g. Hēmachandra's two *Kōśas*, loc. cit.; Māgha's *Śiṣupālavadha*, IV, 1; GN, 1921. 41.

<sup>5</sup> Fleet's *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 57 f.



edicts XIII and XIV are placed below V and XII. When Major James Tod visited Girnār in December 1822, the inscription seems to have been intact.<sup>1</sup> Subsequently portions of edicts V and XIII were blasted with gunpowder by the workmen of a pious merchant who constructed a causeway from Junāgarh to Girnār.<sup>2</sup> At the recommendation of the late Dr. Burgess a shed has been specially built to protect the boulder from the sun and rain.

The first decipherment of the Brāhmī alphabet and, with it, of the Girnār inscription, is due to the learning and ingenuity of James Prinsep.<sup>3</sup> His transcript and translation were based on tracings on cloth which had been taken in 1835 by Captain Lang for the Rev. Dr. J. Wilson of Bombay.<sup>4</sup> Fresh copies were made by Lieutenant Postans and Captain Lang in 1838,<sup>5</sup> and by Captain (afterwards General) Le Grand Jacob and Professor Westergaard in 1842.<sup>6</sup> These materials were utilized by Mr. E. Norris for drawing up an improved plate of the Girnār inscription, from which Professor H. H. Wilson's transcript and translation in JRAS, vol. 12 (1850), were made. No better materials were available to three other scholars who examined the Girnār version, viz. Professor Chr. Lassen (*Indische Altertumskunde*), E. Burnouf (*Lotus de la Bonne Loi*; Paris, 1852), and Professor H. Kern (*Over de Jaartelling der Zuidelijke Buddhisten en de Gedenkstukken van Aśoka den Buddhist*; Amsterdam, 1873).

The first perfectly mechanical estampages of the Girnār edicts were prepared in 1875 by Dr. J. Burgess. These were reproduced by collotype in 1876 in ASWI, 2. 98 ff., and also in IA, 5. 257 ff., with an English translation of Kern's Dutch versions of part of the edicts.

A complete edition of the Girnār edicts is included in Senart's *Inscriptions de Piyadasi*, vol. I. An abridged English translation of his work appeared in IA, vols. 9 and 10. In JA (8), 12. 311 ff., Senart added the results of his inspection of the Girnār rock *in situ*. Bühler published a number of corrections and the text of edict XIII in his *Beiträge zur Erklärung der Aśoka-Inschriften* (ZDMG, vols. 37-48), and the full text of the Girnār version in EI, 2. 447 ff. The plates which accompany this article are much clearer than those issued in 1876, but seem to have been touched up by hand. *A Collection of Prakrit and Sanskrit Inscriptions* printed at Bhavnagar (without year) contains the text, Sanskrit and English translations, and facsimiles, of the Girnār edicts.

Two fragments of the lost portion of edict XIII were recovered recently and are now preserved in the Junāgarh Museum.<sup>7</sup> Both of them were discussed by Senart (JRAS, 1900. 335 ff.), and the second of them also by Bühler (VOJ, 8. 318 ff.). Both pieces are shown in the plate which accompanies my transcript of edict XIII.

As regards the Brāhmī alphabet of the Girnār inscription I can refer the reader to Bühler's *Indian Paleography*, edited by Fleet (IA, vol. 33, Appendix), § 16. The chief peculiarity of the Girnār alphabet is the addition of the horizontal bar, marking the length of initial ā, at the top of a, while it is elsewhere attached to the middle of the letter. The formation of groups of consonants, and the peculiar way in which the letter r is expressed in combination with other consonants, will be discussed in the chapter on the Girnār dialect (below, p. lviii. f.).

<sup>1</sup> ASWI, 2. 95.

<sup>2</sup> JASB, 7 (1838). 219 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Id., p. 871 ff.

<sup>4</sup> They may be identical with two fragments picked up by Lieutenant Postans in 1838; see JASB, 7. 874.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. JASB, 7. 874.

<sup>6</sup> Id., pp. 157, 228, 334, 336.

<sup>7</sup> JBBRAS, 1. 257 f., and 2. 410.



## II. THE KĀLSĪ ROCK (Text, p. 27).

This set of the fourteen edicts is engraved near **Kālsī**, a town in the Chakrātā tahsil of the Dehra Dūn district of the United Provinces. About one and a half miles to the north of Kālsī 'is a huge boulder of quartz on the western bank of the Jumna, just above the junction of the Tons river, and about fifteen miles to the west of Mussooree.'

'The block is 10 feet long and 10 feet high, and about 8 feet thick at bottom. The south-eastern face has been smoothed, but rather unevenly, as it follows the undulations of the original surface. The main inscription is engraved on this smoothed surface, which measures 5 feet in height, with a breadth of  $5\frac{1}{2}$  feet at top, which increases towards the bottom to 7 feet  $10\frac{1}{2}$  inches. The deeper hollows and cracks have been left uninscribed, and the lines of letters are undulating and uneven. Towards the bottom, beginning with the tenth edict, the letters increase in size until they become about thrice as large as those of the upper part. Owing either to this enlargement of the letters, or, perhaps, to the latter part of the inscription being of later date, the prepared surface was too small for the whole record, which was therefore completed on the left-hand side of the rock. On the right-hand side an **elephant** is traced in outline.'

'When first found by Mr. Forrest early in 1860, the letters of the inscription were hardly visible, the whole surface being encrusted with the dark moss of ages; but on removing this black film, the surface becomes nearly as white as marble.'<sup>1</sup>

Senart's edition of the Kālsī text in his *Inscriptions de Piyadasi*, vol. I, was based on Cunningham's eye-copy of the inscription. Bühler published both the text and a translation from a rubbing supplied by Cunningham (ZDMG, vols. 37 and 40), and a revised version of the text of edict XIII from an impression prepared by Burgess (id., 43. 162 ff.). A collotype of the first half of Cunningham's rubbing was issued with ZDMG, vol. 39. In EI, 2. 447 ff., Bühler re-edited the Kālsī text, which was accompanied by reproductions of inked estampages by Burgess.

The Kālsī alphabet exhibits the following chief peculiarities. The letter *kh* has a loop at the bottom; see Bühler's *Ind. Pal.*, plate 2, No. 10, columns II and III. A similar loop is found occasionally in the centre of *j* (id., No. 15, column III) and of *s* (id., No. 39, column VII). The end of an edict is marked by a symbol resembling a crescent. From edict X the characters get larger, and the two letters *s* and *sh* are frequently used. The former of these occurs already twice in edict IV, l. 13,<sup>2</sup> and the second twice in the Queen's edict on the Allahabad-Kōsam pillar, ll. 1 and 4, once on the Sarnāth pillar, l. 10, and once at Maski, l. 2. In a few lines of the first part of the Kālsī inscription (29, 33-36, 39) the punctuation mark 1, which occurs once in each of ll. 13, 25, 31, is employed many times. The same mark is found in the Sahasrām and Maski rock-inscriptions.

## III. THE SHAHBAZGARHI ROCK (Text, p. 50).

While the alphabet of the two preceding sets of the fourteen edicts is the Brāhmī, this one is written in those north-western cursive characters running from the right to the left which used to be called Indo-Bactrian or Ariano-Pāli, but to which Bühler restored the indigenous name **Kharōshthī**. The honour of the decipherment of this alphabet is divided between Prinsep, Lassen, Norris, and Cunningham.<sup>3</sup> A number

<sup>1</sup> Cunningham's *Inscriptions of Asoka*, p. 12 f.

<sup>2</sup> Also once in each of the Bairāt, Maski, and Śiddāpura rock-inscriptions, and twice at Jaṭiṅga-Rāmēśvara.

<sup>3</sup> JASB, 23. 714; *Ind. Pal.*, § 6.



of Kharōshthī letters had been already identified from bilingual coins of the Indo-Grecian and Indo-Scythian kings, before the Shāhbāzgarhī inscription was discovered.

Shāhbāzgarhī is a village on the Makām river, nine miles from Mardān, the headquarters of the Yūsufzai subdivision of the Peshāvar district of the North-West Frontier Province. The inscription is about half a mile distant from this village and two miles from the village of Kapurdagarhī.<sup>1</sup> It is engraved on a large shapeless mass of trap rock, lying about 80 feet up the slope of the hill, with its western face looking downwards towards the village of Shāhbāzgarhī.<sup>2</sup> The edicts I to XI are on the east face (edict VII being entered on the left at the top of the rock), and the edicts XIII and XIV are on the west face. Edict XII is engraved on a separate boulder, which is now enclosed within a wall.

M. (afterwards General) Court, of Mahārāja Ranjit Singh's service, first notified the existence of a Kharōshthī inscription near Shāhbāzgarhī in 1836 and gave a few letters copied by himself. In 1838 Captain Burnes, being at Peshāvar, sent an agent to Shāhbāzgarhī, who returned with an imperfect paper impression. In the same year Mr. C. Masson obtained through a young man a partial impression on calico. He then proceeded to the spot himself and prepared fresh copies.<sup>3</sup> His zeal deserves much praise, as at that time a journey through such an unpacified tract involved considerable personal risk. Masson's materials were brought to Europe and examined by Norris, who first read in them the word *Devanampiyasa*. With the help of this discovery, Dowson ascertained that the portion of which a facsimile is given in JRAS, 8 (1846). 303, is a duplicate of edict VII of the Girnār inscription. Norris further found that the front of the rock contained the edicts I to XI, and traced on the back of it portions of edict XIII. He also published the text of edict VII (id., p. 306 ff.). In 1850 Wilson contributed a tentative transcript of both faces of the Shāhbāzgarhī rock, accompanied by plates drawn by Norris from Masson's copies (id., 12. 153 ff.). An independent eye-copy of the Shāhbāzgarhī inscription was prepared by Cunningham (*Inscriptions of Asoka*, p. 10).

Senart's transcript in his *Inscriptions de Piyadasi*, vol. I, had still to be based on the same imperfect materials. Pandit Bhagvanlal Indraji furnished transcripts of the Shāhbāzgarhī and other versions of edict I (IA, 10. 107) and of edict VIII (JBBRAS, 15. 284). After the return from a trip to India, Senart published the results of his examination of edicts I to XI *in situ* (JA (8), 11. 521 ff.). The missing edict XII was discovered on a separate boulder by Captain Deane and edited both by Senart (id., p. 511 ff.) and by Bühler (EI, 1. 16 ff.). The latter published the whole Shāhbāzgarhī version in ZDMG, 43. 128 ff., and a fresh transcript and a translation of it in EI, 2. 447 ff., from estampages by Burgess. The only portions of which mechanical copies have been made public so far are edict VII (ZDMG, vol. 43) and edict XII (EI, 1. 16).

#### ✓ IV. THE MANSEHRA ROCK (Text, p. 71).

Like the Shāhbāzgarhī version this set of the fourteen edicts is written in the Kharōshthī alphabet. Mānsehrā is the head-quarters of a tahsil in the Hazāra district of the North-West Frontier Province. The inscription is found to the north of the village and is engraved on three boulders. Of these, the first bears edicts I to VIII, the second edicts IX to XI on its north face and edict XII on its south face, and

<sup>1</sup> Cunningham's *Inscriptions of Asoka*, p. 8.

<sup>2</sup> Id., p. 9. For a sketch-map of the locality see Cunningham's *Arch. Reports*, vol. V, plate 3.

<sup>3</sup> JRAS, 8. 293 ff.



the third edicts XIII and XIV. The two first inscribed stones were discovered by Cunningham,<sup>1</sup> and the third in 1889 by a native subordinate of the Panjāb Archaeological Survey.<sup>2</sup>

Senart was the first to transcribe edict XII (JA (8), 11 (1888), 511 ff.) and, from insufficient materials, portions of edicts I to XI (id., 12, 319 ff.). Bühler edited the whole Mānsehrā version first in ZDMG (43, 273 ff., and 44, 702 ff.), and a second time in EI (2, 447 ff.), from estampages by Burgess. JA (8), vol. 12 contains three plates reproduced from Cunningham's casts of edicts I to XII. These are so indistinct that they must be pronounced useless.

#### V. THE DHAULI ROCK (Text, p. 84).

Dhauli is a village in the Khurdā subdivision of the Purī district, Orissa, about seven miles south of Bhuvanēśvar. The inscribed rock near the village was discovered in 1837 by Lieutenant Kittoe, who calls it 'Aswastama'.<sup>3</sup> It 'is situated on a rocky eminence forming one of a cluster of hills, three in number, on the south bank of the Dyah river.'

'The hills before alluded to rise abruptly from the plains and occupy a space of about five furlongs by three; they have a singular appearance from their isolated position, no other hills being nearer than eight or ten miles. They are apparently volcanic, and composed of upheaved breccia with quartzose rock intermixed.'

'The *Aswastama* is situated on the northern face of the southernmost rock near its summit; the rock has been hewn and polished for a space of fifteen feet long by ten in height, and the inscription deeply cut thereon.'

'Immediately above the inscription is a terrace sixteen feet by fourteen, on the right side of which (as you face the inscription) is the fore half of an elephant, four feet high, of superior workmanship; the whole is hewn out of the solid rock.'<sup>4</sup>

While Prinsep was examining a lithograph of Kittoe's copies, he found that the greater part of the Dhauli inscription was identical with the Girnār edicts (JASB, 7, 157). He further ascertained that the Dhauli rock omits edicts XI to XIII of the Girnār version, but compensates for them by two separate edicts (id., p. 219). These two he edited with a tentative translation (id., p. 438 ff.), adding Kittoe's lithograph of the whole Dhauli inscription (id., plate 10). As may be seen on this plate, the inscription is arranged in three columns. The middle column contains edicts I to VI, and the right column edicts VII to X and XIV,<sup>5</sup> and below them, within a border of straight lines, the second separate edict, while the first separate edict occupies the whole of the left column.

Cunningham<sup>6</sup> showed that it would be more correct to exchange the two designations 'first and second separate edict': the separate edict engraved in continuation of edict XIV ought to be called No. I, and the one engraved separately on the left No. II. This order is confirmed by the Jaugada rock (No. VII, below) where Prinsep's No. II is actually placed above No. I. But as all editors (besides Kern) have followed

<sup>1</sup> JA (8), 11, 508.

<sup>2</sup> ZDMG, 44, 702.

<sup>3</sup> Can this name be due to a misreading of the word *gajatame* (see Text, p. 50), which is engraved below the figure of an elephant on the north face of the Kālsī rock, and which might have been originally engraved on the Dhauli rock too? See, however, Text, p. 92, n. 1.

<sup>4</sup> JASB, 7 (1838), 435-7. For a sketch of the elephant see id., plate 25, and for a photograph of it, the frontispiece of V. A. Smith's *Early History of India*.

<sup>5</sup> The commencement of each fresh edict is marked by a short horizontal dash.

<sup>6</sup> *Inscriptions of Asoka*, pp. 16, 20.



Prinsep's arrangement, a change of numbers would now lead to much confusion, and it will be sufficient to keep in mind that the separate edict No. I was engraved *after* No. II.

The two separate edicts were re-edited and translated by Burnouf (*Lotus*, p. 671 ff.) and, from Cunningham's copies, by Kern (*JRAS*, 1880. 379 ff.). Senart's edition of them<sup>1</sup> was based on estampages by Burgess. The same applies to Bühler's editions of the Dhauli version. He published the whole of it twice: once in German (*ZDMG*, 39. 489 ff., and 41. 1 ff.) and once in English (*ASSI*, 1. 114 ff.). His second edition is accompanied by photo-lithographs (plates 64-66).

#### VI. THE JAUGADA ROCK (Text, p. 101).

A duplicate of the Dhauli edicts is engraved at **Jaugaḍa**, a ruined fort in the Berhampur tāluka of the Ganjām district, Madras, about eighteen miles north-west of Ganjām town, on the northern bank of the Rishikulya river.

The inscribed rock 'is situated in what appears to have once been an extensive but now deserted town, surrounded by the debris of a lofty wall.'

'The rock is part of a large mass of rock or rocks, rising to various heights, and covering a large space of ground, I should say many thousand square yards.'<sup>2</sup>

'The Jaugaḍa inscriptions are written on three different tablets on the vertical face of the rock.'

'The first tablet contained the first five edicts, but about one-half has been utterly lost by the peeling away of the rock.'

'The second tablet comprised the next five edicts, namely, 6 to 10, to which was added the 14th or closing edict of the other versions. About one-third of this tablet has been lost by the peeling away of the rock.'

'The third tablet contained the two separate or additional edicts which are found at Dhauli.'

'These two additional edicts are enclosed in a frame which separates them from the collected series of Aśoka's edicts.'

'The separation of these two edicts is more distinctly marked by the accompaniment of the *svastika* symbol at each of the upper corners of the upper inscription, and of the letter *m* at the upper corners of the lower inscription.'<sup>3</sup>

'Copies of the inscriptions were taken in 1850 by the present Sir Walter Elliot, who was perfectly aware that they contained only another version of Aśoka's edicts, which had already been found at Shāhbāzgarhī, Gīrnār, and Dhauli.'<sup>4</sup>

Thanks to orders of the Government of Madras, the rock is now protected by an iron roof and railing.

The **two separate edicts** of Jaugaḍa were edited with those of Dhauli by Professor Kern. The first purely mechanical estampages of the rock were prepared by Burgess. On these Senart's edition of the two separate edicts was based.<sup>5</sup> Bühler published edicts I to X and XIV from a photograph by Mr. Minchin (*ZDMG*, vols. 37 and 40) and the two separate edicts from Burgess's estampages (*id.*, 41. 1 ff.). His

<sup>1</sup> *Inscriptions de Piyadasi*, 2. 105 ff., and *IA*, 19. 82 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Mr. W. F. Grahame in *IA*, 1 (1872). 219.

<sup>3</sup> Cunningham's *Inscriptions of Asoka*, p. 19 f. In *JPASB*, 17. 232 f., Harit Krishna Deb very ingeniously explains the *svastika* symbol as a monogram consisting of two Brāhmī *o*'s, and the *m* as the final letter of the sacred syllable *ōm*.

<sup>4</sup> Cunningham, *op. cit.*, p. 18. For further attempts to copy the Jaugaḍa inscriptions I may refer to the same page, and to R. Sewell's *Lists of Antiquities*, vol. I, p. 4.

<sup>5</sup> For references see above, under Dhauli.



second edition of the whole Jaugada version (ASSI, I. 114 ff.) is accompanied by photo-lithographs (plates 67-69).

#### VII. THE BOMBAY-SOPARA FRAGMENT (Text, p. 118).

**Sōpārā** is an ancient town in the Bassein tāluka of the Thāna district, Bombay. There Pandit Bhagvanlal Indraji discovered in 1882 a broken block of basalt bearing about one-third of the **eighth rock-edict** of Aśoka. The existing fragment suggests that a complete set of his edicts must have been engraved near Sōpārā.

'The stone was found near the Bhātelā pond to the east of the town close to the old landing-place.'<sup>1</sup>

The Pandit published a tracing and transcript of the fragment, along with the text of five other versions of edict VIII. The original stone is now preserved in the Museum of the **Bombay Asiatic Society**.

### SECOND PART: THE PILLAR-EDICTS

This term is meant to comprise the Aśoka inscriptions on the Delhi-Tōprā pillar and on the five other pillars which bear six of the seven edicts inscribed on it. The minor pillar-inscriptions will be treated separately in the third part. The 'Queen's edict' and the 'Kauśāmbī edict', however, are included in the second part, because they are inscribed on the Allahabad-Kōsam column which bears also six of the chief pillar-edicts.

#### I. THE DELHI-TOPRA PILLAR (Text, p. 119).

This famous monument 'is a single shaft of pale pinkish sandstone, 42 feet 7 inches in length, of which the upper portion, 35 feet in length, has received a very high polish, while the remainder is left quite rough.'<sup>2</sup> It used to be known by the names of 'Bhīma-sēna's pillar', 'Golden pillar', 'Fīrōz Shāh's pillar', and 'Delhi-Siwālik pillar'. Shams-i Sirāj, a historian of **Fīrōz Shāh** (A.D. 1351-88), informs us that it stood originally 'in the village of Tobra, in the district of Sālaura and Khizrābād, in the hills';<sup>3</sup> that Sultan Fīrōz had it carried to Delhi; and that he erected it again on the top of his palace at Fīrōzābād. From Tobra near Khizrābād, which was ninety *kōs* from Delhi, the column was carried on a truck with forty-two wheels to the bank of the Jamnā, whence it was floated down the river to Fīrōzābād (Delhi) on a number of large boats.

Cunningham (*Arch. Reports*, 14. 78 f.) identified the village of Tobra, where the pillar stood originally, with the present **Tōprā**, on the direct line between Ambālā and Sirsāvā, eighteen miles to the south of Sādhōrā, and twenty-two miles to the south-west of Khizrābād. The pillar is standing to the present day on the roof of the three-storied citadel (*kōṭlā*) of Fīrōz Shāh outside the 'Delhi Gate' to the south-east of modern **Delhi**.<sup>4</sup> An elevation of the building, with the pillar on the top of it, was published in 1788 in the first volume of the *Asiatic Researches*, p. 379, and a sketch of it in 1803 in vol. 7, p. 175, plate 4.

<sup>1</sup> JBBRAS, 15. 282.

<sup>2</sup> Cunningham's *Inscriptions of Asoka*, p. 35.

<sup>3</sup> Elliot-Dowson's *History of India*, 3. 350.

<sup>4</sup> See a note by Lieutenant Kittoe, JASB, 6. 796 f., and the map facing p. 185 of Baedeker's *Indien*.



The Delhi-Tōprā pillar bears seven edicts of Aśoka, of which the last and longest is unique, while other specimens of the first six edicts have been discovered elsewhere. The first six edicts and the eleven first lines of the seventh edict are arranged in four columns on the north, west, south, and east faces of the pillar; the eleven remaining lines of the seventh edict run all round the pillar.

Besides the Aśoka edicts and several minor records of pilgrims and travellers,<sup>1</sup> the pillar bears three short inscriptions of the Chāhamāna Visaladēva of Śākambarī, son of Ānalladēva (EI, 9. 67; n. 5), dated A.D. 1164, which have been edited last by Kielhorn from Fleet's impressions (IA, 19. 215 ff.).

The Delhi-Tōprā pillar-inscription is the first record of Aśoka that was read and translated in 1837 by Prinsep (JASB, 6. 566 ff.). Facsimiles of this inscription had been in the possession of the Asiatic Society of Bengal 'since its very foundation, without any successful attempt having been made to decipher them' (id., p. 566).

'On searching the Society's portfolio' Prinsep 'found the five original manuscript plates of Captain Hoare, whence the engravings published in the *Researches*<sup>2</sup> seem to have been copied.'

'I found also two much larger drawings of the first and last inscription of the series, apparently of the actual dimensions.—These I suppose to have been the originals presented to Sir William Jones by Colonel Polier, and therefore of themselves venerable for their antiquity!' (id., p. 567).<sup>3</sup>

The ingenious manner in which Prinsep succeeded in deciphering the ancient Brāhmī alphabet deserves to be recorded here in his own words:

'In laying open a discovery of this nature, some little explanation is generally expected of the means by which it has been attained. Like most other inventions, when once found it appears extremely simple; and, as in most others, accident, rather than study, has had the merit of solving the enigma which has so long baffled the learned.'

'While arranging and lithographing the numerous scraps of facsimiles for Plate XXVII,<sup>4</sup> I was struck at their all terminating with the same two letters, दानं. Coupling this circumstance with their extreme brevity and insulated position, which proved that they could not be fragments of a continuous text, it immediately occurred [to me] that they must record either obituary notices, or more probably the offerings and presents of votaries, as is shown to be the present custom in the Buddhist temples of Ava; where numerous *dhvajās* or flag-staffs, images, and small *chaityas* are crowded within the enclosure, surrounding the chief cupola, each bearing the name of the donor. The next point noted was the frequent occurrence of the letter ञ, already set down incontestably as *s*, before the final word:—now this I had learnt from the Saurāshṭra coins, deciphered only a day or two before, to be one sign of the genitive case singular, being the *ssa* of the Pāli, or *sya* of the Sanskrit. "Of so and so the gift", must then be the form of each brief sentence; and the vowel *ā* and Anusvāra led to the speedy recognition of the word *dānam* (gift), teaching me the very two letters, *d* and *n*, most different from known forms, and which had foiled me most in my former attempts. Since 1834 also my acquaintance with ancient alphabets had become so familiar that most of the remaining letters in the present examples could be named at once on re-inspection. In the course of a few minutes I thus became possessed of the whole

<sup>1</sup> See Cunningham's *Arch. Reports*, I. 167, and 5. 143 f.

<sup>2</sup> See *Asiatic Researches*, vol. 7, plates 6–10.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *Asiatic Researches*, I. 379.

<sup>4</sup> 'Inscriptions from Sanchee, taken in facsimile on paper by Capt. E. Smith, Engineers.'



alphabet, which I tested by applying it to the inscription on the Delhi column' (id., p. 460 f.).

The first four edicts were examined by Burnouf in his *Lotus*, and the fourth and sixth by Kern in his *Jaartelling*. Senart's edition and translation of the Delhi-Tōprā pillar-edicts in his *Inscriptions de Piyadasi* (2. 1 ff.) were based on Cunningham's eye-copies. In 1884 Fleet issued excellent photo-lithographs, to which Bühler added transcripts in the Nāgarī character (IA, 13. 306 ff.), and which were utilized in Sir George Grierson's English translation of Senart's French article (IA, vols. 17 and 18). Finally Bühler edited and translated the seven pillar-edicts twice, in German (ZDMG, vols. 45 and 46) and in English (EI, 2. 245 ff.).

## II. THE DELHI-MIRATH PILLAR (Text, p. 137).

This pillar now stands on the so-called 'Ridge' to the north-west of modern Delhi.<sup>1</sup> Like the Delhi-Tōprā pillar, it was carried to Delhi by **Firōz Shāh**. Shams-i-Sirāj tells us that it stood before in the vicinity of **Mirāth**, now a town and the head-quarters of a district of the United Provinces, and that Firōz Shāh re-erected it at Delhi on a hill in the Kushk-i-Shikār or 'Hunting-Palace',<sup>2</sup> which is known to have been situated on the Ridge.<sup>3</sup>

The pillar bears, besides some modern scribblings,<sup>4</sup> a more or less damaged version of the first five edicts of the Delhi-Tōprā pillar. A lithograph of its inscription was published by Prinsep in JASB, vol. 6 (1837), plate 42, from impressions forwarded by Major P. L. Pew, who added the following particulars:

'This very ancient Hiadu pillar was dug out of some ruins near a well, and was probably destroyed by the blowing up of a powder magazine which I understand once existed near the spot. It consists of five pieces.'

'The pillar is sandstone, and to its perishable nature is to be attributed the imperfect state of the inscriptions' (id., p. 795).

Padre Tieffenthaler, who visited Delhi towards the middle of the eighteenth century, already saw the same five pieces lying on the top of the Ridge, and also ascribed the destruction of the pillar to gunpowder.<sup>5</sup>

'There the five pieces remained undisturbed for upwards of a century, when the inscribed portion was' sawn off<sup>6</sup> and 'sent down to Calcutta to the Museum of the Asiatic Society. Within the last few years this piece has been returned to Delhi, and the pillar has again been set up in its old position.'<sup>7</sup>

IA, vol. 19 contains a facsimile of the Delhi-Mirāth pillar-edicts by Fleet with transcripts by Bühler (p. 122 ff.), who reprinted the text twice, in ZDMG (vols. 45 and 46) and in EI (2. 245 ff.).

A fragment bearing portions of the two last lines of the sixth edict was offered to the British Museum in 1913. Its dimensions render it very probable that it belonged originally to the Delhi-Mirāth pillar.

<sup>1</sup> The position of the pillar is marked on plate 25 (facing p. 132) of Cunningham's *Arch. Reports*, vol. I. See also the map facing p. 185 of Baedeker's *Indien*.

<sup>2</sup> Elliot-Dowson's *History of India*, 3. 353.

<sup>3</sup> Cunningham's *Arch. Reports*, 1. 168.

<sup>4</sup> Id., 5. 144.

<sup>5</sup> Cunningham's *Inscriptions of Asoka*, p. 37.

<sup>6</sup> Cunningham's *Arch. Reports*, 1. 167.

<sup>7</sup> Cunningham's *Inscriptions of Asoka*, p. 37.



### III and IV. THE LAURIYA-ARARAJ AND LAURIYA-NANDANGARH PILLARS (Text, pp. 141 and 145).

The inscriptions on these two pillars were already known to Prinsep when he edited the Delhi-Tōprā pillar-edicts in 1837 (JASB, 6. 566 ff.). Both pillars bear the first **six edicts**, the first four on the east face and the last two on the west face. Mr. B. H. Hodgson had called them the Radhia and Mathiah pillars.<sup>1</sup> Cunningham ascertained that the villages of Radhia and Mathiah are  $2\frac{1}{2}$  and three miles distant from them, and proposed to call them the Lauṛiyā-Ararāj and Lauṛiyā-Navandgaṛh pillars.<sup>2</sup> His reasons were the following: Each of the two pillars stands near a village named **Lauṛiyā**, the former of which is in the Champāran district, North Bihār, twenty miles NW. of Kēsariyā, while the second is fifteen miles NNW. of Betiyā in the same district. Both names are derived from the pillars themselves, which were mistaken by the people for *līngas* (Hindī *lauṛā*). To distinguish the two different villages of Lauṛiyā, Cunningham combined with the former **Ararāj**, the name of a neighbouring temple of Śiva, and with the second Navandgaṛh, the name of a ruined fort in its vicinity. V. A. Smith (JRAS, 1902. 153, note) added that 'Navandgaṛh' is a mistake for 'Nandangarh'.

The Lauṛiyā-Ararāj pillar 'is a single block of polished sandstone,  $36\frac{1}{2}$  feet in height above the ground.'<sup>3</sup> According to V. A. Smith it was originally surmounted by a figure of **Garuḍa**.<sup>4</sup>

The Lauṛiyā-Nandangarh pillar 'is formed of a single block of polished sandstone, 32 feet  $9\frac{1}{2}$  inches in height.'

'The capital, which is 6 feet 10 inches in height, is bell-shaped, with a circular abacus supporting the statue of a lion facing the north. The abacus is ornamented with a row of Brahmani geese pecking their food.'<sup>5</sup>

Besides the Aśoka edicts, the pillar bears a record of the emperor **Aurangzīb** and a few modern scribblings. It is now worshipped as a symbol of Śiva, and its erection is ascribed to the Pāṇḍava Bhīma.<sup>6</sup>

Bühler edited the inscriptions of the Lauṛiyā-Ararāj and Lauṛiyā-Nandangarh pillars twice, in ZDMG (vols. 45 and 46) and in EI (2. 245 ff.). His second article was accompanied by photo-lithographs of Mr. Garrick's impressions.

### V. THE RAMPURVA PILLAR (Text, p. 151).

Another copy of the first **six edicts** is engraved on a lion-pillar of polished sandstone, which was discovered by Mr. Carlleyle at **Rāmpurvā** in the Champāran district,  $32\frac{1}{2}$  miles north of Betiyā.<sup>7</sup> The relative positions of Lauṛiyā-Ararāj, Lauṛiyā-Nandangarh, and Rāmpurvā are shown on V. A. Smith's sketch map in JRAS, 1902. 162, and on plate I of Cunningham's *Arch. Reports*, vol. 16.

<sup>1</sup> See JASB, 3 (1834). 481 ff., where a drawing of the Mathiah pillar and a lithograph of its inscription are given (plates 27 and 29). The first lithograph of the Radhia pillar appeared in vol. 4 (1835), p. 124, plate 7.

<sup>2</sup> *Inscriptions of Asoka*, p. 39 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *Id.*, p. 40.

<sup>4</sup> *Asoka*, sec. ed., p. 147, and ZDMG, 65. 227.

<sup>5</sup> Cunningham's *Arch. Reports*, 1. 72 f. For pictures of the pillar see *id.*, plates 22 and 25; vol. 16, plate 27; the frontispiece of V. A. Smith's *Asoka*, sec. ed.; and plate 2 of his *History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon*.

<sup>6</sup> Cunningham's *Inscriptions of Asoka*, p. 41.

<sup>7</sup> Cunningham's *Arch. Reports*, 22. 51.



'The pillar has fallen down, and is now lying partly in water.<sup>1</sup> The upper part of the lion is gone, but the lower part of the animal, with the bell capital and circular abacus with the well-known geese and conventional flowers, is still in very fair condition. The capital was fixed to the shaft by a massive copper bolt.'<sup>2</sup>

Mr. Garrick prepared impressions of that side of the pillar which could then be reached. Bühler's transcripts of them (ZDMG, vols. 45 and 46; EI, 2. 245 ff., with photo-lithograph) show that it contained portions of the first four edicts.

To Sir John Marshall we are indebted for complete impressions of the six edicts and for the discovery of the missing lion-capital.<sup>3</sup> The length of the shaft was found to be 44 feet 9½ inches, of which 8 feet 9 inches are left rough-dressed, having originally been buried in the ground. As on the two Lauriyā pillars, the inscription is divided into two columns on opposite faces of the pillar.

The pillar has now been removed some 200 yards from its former position and lies horizontally on a small mound. To protect the inscription from the weather, a small brick shed has been erected over the centre of the pillar.<sup>4</sup>

#### VI. THE ALLAHABAD-KOSAM PILLAR (Text, p. 155).

This pillar now stands inside the fort at Allahabad. It 'is a single shaft of polished sandstone 35 feet in length.'<sup>5</sup> 'Its total length, including the base, is forty-two feet seven inches.'<sup>6</sup>

*Habent sua fata columnae!* The history of the Allahabad pillar is as chequered and curious as that of the two Delhi pillars. On examination it is found to contain on it four strata of literary records:

- (1) The original inscriptions of Aśoka, viz.:
  - (a) the first six edicts of the Delhi-Tōprā pillar;
  - (b) the so-called 'Queen's edict' (to the right of 2);
  - (c) the so-called 'Kauśāmbī edict' (above b).
- (2) An inscription of the *Mahārājādhirāja* Samudragupta (below 1).
- (3) An interlineation in Nāgarī characters.
- (4) An inscription of the emperor Jahāngīr.

A sketch of the pillar by Captain James Hoare and a rough copy of portions of its inscriptions appeared in 1801 in the *Asiatic Researches*, vol. 7, plates 13 and 14. In 1834 Lieutenant T. S. Burt published, at Prinsep's request, drawings of the pillar (JASB, vol. 3, plate 3), which was then lying on the ground, having been taken down by Colonel Kyd in 1804.<sup>7</sup> 'The common legend of the natives', he says, 'states the pillar to be the *gadā* or staff of Bhīmasēna' (p. 105). Prinsep added a lithograph of Burt's copies of the Aśoka inscriptions and a classified table of letters (plates 4 and 5). Although yet unable to read the alphabet, he very shrewdly guessed the actual value of post-consonantal *ā*, *e*, and Anusvāra.

<sup>1</sup> See Cunningham's *Arch. Reports*, vol. 22, plate 7.

<sup>2</sup> Id., vol. 16, preface, p. viii. See also plate 28.

<sup>3</sup> See *Annual Report of the Arch. Survey of India, Eastern Circle*, for 1912-1913, p. 36.

<sup>4</sup> Cunningham's *Inscriptions of Asoka*, p. 37.

<sup>5</sup> Lieutenant Burt in JASB, 3. 105.

<sup>7</sup> See Lieutenant Kittoe's note in JASB, 4. 127.



Six months later he recognised the consonants *y, v, s* (p. 485), and three years after he deciphered the six Aśoka edicts, together with those of the Delhi-Tōprā pillar.<sup>1</sup>

'The capital of the column was no doubt of the usual bell-shape of Aśoka's other pillars, but of this there is now no trace. The circular abacus, however, still remains, with its graceful scroll of alternate lotus and honeysuckle, resting on a beaded astragalus of Greek origin. This was once surmounted by the statue of a lion;<sup>2</sup> but the lion must have disappeared many centuries ago, as when the pillar was re-erected by Jahāngīr in A.D. 1605, it was crowned by a globe, surmounted by a cone, as described and sketched by Padre Tieffenthaler in the middle of the next century.'<sup>3</sup>

In 1838 the pillar was set up again by Captain Edward Smith and provided with a newly designed lion which, according to Cunningham (*Arch. Reports*, 1. 300), looks 'not unlike a stuffed poodle stuck on the top of an inverted flower pot.'

As regards the set of **six edicts** (1, *a*), 'the present confused appearance of it is due chiefly to the later inscriptions [3] that have been engraved between the original lines of writing. The most serious damage that has been done to it is due to seven entire lines and the greater part of the eighth, line 16, having been entirely destroyed to make room for a circular inscription of Jahāngīr [4].'<sup>4</sup> IA, vol. 13 contains a facsimile of the six edicts by Fleet and a Nāgarī transcript by Bühler (p. 306 ff.), who reprinted the text twice, in ZDMG (vols. 45 and 46) and in EI (2. 245 ff.).

The **Queen's edict** (1, *b*) was already transcribed and translated by Prinsep,<sup>5</sup> while the **Kauśāmbī edict** (1, *c*) was first noticed by Cunningham.<sup>6</sup> Both were edited by Senart<sup>7</sup> and, with Fleet's facsimiles, by Bühler (IA, 19. 122 ff.). The Kauśāmbī edict was re-edited by A.-M. Boyer.<sup>8</sup>

The Kauśāmbī edict is addressed to the *Mahāmātras* at Kōsambī (*Kauśāmbī* in Sanskrit). Cunningham concluded from this that the Allahabad pillar must have been originally erected by Aśoka at Kauśāmbī,<sup>9</sup> which is the modern **Kōsam** on the left bank of the Jamnā, about twenty-eight miles west by south from Allahabad.<sup>10</sup> He further suggested that the removal of the pillar from Kōsam to Allahabad was perhaps due to Firōz Shāh, who is known to have transported the Tōprā and Mirāṭh pillars to Delhi. But, while Delhi was the capital of Firōz Shāh, Allahabad was founded, or rather refounded, two centuries after him by **Akbar**.<sup>11</sup> This ruler may have removed from Kōsam the Allahabad pillar, on which inscriptions of his favourite Bīrbal<sup>12</sup> and of his son Jahāngīr are engraved. In this case the pillar would have been still standing at Kōsam when the inscription of **Samudragupta** (2) was incised on it. This record was last edited by Fleet in his *Gupta Inscriptions*, No. 1; it refers to 'this lofty pillar' (*ayam uchchhrītaḥ stambhaḥ*, l. 30).

<sup>1</sup> JASB, 6 (1837), 566 ff. See also id., p. 965 f.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. JASB, 4. 127.

<sup>3</sup> Cunningham's *Inscriptions of Asoka*, p. 37. For Captain Hoare's sketch of the pillar see *Asiatic Researches*, vol. 7, plate 13.

<sup>4</sup> Fleet in IA, 13. 305.

<sup>5</sup> JASB, 6. 568 f. and 966 f., with a lithograph on plate 56, fig. 1. See also id., vol. 3, plate 4, bottom.

<sup>6</sup> *Inscriptions of Asoka*, p. 38.

<sup>7</sup> *Inscriptions de Piyadasi*, 2. 99 ff., and IA, 18. 308 f.

<sup>8</sup> JA (10), 10. 120 ff. and 141.

<sup>9</sup> *Inscriptions of Asoka*, p. 39.

<sup>10</sup> See Fleet's *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 2; also Cunningham's *Ancient Geography of India*, p. 391 ff., and EI, 11. 91 and 141.

<sup>11</sup> Cunningham's *Arch. Reports*, 1. 298. For coins struck by Akbar at Allahabad see the *British Museum Catalogue of Moghul Coins*, pp. 48 and 53, Whitehead's *Catalogue of Coins in the Punjab Museum*, vol. II, Introduction, p. xlix, and the Catalogues by Wright (1908) and Brown (1920).

<sup>12</sup> Cunningham's *Inscriptions of Asoka*, p. 39.



The Nāgarī interlineation (3) of the Allahabad-Kōsam pillar 'is merely a series of unconnected scribblings of various dates, cut in most likely by the attendants on the pillar as a pretext for exacting a few rupees from visitors.'<sup>1</sup>

Jahāngīr's inscription (4) records the names of his ancestors and is dated in A.H. 1014 or A.D. 1605.<sup>2</sup>

### THIRD PART: MINOR PILLAR-INSCRIPTIONS

#### I. THE SAMCHI PILLAR (Text, p. 160).

Sāmchī<sup>3</sup> is an ancient site in the Bhōpāl State, Central India,  $5\frac{1}{2}$  miles from Bhilsā and about  $\frac{3}{4}$  mile from the Sanchi railway station. The Aśoka pillar 'is only a fragment of a large polished shaft; but near it there still lies a beautiful broken capital crowned by four lions, which, no doubt, once surmounted it.'<sup>4</sup> It is now lying in the jungle; but apparently it stood originally near the south gate of the great Sāmchī Stūpa.<sup>5</sup>

The beginning of the inscription on the pillar is lost, and the first preserved line is badly damaged. A facsimile was published by Burgess in EI, 2. 369. The record was edited and translated by Bühler (id., p. 366 f.) and by Boyer (IA (10), 10. 123 ff. and 141), and re-examined by myself (JRAS, 1911. 167 ff., and 1912. 1055 f.).

#### II. THE SARNATH PILLAR (Text, p. 161).

Sārnāth, about  $3\frac{1}{2}$  miles to the north of Benares, is believed to be the site of one of the most memorable events in the career of the Buddha: it adjoins the Migadāya (i. e. 'deer-park') at Isipatana in which he preached his first sermon.<sup>6</sup> Here Mr. F. O. Oertel discovered a broken pillar of polished sandstone which bears an edict of Aśoka.<sup>7</sup> He found also the former capital of the column, which 'is surmounted by four magnificent lions standing back to back, and in their middle was a large stone wheel, the sacred dharmachakra symbol', of which only fragments remain. 'The lions stand on a drum with four animal figures carved on it, viz. a lion, an elephant, a bull, and a horse, placed between four wheels. The upper part of the capital is supported by an elegantly shaped Persepolitan bell-shaped member.'

In the opinion of a competent judge 'it would be difficult to find in any country an example of ancient animal sculpture superior or even equal to this beautiful work of art, which successfully combines realistic modelling with ideal dignity, and is finished in every detail with perfect accuracy.'<sup>8</sup>

The Chinese traveller, Hiuen Tsiang, saw on the site of the Migadāya a stone pillar which stood in front of a Stūpa built by Aśōkarāja, and which was about 70 feet high.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Prinsep in JASB, 6. 967. Cf. Cunningham's *Inscriptions of Asoka*, p. 38 f.

<sup>2</sup> See Lieutenant Burt in JASB, 3. 108, and Prinsep's foot-note.

<sup>3</sup> Mr. D. R. Bhandarkar informed me that this, and not Sāñchī, is the actual pronunciation of the name.

<sup>4</sup> Cunningham's *Inscriptions of Asoka*, p. 42.

<sup>5</sup> See EI, 2. 366, n. 2, and JRAS, 1902. 30.

<sup>6</sup> Cunningham's *Arch. Reports*, 1. 107; SBE, 11. 146, and 13. 90; *Buddhist Birth Stories*, 1. 111 f.

<sup>7</sup> *Arch. Survey of India, Annual Report*, 1904-5, p. 68 ff.

<sup>8</sup> V. A. Smith's *History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon*, p. 60. For photographs of the capital see id., plate 13, and Oertel's article, plate 20.

<sup>9</sup> Beal's BRWW, 2. 46.



As Oertel (op. cit., p. 69) has calculated the actual height of the Sārnāth pillar at about 37 feet above ground, Hiuen Tsiang seems to have overestimated its height, unless he refers to a different pillar.

Unfortunately the three top lines of the inscription are broken away, and the fourth line is badly damaged. But Oertel succeeded in recovering three inscribed fragments which, as Professor Vogel has proved, contain the two first *aksharas* of each of lines 1-3, and the end of lines 3 and 4 (EI, 8. 166 f.). The remainder of the inscription was found *in situ* underground, and is in a state of nearly perfect preservation.

The stump of the pillar bears also two short records of a later date: an inscription of king **Aśvaghōsha** which is engraved in continuation of the last line of the Aśoka edict, and a Buddhist inscription in early **Gupta** characters above the Aśvaghōsha epigraph. These three records were first published, with collotypes, by Vogel in EI, 8. 166 ff., and the Aśoka edict was re-edited by Boyer (JA (10), 10. 119 ff.), Senart (CR, 1907. 25 ff.), and Venis (JPASB, 3. 1 ff.). See also my remarks in JRAS, 1912. 1053 ff.

### III. THE RUMMINDEI PILLAR (Text, p. 164).

In December 1896 Dr. Führer found a pillar bearing an inscription of Aśoka about thirteen miles south-east of the Nigālī Sāgar pillar (below, No. IV) in the Nepalese Tarāi. The pillar stands near the shrine of **Rummindēi**, about a mile to the north of the village of **Parariyā**, which is about two miles north of Bhagvānpur, the head-quarters of the Nepalese tahsil of that name, and about five miles to the north-east of Dulhā in the British district of Basti.<sup>1</sup>

The new Aśoka pillar is a mere stump, but still *in situ* and surrounded by a brick railing. 'It is of hard sandstone of the usual yellowish colour, and rises to a height of 21 feet or so.'<sup>2</sup> The inscription on it was edited, with facsimile, by Bühler in 1898,<sup>3</sup> and records that Aśoka visited the spot and erected the pillar 'because the **Buddha Śākya-muni** was born here', and that the king exempted the village of **Lummini** from taxes.

Both Lummini and the modern name Rummindēi must be identical with the **Lumbini** grove, the traditional site of the Buddha's birth.<sup>4</sup> This identification is confirmed by Hiuen Tsiang, who mentions a pillar set up by **Aśōkarāja** in the Lumbini garden, and near the pillar the 'river of oil',<sup>5</sup> which is now called Tilār-nadī, i.e. apparently 'the tēlī's or oilman's river'.<sup>6</sup> He further states that the pillar bore on the top the figure of a **horse**, and that it had been struck by lightning and broken off in the middle. This agrees with Mukherji's description of the Rummindēi pillar (p. 34). He tells us that 'its upper portion is gone, and of what remains the top is split into two halves, the line of fissure coming down to near the middle height. The capital was of the usual bell-shaped form, of which the base, broken into two halves, exists . . . . The stone horse, which crowned the capital, is gone with the upper portion of the shaft';

<sup>1</sup> See V. A. Smith in IA, 34. 1, and cf. plates 18 and 19 of Babu P. C. Mukherji's *Antiquities in the Tarai* (Calcutta, 1901).

<sup>2</sup> Op. cit., p. 34. For a drawing of the pillar see id., plate 20, fig. 3, and for photographs of it, the plate facing p. 27 of Führer's *Monograph on Buddha Sakyamuni's Birth-place* (Allahabad, 1897) and the plate facing p. 148 of V. A. Smith's *Early History of India*.

<sup>3</sup> EI, 5. 1 ff. For subsequent articles on the Rummindēi inscription see IA, 43. 17.

<sup>4</sup> See the Introduction to the *Jātaka*, vol. I, pp. 52 and 54. For other forms of the word *Lumbini* see IA, 43. 18.

<sup>5</sup> Beal's BRWW, 2. 24 f.

<sup>6</sup> See V. A. Smith's preface to Mukherji's *Antiquities*, p. 6.



but it seems to be alluded to in the inscription itself. Finally, the temple of Rummindēi contains an ancient sculpture which represents the nativity of the Buddha (op. cit., plate 24, a). This is an additional piece of evidence in favour of the identity of the locality with the *Lumbini-vana*.

#### IV. THE NIGALI SĀGAR PILLAR (Text, p. 165).

In March 1895 another Aśoka pillar of polished sandstone was discovered by Führer in the Nepalese Tarāi on the western bank of a large tank called **Nigālī Sāgar**, about a mile south of **Niglīvā**. This village lies about thirteen miles north-west of Rummindēi and belongs to the Nepalese tahsil of Taulivā (about seven miles north-west of Piprāvā in the British district of Basti).<sup>1</sup>

The pillar is now called *Nigālī* or 'the smoking-pipe' of Bhīmasēna.<sup>2</sup> It is not *in situ*, and only two broken portions of it are preserved. The upper piece is about 14 feet 9½ inches long and bears a few mediæval drawings and scribblings. The lower portion is about 10 feet long and bears an inscription of Aśoka in four lines; some letters at the beginning of the two last lines are broken away.<sup>3</sup>

The inscription was first edited by Bühler in VOJ, 9. 175 ff., and again, with facsimile, in EI, 5. 1 ff. It records that Aśoka 'enlarged the *Stūpa* of the **Buddha Kōṇākamana** to the double (of its original size)', and that later on he visited the spot in person and erected the pillar.

Hiuen Tsiang seems to mention the Nigālī Sāgar pillar.<sup>4</sup> He states that it stood in front of a *Stūpa* containing relics of **Kanakamuni Buddha**, that it was surmounted by a lion, was about 20 feet high (which is less than the length of the two preserved pieces combined), bore an inscription, and had been erected by **Aśōkarāja**. The *Stūpa* referred to by Hiuen Tsiang cannot be traced near the spot where the two portions of the pillar have been found.<sup>5</sup>

### FOURTH PART: MINOR ROCK-INSCRIPTIONS

#### I. THE RUPNATH ROCK-INSCRIPTION (Text, p. 166).

**Rūpnāth** is an out-of-the-way place of pilgrimage in the Central Provinces, fourteen miles west of Sleemanabad railway station<sup>6</sup> on the line from Jabalpur to Katni.

The Rūpnāth rock is a single flinty block of dark-red sandstone lying at the foot of the **Kaimur** range of hills, just below the fertile plateau of **Bahuriband**.<sup>7</sup> Here a small stream breaks over the crest of the Kaimur range, and, after three low falls, forms a deep secluded pool at the foot of the scarp. Each of these pools is considered holy, the uppermost being named after Rāma, the next after Lakshmaṇa, and the lowest

<sup>1</sup> For the relative positions of Niglīvā and Rummindēi see plate 1 of Mukherji's *Antiquities in the Tarai*.

<sup>2</sup> Id., p. 30, and Führer's *Monograph*, p. 23.

<sup>3</sup> For photographs of the pillar see plates 3, 4, 5 of Führer's *Monograph*, and for a drawing of it, Mukherji's *Antiquities*, plate 16, fig. 1.

<sup>4</sup> Beal's BRWW, 2. 19.

<sup>5</sup> See V. A. Smith's preface to Mukherji's *Antiquities*, p. 3 f.

<sup>6</sup> See V. A. Smith's *Asoka*, sec. ed., p. 133, n. 1.

<sup>7</sup> A small town thirty-two miles to the north of Jabalpur; see Cunningham's *Arch. Reports*, 9. 39.



after Sītā. The spot, however, is best known by the name of Rūpnāth, from a *linga* of Śiva which is placed in a narrow cleft of the rocks on the right.<sup>1</sup>

'The detached boulder, upon which the edict of Aśoka is inscribed, lies just above the west margin of the lower pool under a great tree, the inscription being upon its flat top and near one edge. The rock is one of many that have fallen at some time or another from the cliffs above, and it is possible that it has fallen since the inscription was cut upon it.'<sup>2</sup>

'The edict of Aśoka is inscribed on the upper surface of the rock, which has been worn quite smooth by people sitting upon it for hundreds of years at the annual fairs. It is now of a very dark dirty-red colour, and the inscription might easily escape observation. The lines follow the undulations of the rock, and are neither straight nor parallel with each other. The inscription is  $4\frac{1}{2}$  feet long and 1 foot broad, and consists of six lines, of which the last has only five letters.'<sup>3</sup>

The Rūpnāth edict was copied in 1871-2 by Cunningham (*Arch. Reports*, 7. 59) and published with a facsimile in 1877 by Bühler (IA, 6. 149 ff.), who re-edited it twice afterwards.<sup>4</sup> Senart's treatment of it is included in his *Inscriptions de Piyadasi* (2. 165 ff.) and in Sir George Grierson's translation (IA, 20. 154 ff.). Fresh impressions of the inscription were prepared by the late Dr. Bloch.<sup>5</sup>

## II. THE SAHASRĀM ROCK-INSCRIPTION (Text, p. 169).

**Sahasrām** is a town and the head-quarters of a subdivision in the Shāhābād district, South Bihār. 'About two miles to the east of the town rises one of the last spurs of the Kaimur range of hills called **Chandan-Pīr**, after a Muhammadan saint, who took up his abode on the top of the hill.'<sup>6</sup>

The edict of Aśoka 'is found in an artificial cave a short distance below, which is generally known as the *Chirāghdān* or 'lamp' of the saint. The roof of the cave is formed by a large projecting mass of rock that has most effectually preserved the greater part of the inscription, which is in excellent order, except in three or four places where the rock has peeled off. The entrance, which is only 4 feet high, is to the west between two built walls. By making an opening in one of these walls, my assistant, Mr. Beglar, obtained a good photograph of the inscription.'<sup>7</sup>

The Sahasrām edict was published three times by Bühler and twice by Senart along with the Rūpnāth one (No. I, above). In editing it the third time (IA, 22. 299), Bühler noted that Beglar's photograph still shows a number of letters which have since disappeared owing to the disintegration of the rock, and which are already missing in Fleet's facsimile (loc. cit.). To the kindness of Sir John Marshall I owe a copy of this valuable photograph, which I have utilized for my transcript of the text.

## III. THE BAIRAT ROCK-INSCRIPTION (Text, p. 171).

A much damaged version of the Rūpnāth-Sahasrām edict was discovered in 1871-2 by Mr. Carlleyle about a mile to the north-east of **Bairāt**, the head-quarters

<sup>1</sup> Cunningham's *Inscriptions of Asoka*, p. 21.

<sup>2</sup> Mr. Cousens in *Progress Report*, ASWI, 1903-4, p. 35.

<sup>3</sup> Cunningham's *Inscriptions of Asoka*, p. 22.

<sup>4</sup> IA, 7. 141 ff., and, with Fleet's facsimile, id., 22. 299 ff.

<sup>5</sup> *Annual Report*, AS, *Eastern Circle*, 1907-8, p. 19.

<sup>6</sup> Cunningham's *Arch. Reports*, 11. 132 f.

<sup>7</sup> Cunningham's *Inscriptions of Asoka*, p. 20 f.



of a tahsīl in the Jaipur State, Rājputānā, about forty-two miles north-by-north-east of Jaipur City.

'This edict is engraved on a block lying separately, but immediately below the hill locally known as *Bhīm-kī-ḍūngṛī* . . . . It is inscribed on the eastern face and near the lower end of the rock.'<sup>1</sup>

The inscribed block 'is 17 feet in height by 24 feet in length from east to west, and 15 feet in thickness from north to south.'<sup>2</sup>

The inscription was edited by Bühler and Senart along with the Rūpnāth and Sahasrām ones (Nos. I and II, above). No facsimile of it has yet been published except Cunningham's eye-copy in his *Inscriptions of Asoka*, plate 14, No. x.

#### IV. THE CALCUTTA-BAIRAT ROCK-INSCRIPTION (Text, p. 172).

The block which bears this very interesting and valuable record is now preserved in Calcutta by the Asiatic Society of Bengal. It was discovered in 1840 by Captain Burt 'upon a hill lying adjacent to' Bairāt, the town near which some years later Carlleyle found the preceding inscription (No. III). Burt reported that he found the inscription 'on a hard, grey granite block, irregularly shaped, and measuring about two feet in two of its dimensions, and a foot and a half in the third' (JASB, 9. 616). His copy of the inscription was lithographed by Captain Kittoe, and transcribed and translated by the same 'with the aid of the learned Pandit Kamala Kanta' (id., p. 617 and plate).

Burt's copy formed the basis of the editions of Burnouf (*Lotus*, p. 710 ff.), Kern (*Jaartelling*, p. 32 ff.), and Wilson (JRAS, 16. 357 ff., with lithograph). Senart edited the record in his *Inscriptions de Piyadasi*, 2. 197 ff., and published a revised edition of it, from an estampage by Burgess, in IA, 20. 165 ff. A photograph of Burgess' estampage appeared in JA (8), 9. 498.

As Burt had stated that Bairāt was six *kōs* distant from 'Bhabra' (JASB, 9. 616), the inscription has been styled generally 'the Bhabra edict'. But this name implies a double mistake: the town from which it is derived is not called 'Bhabra', but Bhābrū, and the latter is twelve miles distant from Bairāt, the finding-place of the block.<sup>3</sup> According to Cunningham (*Arch. Reports*, 2. 247), 'the hill on which the inscription was found forms a conspicuous object about one mile to the south-west of the town [of Bairāt]. It is about 200 feet high, and is still known by the name of *Bījak-Pahār* or "inscription hill".' It is covered with ruins which Cunningham (id., p. 248) took to be the remains of two Buddhist monasteries.

'The inscription stone originally lay, I am told, near the shrine of Hanūmān below the rock known as *tōp* or "cannon", on the first or lower platform on the summit of the hill.'<sup>4</sup>

In order to distinguish this inscription from the preceding one (No. III), I propose to call it 'the Calcutta-Bairāt rock-inscription'.

#### V. THE MASKI ROCK-INSCRIPTION (Text, p. 174).

Another, damaged, version of the Rūpnāth, Sahasrām, and Bairāt edicts was discovered on January 27, 1915, by Mr. C. Beadon, a gold-mining engineer, in the

<sup>1</sup> D. R. Bhandarkar, *Progress Report, AS, Western Circle*, 1909-10, p. 45 f. Cf. Cunningham's *Arch. Reports*, 23. 29.

<sup>2</sup> Cunningham's *Arch. Reports*, 6. 98.

<sup>3</sup> See D. R. Bhandarkar, *Progress Report, AS, Western Circle*, 1909-10, p. 45.

<sup>4</sup> D. R. Bhandarkar, loc. cit.



neighbourhood of **Maski**, a village in the Lingsugur tāluka of the Raichur district of the Nizam's Dominions, about forty-six miles west-south-west from Raichur. I am indebted to Rao Bahadur H. Krishna Sastri for the subjoined note on Maski :

'By enquiries made at the place, I gather that the spelling of the village named Maski is different with different communities. The masses of illiterate agriculturists pronounce it Maśgi or Maśigi; the Brahmin classes call it Maski, and the Muham-madans Masgi. A Chālukya inscription of the time of Jagadēkamalla (Śaka 949) calls the place *Rājadhāni piriya-Mosaṅgi*, i.e. "the royal residence of great Mosaṅgi". Another inscription of the same king in the village refers to that quarter as the *Brahmapurī* of *Mosaṅgi*. A later record of the Yādava king Siṅghaṇa of the thirteenth century calls the place again *Rājadhāni piriya-Mosaṅgi*. In two other inscriptions of the place belonging to the reigns of Achyutarāya and Sadāśivarāya, its name is mentioned as *Mosage*, the chief town of *Mosage-nāḍu*.'

To these remarks we may add that **Mosaṅgi**, the ancient form of the name of Maski, suggests its identity with the battle-field of **Muśaṅgi**, where, according to Tamil records, the Chālukya king Jayasimha II was defeated by Rājendra-Chōla I.<sup>1</sup>

A careful transcript and translation of the Maski inscription (with plates) was published by H. Krishna Sastri,<sup>2</sup> who describes the site as follows :

'The cavern in which the inscribed boulder stands is formed of a huge rock resting at various points of its periphery on other smaller ones, some of which are partly buried in the gravelly soil below. The boulder, which is a block of crystalline grey granite of irregular shape, stands at the southern entrance into the cavern, with the writing facing inwards. The surface of the boulder has peeled off at various places, sometimes right up to the depth to which the letters were incised, and measures roughly 8 feet 9 inches by 5 feet' (p. 2).

In the year 1916, the third of the great war, Fleet drew attention to the new inscription in JRAS, 1916. 572 ff.; Senart examined it in detail in JA (11), 7. 425 ff.; and I, having received a copy of Krishna Sastri's article from my friend Konow, re-published the text in ZDMG, 70. 539 ff.

The chief interest of the Maski inscription consists in the fact that the king is here called not only *Dēvānā priya*, but in addition to it **Aśōka**,—a name which was hitherto known only from Buddhist literature and from the *Purāṇas*.

#### VI, VII, VIII. ROCK-INSRIPTIONS IN THE MYSORE STATE (Text, p. 175).

These three records, which resemble the Rūpnāth, Sahasrām, Bairāt, and Maski edicts, but add to them a second edict, were discovered and edited with lithographs by Mr. B. L. Rice in 1892.<sup>3</sup> They were discussed by Senart, who added a transcript and translation of the Brahmagiri version (JA (8), 19. 472 ff.), and by Bühler, who corrected a few details (VOJ, 7. 29 ff.). In 1894 Bühler re-edited the three inscriptions with photo-lithographs prepared from inked estampages (EI, 3. 134 ff.). Transcripts and facsimiles are given also in Rice's *Epigraphia Carnatica*, vol. 11, from which I borrow the following careful description of the localities (Introduction, p. 2 f.):<sup>4</sup>

'The Aśōka inscriptions discovered by me were three in number, situated on hills on the right and left banks of the Janagi-halla or Chinna Haggari river, where it crosses

<sup>1</sup> See *South-Ind. Inscriptions*, 1. 95 f.; EI, 9. 230; Fleet in JRAS, 1916. 574.

<sup>2</sup> *Hyderabad Archaeological Series*, No. 1; *The New Asokan Edict of Maski*, 1915.

<sup>3</sup> *Edicts of Aśōka in Mysore*, nine pages of foolscap, dated Bangalore, February 1892.

<sup>4</sup> See also Fleet's remarks in JRAS, 1909. 997 f.



the Molkālmuru tāluq [of the Chitaldroog distriet of the Mysore State] from west to east. They are all in the neighbourhood of **Siddāpura**,<sup>1</sup> between 14° 47' and 51' north latitude and about 76° 51' east longitude. The best preserved is the **Brahmagiri** inscription, engraved on the top of a great boulder of gneiss, at the north-west base of the hill of that name, at a point called the *Ganjigunṭe-mūle*. The boulder was well known throughout the neighbourhood as the *Akshara-guṇḍu* or "letter-rock", and was supposed to be endued with medicinal virtues. Accordingly, in various ailments of human beings and in diseases of cattle, the stone was washed and the water used for the purpose given to the patient to drink. It was the favourite seat for goatherds in the heat of the day when the flocks were collected into the shade of the surrounding rocks, and for ryots watching the crops in the neighbouring fields. The inscription is cut on the undressed horizontal surface of the rock, which slopes down somewhat at the end of the lines. It consists of thirteen not very regular lines, covering a space of 15' 6" by 11' 6". Half a dozen letters at the beginning of the 6th and 7th lines have been defaced by lodgment of water in a depression in the stone.'

'The second inscription is less than a mile to the west of the first, and close to **Siddāpura**, on a ledge, facing south, some way up a rocky group of hills called *Yenamana Timmayyana guṇḍu* or "the buffalo-herd Timmayya's rocks". It consists of twenty-two lines, covering a space of 13' 6" by 8', and is engraved in lines of varying length on the sloping and peeling horizontal surface of the rock. A great boulder overhangs the inscription on the north, under the eaves of which the lines end, leaving a very small space between the inscribed floor and the rock above. Considerable portions have been defaced, as the shady ledge on which the inscription is cut formed a favourite shelter for goats and cattle.'

'The third inscription is on the western summit of the **Jaṭiṅga-Rāmēśvara** hill, which is some three miles or more north by west of Brahmagiri. The inscription is cut on a very irregular slanting horizontal surface of rock, facing north-east, which has been quarried at some period. Overhanging the inscription on the south is an immense boulder, which still shows the marks of the mason's punches used in splitting off a considerable portion of its northern face. The floor on which the inscription is cut is immediately in front of the stairs leading up to the Jaṭiṅga-Rāmēśvara temple. Consequently all pilgrims to the shrine used to walk right over the inscription, and have no doubt done so for centuries. Moreover, owing to the convenient shadow of the overhanging boulder, the site of the inscription was the favourite resort of the bangle-sellers at the annual festival. Hence the rock is called the *Balegāra-guṇḍu* or "bangle-sellers' rock", and various holes have been punched in different parts of the rock on which the inscription is cut to receive the posts of the booths or tents erected by them at the annual fair. For the foregoing reasons it is not surprising that the inscription is very greatly defaced, so much so indeed that it is difficult to tell exactly where it begins or where it ends. So far as can be made out, it consists of at least twenty-eight lines, covering a space of 17' 6" by 6' 6". There is a guiding line engraved in the margin to the left, apparently to show the direction of the lines, but those above this mark do not seem to have been parallel with those below it.'

From a foot-note<sup>2</sup> we are glad to learn that 'erections have now been put up over this and the other Aśōka inscriptions by the Mysore Government for their protection, and the headman of the village has the keys as custodian'.

<sup>1</sup> According to Krishna Sastri, the actual pronunciation of this name is Śiddāpura.

<sup>2</sup> *Ep. Carn.*, vol. 11, Introduction, p. 2, n. 2.



## IX. THE BARABAR HILL CAVE-INSRIPTIONS (Text, p. 181).

'The Hills called **Barābar** are isolated rocks of syenitic granite rising abruptly from the plain about 15 miles north of the city of **Gayā** in South Bihār. 'Although **Barābar** is that by which the cluster is commonly known, each hill has a name of its own, the highest being called "Barābar", also "Siddhēśvar" from a temple to Mahādēva that once crowned it.'<sup>1</sup>

'All of these possess some Buddhistic remains, but the most interesting are the caves of **Barābar** and **Nāgārjunī**, which were hewn out of the solid rock upwards of two thousand years ago.'<sup>2</sup>

'There are altogether seven caves in these hills, four of which belong to the **Barābar** or **Siddhēśvara** group, and three to the **Nāgārjunī** group.'<sup>3</sup> Each of the three **Nāgārjunī** caves contains an inscription of **Dashalatha Devānāmpīya**, i.e. Aśoka's grandson **Daśaratha**.<sup>4</sup> Among the four **Barābar** caves, three bear an inscription of king **Devānāmpīya**, and one (the so-called 'Lōmaśa Rishi cave') a Vaishṇava inscription of the **Maukhari Anantavarman**, which seems to show that the original name of the **Barābar** Hill was **Pravaragiri**.<sup>5</sup>

According to the second and third **Barābar** inscriptions the name of the **Barābar** Hill was then **Khalatika**. Both the first and second inscriptions of king **Devānāmpīya** and the three **Nāgārjunī** inscriptions of **Daśaratha** specify as donees the monks of the **Ājivika** sect. In three cases an attempt has been made to chisel away the word **Ājivikehi**. This was probably done in the time of the **Maukhari Anantavarman**, who assigned one of the **Barābar** caves to **Kṛishṇa**, and two of the **Nāgārjunī** ones to **Śiva** and **Pārvatī**.<sup>6</sup>

The three **Barābar** inscriptions of king **Devānāmpīya** were first lithographed and discussed by Captain **Kittoe**.<sup>7</sup> They were examined by **Burnouf** (*Lotus*, p. 779 ff.) and edited by **Senart**<sup>8</sup> and, with **Fleet's** facsimiles, by **Bühler** (*IA*, 20. 361 ff.).

## CHAPTER II. THE AUTHOR OF THE INSCRIPTIONS

THE king at whose orders the rock- and pillar-edicts published in the first and second parts of this volume were engraved, gives his name or title in various **Prākṛit** forms of which the Sanskrit would be *Devānāmpriyaḥ Priyadarśī rājā*.<sup>9</sup> This full

<sup>1</sup> Captain **Kittoe** in *JASB*, 16 (1847). 402.

<sup>2</sup> **Cunningham's Arch. Reports**, 1. 40.

<sup>3</sup> *Id.*, p. 44. For the modern names of the single **Barābar** caves and for plans of them see *id.*, plates 18 and 19. Cf. also **Fergusson's History of Indian and Eastern Architecture**, revised by **Burgess and Spiers**, 1. 130 ff.; *Cave Temples of India*, p. 37 ff.; **V. A. Smith's History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon**, p. 20.

<sup>4</sup> For the bibliography of these inscriptions see **Lüders' List of Brāhmī Inscriptions** (*EI*, vol. 10, Appendix), Nos. 954-6.

<sup>5</sup> See **Fleet's Gupta Inscriptions**, p. 222.

<sup>6</sup> See *id.*, Nos. 48-50.

<sup>7</sup> *JASB*, 16. 401 ff., and plate 9, figures 4-6.

<sup>8</sup> *Inscriptions de Piyadasi*, 2. 209 ff., and *IA*, 20. 168 ff.

<sup>9</sup> In a few cases (**Kālsī** rock-edict I, A; **Shāhbāzgarhī** rock-edict II, A; **Delhi-Tōprā** pillar-edict VII, O and X) the word *rājā* is omitted, and once (**Shāhbāzgarhī**, I, A) the word *Priyadarśī*. Cf. **Fleet**, *JRAS*, 1908. 482.



form of his title is shortened into *Dēvānāmpriyaḥ* in section C of the Dhauli and Jaugada rock-edict X, in all texts of the rock-edicts XII and XIII after the opening section, in which the full style is preserved, and in the Delhi-Tōprā pillar-edict VII, RR. In the two separate rock-edicts at Dhauli and Jaugada, in the Queen's pillar-edict, and in the Kauśāmbī pillar-edict, *Dēvānāmpriyaḥ* alone is found.

Among the records published in the third and fourth parts of this volume, the Rummindēi and Nigālī Sāgar pillars exhibit the full form *Dēvānāmpriyaḥ Priyadarśī rājā*. The Maski rock-inscription opens with the genitive case of *Dēvānāmpriya Aśoka*. On the Sārnāth pillar and in the Rūpnāth, Sahasrām, Bairāt, and the three Mysore rock-inscriptions we have only *Dēvānāmpriyaḥ*. On the Sāmchī pillar this word is lost; but the contents of the Sāmchī and Sārnāth pillars are so nearly related to those of the Kauśāmbī edict on the Allahabad-Kōsam pillar, that they can be safely referred to the same royal author. The same applies to the rock-inscriptions at Rūpnāth, &c., which remind us of the rock- and pillar-edicts in many significant details.<sup>1</sup>

There remain the Calcutta-Bairāt rock-inscription and the three Barābar Hill cave-inscriptions. In the former the king styles himself *Priyadarśī rājā*, and in the three others *rājā Priyadarśī*. In the Calcutta-Bairāt record the king shows a strong interest in Buddhism. It would be, therefore, hypercritical not to assign this document to the same sovereign who paid visits to Sāmbōdhi (rock-edict VIII, C), to Lummini (Rummindēi pillar), and to the *Stūpa* of Kōnākamana (Nigālī Sāgar pillar). We cannot, however, decide with certainty whether the three Barābar Hill inscriptions belong to the same king or to another member of his dynasty. In favour of the former alternative it may perhaps be urged that two of the caves on the Barābar Hill were dedicated to the Ājīvikas when the donor had been 'anointed twelve years'. For, this happens to be the regnal year in which the author of the rock- and pillar-edicts commenced to issue 'rescripts on morality'; see the pillar-edict VI, B, and cf. the rock-edict IV, K.

The etymological meaning of the term *Dēvānāmpriya* is 'dear to the gods'. According to Patañjali's *Mahābhāṣya* on Pāṇini, II, 4, 56, and V, 3, 14, this word was used as an honorific like *bhavān*, *dīrghayuh*, and *āyushmān*.<sup>2</sup> Pāṇini himself does not mention *Dēvānāmpriya*, but states that the termination of the genitive case is preserved at the end of the first member of compounds if the meaning is abusive (पञ्चा आक्रोशे, VI, 3, 21). The *Kāśikā* commentary adduces the two examples चोरसकुलं, 'the family of a thief', and वृषलसकुलं, 'the family of a low-caste man'.<sup>3</sup> Kātyāyana affixes to Pāṇini's *Sūtra* five *Vārttikas*, the third of which states that the compound *Dēvānāmpriya* ought to be added. Neither the *Mahābhāṣya* nor the *Kāśikā* have the word मूर्ख, 'with the meaning of "fool"', which the *Siddhāntakaumudī* adds to the *Vārttika*. This secondary meaning of *Dēvānāmpriya* was already known to Patañjali's commentator Kaiyaṭa,<sup>4</sup> while Kātyāyana and Patañjali ignore it, although Patañjali on Pāṇini, II, 4, 56, seems to have used *Dēvānāmpriya* in an ironical sense. In Bāṇa's

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the foot-notes on the translation of the Rūpnāth edict, *passim*, and Bühler, IA, 7, 144 f.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Weber's *Ind. Studien*, 13, 337, n. 1.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. वृषलः पुनः in the *Kāśikā* on the next *Sūtra*. It is worth noting that in the drama *Mudrārākṣha* Chāṇakya uses the term वृषल with reference to Chandragupta.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *Bāṇamanōramā* on Pāṇini, VI, 3, 21. Kaiyaṭa's commentary is not accessible to me.



*Harshacharita* it is found twice as an honorific.<sup>1</sup> In the same way *Devānuppiya* is employed frequently in Jaina literature.<sup>2</sup>

In the *Dīpavaṃsa*, *Devānāmpīya* is prefixed to the name of Aśoka's contemporary, Tissa of Ceylon, and is often used alone to denote him,<sup>3</sup> and in the Nāgārjunī Hill cave-inscriptions it follows the name of Aśoka's grandson **Daśaratha**.<sup>4</sup> In a few of the inscriptions published in this volume it is employed as a synonym of *rājan*, 'a king': In the Kālsī, Shāhbāzgarhī, and Mānsehrā texts of the rock-edict VIII, A, the king's predecessors are called *Devānāmpīyā* and *Devanāmpriya*, while the Gīrnār and Dhauli versions have *rājāno* and *lājāne*; and the word *Devānāmpīye* in the second separate edict at Dhauli (twice in section G and thrice in I) corresponds to *lājā* in the Jaugada text of the same edict (sections H and J).

As stated above (p. xxviii), another epithet of the king to whom the inscriptions published in this volume are due was *Priyadarśin*, 'he who glances amiably'. Both *Piyadassi* and *Piyadassana*, 'of amiable appearance', occur repeatedly in the *Dīpavaṃsa*<sup>5</sup> as equivalents of **Aśoka**, the name of the great **Maurya** king.<sup>6</sup> In the drama *Mudrārākṣasa*,<sup>7</sup> *Piadaṃsaṇa* is prefixed to Chandasiri, i.e. **Chandragupta**, the name of Aśoka's grandfather.

Before discussing Prinsep's identification of the king *Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin* of the inscriptions with the Maurya king Aśoka, it will be advisable to quote from the texts a few details which are of leading importance in this connexion. The opening section of the Calcutta-Bairāt rock-inscription informs us that *Priyadarśin* was a **Magadha** king, i.e. a ruler of Magadha. From the rock-edict V, M, we learn that his capital was **Pāṭaliputra**; for, the words 'both in Pāṭaliputra and in the outlying [towns]' at Gīrnār correspond to 'here and in all the outlying towns' at Kālsī, Shāhbāzgarhī, Mānsehrā, and Dhauli. In the second and thirteenth rock-edicts the king refers to a number of contemporary Yōna, i.e. Greek, kings: the rock-edict II, A, mentions 'the Yōna king **Antiyoka** (*Antiyaka* at Gīrnār, *Antiyoga* at Kālsī and Mānsehrā) and the kings who are the neighbours of this Antiyoka'; and the rock-edict XIII, Q, 'the Yōna king **Antiyoka** (*Antiyoga* at Kālsī and Mānsehrā), and beyond him four kings, viz. **Turamāya** (*Tulamaya* at Kālsī), **Antekina** (*Antikini* at Shāhbāzgarhī), **Makā** (*Magā* at Gīrnār), and **Alikasudara** (*Alikyashudala* at Kālsī)'.

The great decipherer of the old Brāhmī alphabet, James Prinsep, at first ascribed the edicts to *Devānāmpīya Tissa* of Ceylon.<sup>8</sup> This is of course impossible because we know now that the author of the edicts calls himself a king of Magadha, and that he resided at Pāṭaliputra. The discovery of the Nāgārjunī Hill cave-inscriptions of Dashalatha *Devānāmpīya*, whom Prinsep at once identified with **Daśaratha**, the grandson of the Maurya king Aśoka (id., p. 676 ff.), and the fact that Turnour had found *Piyadassi* or *Piyadassana* used as a surname of Aśoka in the *Dīpavaṃsa*, induced Prinsep to abandon his original view, and to identify king *Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin* with Aśoka himself (id., p. 790 ff.). *A limine*, another member of the Maurya dynasty

<sup>1</sup> See Kielhorn in JRAS, 1908. 505.

<sup>2</sup> See Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 111. Hoernle and Pischel derived the word from Skt. *dēva + anupriya*. Hēmachandra (*Abhidhānachintāmaṇi*, III, 17) assigns to *Dēvānāmpriya* the meaning of 'fool'.

<sup>3</sup> See Fleet in JRAS, 1908. 485. <sup>4</sup> IA, 20. 364 f. <sup>5</sup> See the Index to Oldenberg's edition.

<sup>6</sup> Similarly, in the fourth act of the drama *Priyadarśikā*, its heroine is called both *Priyadarśikā* and *Priyadarśanā*.

<sup>7</sup> Hillebrandt's edition, p. 159, lines 1 and 5; cf. his article on the *Kauṭīliyaśāstra* (Breslau, 1908), p. 30.

<sup>8</sup> JASB, 6 (1837). 472 f., 566 f.



might be meant as well ; for, as stated above (p. xxx), the eighth rock-edict shows that the king's predecessors also bore the title *Dēvānāmpriya*, and the *Mudrārākshasa* applies the epithet *Priyadarśana* to Chandragupta. Every such doubt is now set at rest by the discovery of the Maski edict, in which the king calls himself *Dēvānāmpriya Aśōka*.

In February, 1838, Prinsep published the text and a translation of the second rock-edict. He found in the Girnār version of it (l. 3) the words *Antiyako Yona-rājā*, and in the Dhauli version (l. 1) *Antiyoke nāma Yona-lājā*, and identified the Yōna king Antiyaka or Antiyoka with **Antiochus III** of Syria.<sup>1</sup> In March, 1838, he discovered in the Girnār edict XIII (l. 8) the names of *Turamāya*, *Antikona*,<sup>2</sup> and *Magā*, whom he most ingeniously identified with **Ptolemy II** Philadelphus of Egypt, **Antigonus** Gonatas of Macedonia (?), and **Magas** of Cyrene. At the same time he modified his earlier theory, and now referred the name *Antiyoka* to **Antiochus I or II** of Syria, preferably the former (id., p. 224 ff.).

On the Girnār rock the name of a fifth king, who was mentioned after *Magā*, is lost. The Shāhbāzgarhī version calls him *Alikasudara*. Norris recognised that this name corresponds to the Greek *Ἀλέξανδρος*, and suggested hesitatingly that **Alexander of Epirus**, the son of Pyrrhus, might be meant by it.<sup>3</sup> This identification was endorsed by Westergaard,<sup>4</sup> Lassen,<sup>5</sup> and Senart.<sup>6</sup> But Professor Beloch now thinks that **Alexander of Corinth**, the son of Craterus, has a better claim.<sup>7</sup>

As will appear in the sequel, the mention of these five contemporaries in the inscriptions of king *Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin* confirms in a general way the correctness of Prinsep's identification of the latter with Aśōka, the grandson of Chandragupta whose approximate time we know from Greek and Roman records. Antiochus I Soter of Syria reigned 280–261 B.C., his son Antiochus II Theos 261–246, Ptolemy II Philadelphus of Egypt 285–247, Antigonus Gonatas of Macedonia 276–239, Magas of Cyrene c. 300–c. 250, Alexander of Epirus 272–c. 255, and Alexander of Corinth 252–c. 244.<sup>8</sup> The rock-edict XIII cannot be placed earlier than twelve years after Aśōka's *abhishēka*, when he commenced publishing 'rescripts on morality'.<sup>9</sup> If we assume that the rock-edicts are arranged in chronological order, it cannot have been issued earlier than thirteen years after the *abhishēka*, when Aśōka appointed '*Mahāmātras* of morality' as he tells us in edict V. If the Alikasudara of edict XIII is Alexander of Epirus, its date would fall between 272 and 255, and if Alexander of Corinth is meant, between 252 and 250. For fixing the period of Aśōka's reign within narrower limits, we are thrown back on what information can be gathered from Indian and classical literature concerning Aśōka's grandfather Chandragupta.

<sup>1</sup> JASB, 7. 156 ff.

<sup>2</sup> In reality Girnār and Kālsi read *Antekina*, and Shāhbāzgarhī *Antikini*. Bühler (ZDMG, 40. 137) justly remarked that these two forms would rather correspond to Antigenes than to Antigonus. But no king named Antigenes is known to us, although it was the name of one of the officers of Alexander the Great, who was executed, together with Eumenes, in 316 B.C., being then satrap of Susiana.

<sup>3</sup> JRAS, 8 (1846). 305.

<sup>4</sup> *Zwei Abhandlungen*, translated from the Danish into German by Stenzler (Breslau, 1862), p. 120 f.

<sup>5</sup> *Ind. Alt.*, 2 (2nd ed.). 253 ff.

<sup>6</sup> IA, 20. 242.

<sup>7</sup> *Griechische Geschichte*, vol. 3, part 2, p. 105.

<sup>8</sup> The figures of these reigns are taken from Beloch's *Griech. Geschichte*, vol. 3.

<sup>9</sup> See the pillar-edict VI, B, and cf. the rock-edict IV, K.



The historical tradition of India, Ceylon, and Burma is unanimous in naming as the founder of the **Maurya** dynasty **Chandragupta**, and as his two immediate successors **Bindusāra** and **Aśoka**. The pseudo-prophetic account of the *Purāṇas* runs thus :

‘Kauṭilya (or Chāṇakya) will establish king Chandragupta in the kingdom. Chandragupta will be king twenty-four years, Bindusāra twenty-five years, and Aśoka thirty-six years.’<sup>1</sup>

According to the *Dīpavaṃsa*, Chandragupta reigned twenty-four years (V, 73, 100), and Bindusāra’s son Aśoka thirty-seven years (V, 101).<sup>2</sup>

The *Mahāvamsa* states that the Brāhmaṇa Chāṇakya anointed the Maurya Chandragupta (V, 16 f.), and that Chandragupta reigned twenty-four years, his son Bindusāra twenty-eight years (V, 18), and Bindusāra’s son Aśoka (V, 19) thirty-seven years (XX, 6).

Buddhaghōṣa’s *Samantapāsādikā* agrees with the *Mahāvamsa* in allotting twenty-four years to Chandragupta and twenty-eight years to Bindusāra.<sup>3</sup>

The Burmese tradition assigns twenty-four years to Chandragupta and twenty-seven years to Bindusāra.<sup>4</sup>

It will be seen that all sources agree in fixing the length of Chandragupta’s reign at twenty-four years. To Bindusāra the Ceylonese chronicles allot twenty-eight years, Bigandet twenty-seven years, and the *Purāṇas* twenty-five years.

The Ceylonese sources state that Aśoka succeeded his father Bindusāra **214 years** after Buddha’s Nirvāṇa,<sup>5</sup> and that his anointment took place four years after his father’s death, or **218 years** after the Nirvāṇa.<sup>6</sup> The Burmese tradition confirms the two dates 214 and 218.<sup>7</sup>

As, according to the Ceylonese sources, Bindusāra ruled twenty-eight years and Chandragupta twenty-four years, the former would have reigned A.B. 186–214, and the latter A.B. 162–186.<sup>8</sup> If we deduct the year of Chandragupta’s accession to the throne (162) from the traditional date of the Nirvāṇa, 544 B.C., the result is 382 B.C. This would be about sixty years earlier than the actual accession of Chandragupta as ascertained from Greek sources. For, luckily, the approximate time of king Chandragupta of Pāṭaliputra has been already settled by one of the great pioneers of Indian research, Sir William Jones,<sup>9</sup> who identified him with Σανδράκοττος of Παλιβοθρα, the contemporary of Seleucus Nikator.

Various devices were proposed in order to account for this chronological error, until Fleet showed that the Buddha-varsha of 544 B.C. is a comparatively modern fabrication, of the twelfth century, and that the difference of about sixty years is the quite natural

<sup>1</sup> See Pargiter’s *Dynasties of the Kali Age* (Oxford, 1913), p. 28.

<sup>2</sup> The length of Bindusāra’s reign is not specified in the *Dīpavaṃsa*; but the period of twenty-eight years is deducible from statements made in chapter XI, verses 5, 12, 13, about king Muṭasīva of Ceylon. See Fleet in JRAS, 1908. 481, and 1909. 25.

<sup>3</sup> *Vinaya-piṭaka*, ed. by Oldenberg, 3. 321.

<sup>4</sup> Bigandet’s *Life or Legend of Gaudama*, 4th ed., 2. 128.

<sup>5</sup> *Dīpavaṃsa*, VI, 20 f.

<sup>6</sup> *Dīpavaṃsa*, VI, 1, 21 f.; *Mahāvamsa*, V, 21 f.; *Samantapāsādikā*, p. 299.

<sup>7</sup> Bigandet’s *Life of Gaudama*, 2. 128 f.

<sup>8</sup> According to Bigandet’s *Life of Gaudama*, 2. 128, Chandragupta reigned A.B. 163–187, and Bindusāra 187–214. If, as the *Purāṇas* assert, Bindusāra reigned only twenty-five years, he would have succeeded Chandragupta in A.B. 189.

<sup>9</sup> In his *Anniversary Discourse*, delivered February 28, 1793, and published in 1795 in the *Asiatic Researches*, vol. 4. The passage is reprinted in his *Works* (London, 1799), I. 152 f., and in the *Centenary Review of the ASB*, part 2, p. 85 f.



result of accumulated mistakes which were made in rounding off the figures of the regnal years of the kings of Ceylon.<sup>1</sup>

While thus the alleged date of the Nirvāṇa in 544 B.C., and that of Chandragupta's accession in 382 B.C., have no practical value, the traditional interval of 218 years between the Nirvāṇa and Aśoka's *abhishēka* might still be considered authentic. There are, however, two facts which in my opinion render it somewhat suspicious. It includes a period of 100 years between the Nirvāṇa and the Second Council.<sup>2</sup> Such a nice round sum as just 100 years looks very much like a clumsy guess and a pure invention.<sup>3</sup> Secondly, the traditional figures of the Northern Buddhists are almost totally at variance with those of the Southern Buddhists.<sup>4</sup>

The leading passage concerning Chandragupta's date is found in Justin's *Epitoma Pompei Trogi*, XV, 4:<sup>5</sup>

'[Seleucus] multa in Oriente post divisionem inter socios regni Macedonici bella gessit. Principio Babyloniam cepit; inde auctis ex victoria viribus Bactrianos expugnavit. Transitum deinde in Indiam fecit, quae post mortem Alexandri, veluti a cervicibus iugo servitutis excusso, praefectos eius occiderat. Auctor libertatis Sandrocottus fuerat, sed titulum libertatis post victoriam in servitutem verterat; siquidem occupato regno populum, quem ab externa dominatione vindicaverat, ipse servitio premebat. Fuit hic humili quidem genere natus, sed ad regni potestatem maiestate numinis impulsus. Quippe cum procacitate sua Nandrum regem offendisset, interfici a rege iussus salutem pedum celeritate quaesierat. Ex qua fatigatione cum somno captus iaceret, leo ingentis formae ad dormientem accessit sudoremque profluentem lingua ei detersit expergefatumque blande reliquit. Hoc prodigio primum ad spem regni impulsus contractis latronibus Indos ad novitatem regni sollicitavit. Molienti deinde bellum adversus praefectos Alexandri elephantus ferus infinitae magnitudinis ultro se obtulit et veluti domita mansuetudine eum tergo excepit duxque belli et proeliorum insignis fuit. Sic adquisito regno Sandrocottus ea tempestate, qua Seleucus futurae magnitudinis fundamenta iaciebat, Indiam possidebat, cum quo facta pactione Seleucus conpositisque in Oriente rebus in bellum Antigoni descendit.'

McCordle translates this as follows:<sup>6</sup>

'[Seleucus] waged many wars in the East after the partition of Alexander's empire among his generals. He first took Babylonia, and then with his forces augmented by victory subjugated the Bactrians. He then passed over into India, which after Alexander's death, as if the yoke of servitude had been shaken off from its neck, had put his prefects to death. Sandrocottus had been the leader who achieved their freedom, but after his victory he had forfeited by his tyranny all title to the name of liberator; for, having ascended the throne, he oppressed with servitude the very people whom he had emancipated from foreign thralldom. He was born in humble

<sup>1</sup> JRAS, 1909. 333, 335.

<sup>2</sup> *Vinaya-piṭaka*, *Chullavagga*, beginning of last chapter (XII); *Dīpavaṃsa*, IV, 47, and V, 15 f.; *Mahāvaṃsa*, IV, 8; *Samantapāsādikā*, p. 293.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Rhys Davids and Oldenberg in SBE, 13. xxii: 'This is no doubt a round number; and the exact year of the date of the Buddha's death is open to question.'

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Geiger's translation of the *Mahāvaṃsa*, p. lx f., where the figures of the Northern Buddhists are specified, and Westergaard's *Zwei Abhandlungen*, p. 94 ff.

<sup>5</sup> Ruehl's edition (Leipzig, 1886), p. 119.

<sup>6</sup> *The Invasion of India by Alexander the Great* (Westminster, 1893), p. 327 f.



life,<sup>1</sup> but was prompted to aspire to royalty by an omen significant of an august destiny. For when by his insolent behaviour he had offended king Nandrus,<sup>2</sup> and was ordered by that king to be put to death, he had sought safety by a speedy flight. When he lay down overcome with fatigue and had fallen into a deep sleep, a lion of enormous size approaching the slumberer licked with its tongue the sweat which oozed profusely from his body, and when he awoke quietly took its departure. It was this prodigy which first inspired him with the hope of winning the throne, and so, having collected a band of robbers, he instigated the Indians to overthrow the existing government. When he was thereafter preparing to attack Alexander's prefects, a wild elephant of monstrous size approached him, and kneeling submissively like a tame elephant received him on to its back and fought vigorously in front of the army. Sandrocottus having thus won the throne was reigning over India when Seleucus was laying the foundations of his future greatness. Seleucus, having made a treaty with him and otherwise settled his affairs in the East, returned home to prosecute the war with Antigonus.'

The same transactions are referred to in Appian's *Ῥωμαϊκά*, book *Συριακή*, chapter 55:<sup>3</sup>

[Σέλευκος] τὸν Ἰνδὸν περάσας ἐπολέμησεν Ἀνδροκόττῳ βασιλεῖ τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν Ἰνδῶν, μέχρι φιλίαν αὐτῷ καὶ κῆδος συνέθετο.

'[Seleucus] crossed the Indus and waged war on Androcottus, king of the Indians who dwelt about it, until he made friends and entered into relations of marriage with him.'<sup>4</sup>

According to Strabo, Seleucus ceded to Sandrocottus a tract of land to the west of the Indus, entering into a matrimonial alliance with him and receiving in exchange five hundred elephants.<sup>5</sup> We know from various sources that Megasthenes became the ambassador of Seleucus at Chandragupta's court.<sup>6</sup> Strabo adds that Deimachus was sent on an embassy to Chandragupta's son, whom he calls Amitrochades:<sup>7</sup>

Ἐπέμφθησαν μὲν γὰρ εἰς τὰ Παλίμβοθρα, ὃ μὲν Μεγασθένης πρὸς Σανδρόκοττον, ὃ δὲ Δημάχος πρὸς Ἀλλιτροχάδην<sup>8</sup> τὸν ἐκείνου υἱὸν κατὰ πρεσβείαν· ὑπομνήματα δὲ τῆς ἀποδημίας κατέλιπον τοιαῦτα.

'Megasthenes and Deimachus were sent on an embassy, the former to Sandrocottus at Palimbothra, the other to Amitrochades his son; and they left accounts of their sojourn in the country'.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>1</sup> According to the *Mudrārākshasa*, Chandragupta was a Vṛishala, i.e. a member of the Śūdra caste; see above, p. xxix, n. 3.

<sup>2</sup> This 'Nandrus' must be the last king of the Nanda dynasty which, according to Indian tradition, was overthrown by Chandragupta; see A. von Gutschmid, *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie, Neue Folge*, 12 (1857), 262. Instead of the accusative 'Nandrum' the older editions read 'Alexandrum'; cf. Lassen's *Ind. Alt.*, 2 (sec. ed.), p. 207, n. 3. The original reading might have been 'Nandum'.

<sup>3</sup> Mendelssohn's edition (Leipzig, 1879), 1. 426.

<sup>4</sup> McCrindle's translation, *IA*, 6. 114.

<sup>5</sup> Lassen, *Ind. Alt.*, 2 (sec. ed.), 217 f.; V. A. Smith, *Early History of India*, p. 132 f.; Krom, *Hermes*, 44. 154 ff.

<sup>6</sup> Schwanbeck, *Megasthenis Indica* (Bonn, 1846), p. 19; C. Müller, *Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum*, 2 (Paris, 1848), 398; McCrindle, *IA*, 6. 115.

<sup>7</sup> *Geographica*, ed. Müller et Dübner, II, 1, 9 (p. 58 f.).

<sup>8</sup> The subsequent quotation from Athenaeus shows that this is a clerical mistake for Ἀμιτροχάδην or Ἀμιτροχάτην.

<sup>9</sup> McCrindle's translation, *IA*, 6. 115.



It may be concluded from this interesting notice that Chandragupta's son and successor Bindusāra had the surname **Amitraghāta**,<sup>1</sup> i.e. 'the slayer of enemies'. The same king is referred to as a contemporary of **Antiochus** (I Soter of Syria) in a curious anecdote preserved by Athenaeus:<sup>2</sup>

Οὕτω δὲ ἦσαν περισπούδαστοι πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις αἱ ἰσχάδες . . . . ὥς καὶ Ἀμιτροχάτην τὸν τῶν Ἰνδῶν βασιλέα γράψαι Ἀντίοχῳ ἀξιούντα, φησὶν Ἡγήσανδρος, πέμψαι αὐτῷ γλυκὺν καὶ ἰσχάδας καὶ σοφιστὴν ἀγοράσαντα. καὶ τὸν Ἀντίοχον ἀντιγράψαι· ἰσχάδας μὲν καὶ γλυκὺν ἀποστελοῦμέν σοι, σοφιστὴν δ' ἐν Ἑλλήσιν οὐ νόμιμον πωλεῖσθαι.

'Dried figs were so eagerly desired by all men . . . . that even Amitrochates, the king of the Indians, wrote to Antiochus asking him, says Hegesander, to purchase and send him sweet wine, dried figs, and a sophist; and that Antiochus wrote back: "We shall send you dried figs and sweet wine; but it is not lawful in Greece to sell a sophist."'

If this statement of Athenaeus is combined with the preceding one of Strabo, it appears that the friendly intercourse which had existed between Seleucus and Chandragupta, was continued by their respective sons and successors, Antiochus I and Bindusāra-Amitraghāta, and that Megasthenes, the ambassador of Seleucus at the court of Chandragupta, was succeeded by Deimachus, the ambassador of Antiochus I at the court of Bindusāra-Amitraghāta. From Pliny<sup>3</sup> we learn that another Greek potentate, Ptolemy II Philadelphus of Egypt (B.C. 285-247), sent **Dionysius** as ambassador to an unnamed Indian king, who may be supposed to have been either Bindusāra or Aśōka.<sup>4</sup>

I now return to the question of Chandragupta's date. Seleucus I Nikator of Syria (B.C. 312-280) 'arrived in Cappadocia in the autumn of 302 [the year preceding the battle of Ipsus]. The march thither from India must have required at least two summers. Consequently, the peace with Chandragupta has to be placed about the summer of 304, or at the latest in the next winter.'<sup>5</sup> Thus the coronation of Chandragupta falls between B.C. 323 (Alexander's death) and 304 (the treaty with Seleucus). As the consolidation of an empire which, as described by Megasthenes in his *Ἰνδικά*, reached from Paṭnā to the Indus, must have been a matter of many years, I feel inclined to shift the date of Chandragupta's accession towards the earlier limit and to adopt as a working date the year B.C. 320 which Fleet has proposed.<sup>6</sup> With this starting-point, and if the length of reigns as given in the *Mahāvamsa* is accepted, **Chandragupta** would have ruled 320-296, and **Bindusāra** 296-268. **Aśōka** would have been crowned (four years after his father's death) in B.C. 264. This date is confirmed approximately by Aśōka's thirteenth rock-edict, which, as stated above (p. xxxi), cannot be placed earlier than twelve or thirteen years after his *abhishēka*. 264-12/13 = 252/251 would be one or two years before the last possible year (B.C. 250) in which all the Greek kings mentioned in that edict were still alive. This synchronism would prove that the date of Chandragupta's coronation, on which that of Aśōka's coronation depends, can hardly be placed later than B.C. 320. It would follow further that the *Antiyoka* of edict XIII (and probably also of rock-edict II) was not Antiochus I, but

<sup>1</sup> See P. von Bohlen, *das alte Indien* (Königsberg, 1830), I. 92. The word *amitrāghāta* is mentioned by Patañjali on Pāṇini, III, 2, 87; cf. JRAS, 1909. 425.

<sup>2</sup> *Δειπνοσοφισταί*, ed. Kaibel (Leipzig, 1890), XIV, 67 (vol. 3, p. 444).

<sup>3</sup> *Naturalis historia*, ed. Mayhoff, VI, 17 (vol. 1, Leipzig, 1906, p. 454 f.).

<sup>4</sup> As stated above (p. xxxi), Ptolemy II is mentioned in Aśōka's rock-edicts.

<sup>5</sup> Beloch's *Griechische Geschichte*, vol. 3, part 1, p. 146, n. 3.

<sup>6</sup> JRAS, 1906. 985.



**Antiochus II** (261–246), and that the *Alīkasudara* of edict XIII was not Alexander of Epirus, but **Alexander of Corinth** (252–c. 244). But we must remember that the above figures rest only on the Ceylonese tradition, while the *Purāṇas* assign to Bindusāra twenty-five instead of twenty-eight years, and that, accordingly, Chandragupta's coronation might fall about three years later than B.C. 320. Besides, it must be kept in mind that the upper limit of Chandragupta's coronation is the death of Alexander the Great in B.C. 323. The working date of B.C. 320 has the advantage of being the mean of the two outside dates 323 and 317.

I now append a list of the regnal dates which are incidentally mentioned in Aśoka's inscriptions, adding in brackets the year B.C. to which each year of his reign may be supposed to correspond.

1. **Eight years** after the coronation (B.C. 256). The king conquered (the country of) the Kalingas; rock-edict XIII.
2. **Ten years** after the coronation (B.C. 254). He went (on a visit) to Sāmbōdhi (i.e. Bōdh-Gayā); rock-edict VIII.
3. **Twelve years** after the coronation (B.C. 252):
  - (1) He ordered his officers to set out on a complete tour (throughout their charges) every five years; rock-edict III.
  - (2) He promoted morality by public shows of edifying subjects; rock-edict IV.
  - (3) He published rescripts on morality; pillar-edict VI.
  - (4) He gave two caves to the Ājīvikas; two of the Barābar Hill cave-inscriptions.
4. **Thirteen years** after the coronation (B.C. 251). He appointed superintendents of morality; rock-edict V.
5. **Fourteen years** after the coronation (B.C. 250). He enlarged the *Stūpa* of Kōṇākamana to the double (of its size); *Nigāli Sāgar* pillar.
6. **Nineteen years** after the coronation (B.C. 245). He gave a cave (to the Ājīvikas); the third Barābar Hill cave-inscription.
7. **Twenty years** after the coronation (B.C. 244). He visited the Buddha's birth-place at Lūmmini and the *Stūpa* of Kōṇākamana; *Rummindēi* and *Nigāli Sāgar* pillars.
8. **Twenty-six years** after the coronation (B.C. 238). He issued the pillar-edicts I, IV, V, VI.
9. **Twenty-seven years** after the coronation (B.C. 237). He issued the Delhi-Tōprā pillar-edict VII.

## CHAPTER III.

### ASOKA'S EMPIRE AND ITS ADMINISTRATION

In the preceding chapter it was shown that the king *Devānāmpriya Priyadarśin* of the inscriptions can be no other than the Maurya king Aśoka of Magadha. It will appear from the two next chapters (IV and V) that his edicts are not concerned with public affairs, but are of an almost purely religious character. In spite of this we may glean from them some details of historical importance which are mentioned incidentally.

The extent of Aśoka's empire may be guessed already from the distribution of his rock-edicts, which it seems were engraved along the very confines of his territories. In the west they are found at Gīrnār on the Kāṭhiāvār peninsula and at Sōpārā on the



Bombay coast; in the south in the Raichur district of the Nizam's Dominions and in the Chitaldroog district of the Mysore State; and in the east at Dhauli and Jaugaḍa in the Purī and Ganjām districts. The north-eastern boundary line is marked by the rock-edicts at Shāhbāzgarhī and Mānsehrā in the Peshāvar and Hazāra districts and at Kālsī in the Dehra Dūn district, and it is continued by the Nigālī Sāgar and Rummindēi pillars in the Nepalese Tarāī and by the Rāmpurvā pillar in the Champāraṇ district.

The capital of this vast empire was **Pāṭaliputra**, which, as stated above (p. xxx), is mentioned as such in the fifth rock-edict. The two syllables *Pāṭa*, which are preserved at the beginning of the third line of the Sarnāth pillar-inscription, are probably the remainder of the same name. Both the *Dīpavaṃsa* (V, 25, &c.) and the *Mahāvamsa* (V, 22) are aware of the fact that Pāṭaliputra was Aśōka's capital. From the *Mudrārākṣhaśa* and from classical authors we learn that it had been already the residence of his grandfather **Chandragupta**. As I have stated before (p. xxxii), we owe to Sir William Jones the identification of Pāṭaliputra with the Παλίβοθρα or Παλίμθορα of the Greeks. Megasthenes, who represented Seleucus at Chandragupta's court, described it as a very large city:<sup>1</sup>

Καὶ λέγει Μεγασθένης, μήκος μὲν ἐπέχειν τὴν πόλιν κατ' ἐκατέρην τὴν πλευρὴν ἵνα περ μακροτάτῃ αὐτῇ ἐωντῆς ᾗκισται ἐς ὀγδοήκοντα σταδίου, τὸ δὲ πλάτος ἐς πεντεκαίδεκα· τάφρον δὲ περιβεβλησθαι τῇ πόλει τὸ εὖρος ἐξάπλεθρον, τὸ δὲ βάθος τριήκοντα πήχεων· πύργους δὲ ἐβδομήκοντα καὶ πεντακοσίους ἔχειν τὸ τεῖχος καὶ πύλας τέσσαρας καὶ ἐξήκοντα.

'Megasthenes informs us that this city stretched in the inhabited quarters to an extreme length on each side of eighty stadia, and that its breadth was fifteen stadia, and that a ditch encompassed it all round which was six hundred feet in breadth and thirty cubits in depth, and that the wall was crowned with 570 towers and had four-and-sixty gates.'<sup>2</sup>

The identity of Pāṭaliputra with the modern **Patnā** is well known to the Hindūs.<sup>3</sup> The capital belonged to the ancient province of **Magadha**,<sup>4</sup> which is now called South Bihār. In accordance with this, Aśōka styles himself *Māgadha*, i.e. king of Magadha, at the commencement of the Calcutta-Bairāt rock-inscription. In the rock-edict VIII, C, he refers to his visit to another locality which was included in the province of Magadha.<sup>5</sup> This is **Sambōdhi**, now **Bōdh-Gayā** to the south of Patnā.

The Kauśāmbī edict on the Allahabad-Kōsam pillar mentions **Kōsambī** (*Kauśāmbī* in Sanskrit), which is the modern **Kōsam** (see above, p. xx) to the west of the Magadha province. From the fact that Aśōka addressed the Kauśāmbī edict to his *Mahāmātras* at Kōsambī, it may be concluded that in his time, just as in later times,<sup>6</sup> Kauśāmbī was the head-quarters of a province.

Two other chief towns of provinces are referred to in the Dhauli separate edict I, AA and BB, viz., **Ujjēnī** (*Ujjayinī*) and **Takkhasilā** (*Takṣaśilā*). Aśōka's governor of the former was a royal prince (*kumāra*). In Buddhist tradition Aśōka himself is stated to have held the appointment of viceroy at Ujjayinī in the life-time of his father Bindusāra.<sup>7</sup> Ujjayinī, the capital of Avanti, and the 'Οζήνη of the *Periplus* and of Ptolemy, is the modern **Ujjain** in the Gwalior State. Takṣaśilā, the Τάξιλα of the

<sup>1</sup> Arrian's *Ἰνδική*, ed. by Eberhard in *Arriani Scripta Minora* (Leipzig, 1885), X, 6 f. (p. 13).

<sup>2</sup> McCrindle's translation, IA, 6. 131.

<sup>3</sup> Wilson's *Theatre of the Hindus*, 3rd ed., 2. 136.

<sup>4</sup> BRWW, 2. 82 ff.; Cunningham's *Ancient Geography of India*, p. 452 ff.

<sup>5</sup> BRWW, 2. 115.

<sup>6</sup> BRWW, 1. 235 ff.; EI, 11. 141.

<sup>7</sup> *Dīpavaṃsa*, VI, 15; *Mahāvamsa*, V, 39, and XIII, 8.

western?



Greeks, was identified by Cunningham with **Shāhdhōrī** in the Rāvalpindī district, Panjāb.<sup>1</sup>

From the commencement of the Brahmagiri and Śiddāpura rock-inscriptions we learn that the head-quarters of Aśoka's southernmost province was a place of the name **Suvarṇagiri**, and that his representative there, just as at Ujjayinī, was a royal prince (*āryaputra*). Brahmagiri and Śiddāpura belonged to the district of **Isila**, which was subordinate to the viceroy at Suvarṇagiri. Isila may have been the ancient name of Śiddāpura. Suvarṇagiri is perhaps identical with its synonym **Kanakagiri** in the Nizam's Dominions, south of Maski where an edict of Aśoka has been found, and north of the ruins of Vijayanagara in the Bellary district of the Madras Presidency.<sup>2</sup>

At the beginning of the rock-edict XIII, Aśoka informs us that, when he had been anointed eight years, he conquered the country of **Kaliṅga**<sup>3</sup> on the eastern coast. To this province we have to allot Dhauli and Jaugaḍa in the Purī and Ganjām districts, where copies of the rock-edicts I-X and XIV and of two separate edicts are found. The two separate edicts at Dhauli were addressed to the *Mahāmātras* at **Tōsalī**, who were headed by a royal prince (*kumāra*, sep. ed. II, A). The head-quarters of the district to which the modern Jaugaḍa belonged was called **Samāpā**,<sup>4</sup> and the Jaugaḍa rock had then the name **Khēpiṅgala**.<sup>5</sup>

The second and third cave-inscriptions on the Barābar Hill give the ancient name of this hill as **Khalatika**. The Rumindēi pillar has preserved the designation of the site of Buddha's birth, viz. **Lummini**, or, as it is called in Buddhist works, **Lumbinī**.

All the geographical names enumerated so far must have been included in Aśoka's empire. Besides them, the king refers to tribes outside his territories, whom he calls his 'borderers' (*anta*).<sup>6</sup> Several of these are mentioned by name. According to the rock-edict V, J, his western borderers were 'the **Yōnas**, **Kambōjas**, and **Gandhāras**, the **Rāṭhikas** (*Riṣṭika*, which is probably a clerical mistake for *Rāṣṭika*, at Gīrnār) and **Pitīnikas** (also spelt *Pitēnika* or *Pētēnika*).<sup>7</sup> As I shall show below (p. xxxix), the Yōnas seem to have formed a small state on the north-west frontier, which was ruled over by a Greek prince. The Kambōjas have to be placed in Kābul.<sup>8</sup> Gandhāra is now included in the North-West Frontier Province; at the time of the *Si-yu-ki*, its capital was **Purushapura**, now **Peshāvar**.<sup>9</sup> The Rāṭhikas or Rāṣṭikas (= *Rāṣṭrika* in Sanskrit) are perhaps the people of Kāthiāwār, whose governor bore the title of *Rāṣṭriya*.<sup>9</sup> The Pitīnikas or Pitēnikas<sup>10</sup> have not yet been localized.

<sup>1</sup> *Arch. Reports*, 2, 116, and *Ancient Geography*, p. 111.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Text, p. 177, n. 5.

<sup>3</sup> In a passage which is based on Megasthenes, Pliny (VI, 19) mentions the 'island' of *Modogalinga*, i.e. 'the three Kaliṅgas' (from Telugu *mūḍu*, 'three', + *Kaliṅga*); see IA, 6, 338, and Caldwell's *Comparative Grammar*, Introduction, p. 32 f. In another place (VI, 17) he refers to the Mactocalingae or Maccocalingae as a tribe of Brāhmaṇas. Maccocalinga is probably a corruption of *Mukkaliṅga*, which would be the Tamil form of the Telugu *Mūḍugaliṅga*. For instances of the synonymous Sanskrit expression *Trikaliṅga* see Kielhorn's *List of Northern Inscriptions* (EI, vol. 5, Appendix), p. 117, s. v. The earliest king of Kaliṅga, of whom inscriptions have been preserved, is Khāravēla; see Lüders' *List of Brāhmī Inscriptions* (EI, vol. 10, Appendix), p. 160 f.

<sup>4</sup> See the Jaugaḍa separate edict I, B, and II, B.

<sup>5</sup> See the Jaugaḍa rock-edict I, A.

<sup>6</sup> See Rūpnāth, Sahasrām, and Bairāt, H; Brahmagiri and Śiddāpura, I.

<sup>7</sup> See Text, p. 10, n. 1.

<sup>8</sup> See Beal's BRWW, 1, 97. The Gandhāris are mentioned already in the *Rigveda*, and Gandāra in the inscriptions of Darius; cf. Zimmer's *Altind. Leben*, p. 30 f.

<sup>9</sup> See the Junāgarh inscription of Rudradāman, EI, 8, 46, n. 7. For other proposed identifications of the word *Rāṣṭrika* see Text, p. 56, n. 21.

<sup>10</sup> The identification of Pitēnika with Pratishṭhāna is phonetically impossible; see Bühler, ZDMG, 37, 262.



According to the rock-edict XIII, Q, Aśoka's borderers to the south were 'the Chōḍas and Pāṇḍyas, as far as Tāmraparṇī.' The two former are the two well-known principal dynasties of the Tamiḷ country, and Tāmraparṇī is one of the ancient names of the island of Ceylon.<sup>1</sup> The Chōḍas or Chōḷas (*Śōḷa* in Tamiḷ) were known to Ptolemy,<sup>2</sup> the Pāṇḍya king (*Πανδύων*) to the author of the *Periplus* as well, and Tāmraparṇī (*Ταμροβάρνη*) already to Megasthenes. The rock-edict II, A, inserts between the Pāṇḍyas and Tāmraparṇī two other borderers, viz. Satiyaputra (*Sātiyaputa* at Kālsī) and Kēralaputra. The former has not yet been identified successfully.<sup>3</sup> The latter is the king of Kērala or Malabar, who is called *Κηρόβορπος* in the *Periplus*<sup>4</sup> and *Κηρόβορπος* by Ptolemy.<sup>5</sup>

The two sections in which the Chōḍas, the Pāṇḍyas, and Tāmraparṇī are referred to (II, A, and XIII, Q), mention, along with them, as Aśoka's borderers, the Yōna king Antiyoka and his four neighbours.<sup>6</sup> The next section of the rock-edict XIII (R) distinguishes from them some tribes 'here in the king's territory' (*iha rāja-vishayē*), viz. 'the Yōnas and Kambōjas, the Nābhakas and Nābhapaṅktis (*Nabhiti* at Shāhbāzgarhī), the Bhōjas and Pitinikas (*Pitinikya* at Kālsī), the Andhras and Pārindas.' The words 'here in the king's territory' distinctly keep the Yōnas of section R apart from the Yōna kings of section Q. Both here and in the rock-edict V, J, they are associated with the Kambōjas and Pitinikas, and in the second place all three of them are stated to have belonged to Aśoka's western borderers. Consequently, these Yōnas seem to have formed a small state on the north-west frontier, which was ruled over by a Greek prince;<sup>7</sup> and the Bhōjas, who are coupled with the Pitinikas in the rock-edict XIII, R, will have to be looked for in the west as well. Perhaps they have to be connected with those Bhōjas whose king (*Bhōjādhirāja*) is mentioned by Kalhaṇa as a contemporary of Śaṅkaravarman of Kaśmīr.<sup>8</sup> Andhra is the old name of the Telugu people on the eastern coast, and also the designation of an ancient dynasty which ruled over a considerable part of the Deccan after the decline of the Maurya empire.<sup>9</sup> Pliny, who borrowed his information from Megasthenes, mentions the *Andaræ*, i.e. the Andhras, as a great and powerful race.<sup>10</sup> As the rock-edict XIII, R, couples the Andhras with the Pārindas, these too must have been an eastern tribe.<sup>11</sup> The Nābhakas and Nābhapaṅktis may have to be placed at the Nepalese frontier of Aśoka's empire.<sup>12</sup>

From the preceding list of geographical names we may derive some information about the scheme of Aśoka's administration. Three of the provinces of his empire were

<sup>1</sup> See Text, p. 3, n. 10.

<sup>2</sup> See Caldwell's *Comparative Grammar*, Introduction, p. 95 f.

<sup>3</sup> See Text, p. 3, n. 7.

<sup>4</sup> ed. Fabricius (Leipzig, 1883), § 54 (p. 94).

<sup>5</sup> See Text, p. 3, n. 8, and cf. Bühler, ZDMG, 37. 99.

<sup>6</sup> See above, p. xxx f.

<sup>7</sup> Lassen (*Ind. Alt.*, 2 (sec. ed.). 256) identified them with the inhabitants of the tract of land to the west of the Indus which Seleucus is reported to have ceded to Aśoka's grandfather Chandragupta; see above, p. xxxiv.

<sup>8</sup> *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*, V, verse 151; cf. EI, I. 155. Sir R. Bhandarkar (*Early History of the Dekkan*, sec. ed., p. 11) compares the title *Mahābhōja* in the cave-inscriptions. See also Bühler, ZDMG, 37. 100, and Senart, EI, 7. 50.

<sup>9</sup> See Rapson's *Coins of the Andhra Dynasty*, &c., Introduction, p. xv ff.

<sup>10</sup> See IA, 6. 339.

<sup>11</sup> The variant at Kālsī, *Pālada*, might be the same as the Sanskrit *Pārada*, but the Pāradas were probably a people in Gedrosia; see Lassen's *Ind. Alt.*, I (sec. ed.). 1028.

<sup>12</sup> According to Fa-hian, the mythical Buddha Krakuchchhanda was believed to have been born at Na-pi-ka near Kapilavāstu; see BRWW, I. xlviii. The *Brahmapurāṇa* (Aufrecht's Oxford Catalogue, p. 19 b) assigns Nābhikapura to the territory of the Uttara-Kurus; see Bühler, ZDMG, 40. 138.

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entrusted to royal princes (*kumāra* or *āryaputra*), viz. Ujjayinī, Tōsalī, and Suvarṇagiri (above, p. xxxvii f.). The two *Kumāras* were probably sons of the king himself, and the *Āryaputra* perhaps some other relative of his. The rock-edict V, M, refers to the harems of his brothers, sisters, and other relatives, 'both in Pāṭaliputra and in all the outlying towns', showing thereby that the tradition according to which he had killed all his brothers but one before ascending the throne<sup>1</sup> is opposed to facts. His sons and 'other queens' sons' are mentioned also in the Delhi-Tōprā pillar-edict VII, DD, and his queens in section CC of the same edict. From the Queen's edict on the Allahabad-Kōsam pillar we learn that his second queen had the name **Kāluvākī** and was the mother of **Tivala**.

Another provincial governor was perhaps the **Yavana** king **Tushāsp** who was governing Gīrnār in the time of the **Maurya Aśōka**.<sup>2</sup> Each provincial governor was assisted by a body of high officers named *Mahāmātra*,<sup>3</sup> or, as they seem to be called in one place, *Prādeśika*.<sup>4</sup> Other *Mahāmātras* were placed in charge of the districts which were included in each province. Thus the *Mahāmātras* at **Isila** were subordinate to the prince and the *Mahāmātras* at **Suvarṇagiri**.<sup>5</sup> In two places<sup>6</sup> we hear of a council (*parishad*) of the *Mahāmātras* or 'ministers', which was responsible only to the king and received its orders directly from him. The Kauśāmbī edict was addressed to the *Mahāmātras* at **Kōsambī**, the Sārnāth edict perhaps to those at **Pāṭa**[liputra], and the Queen's edict to 'the *Mahāmātras* everywhere', i.e. to those of all districts. The technical term *āhāla* (= *āhāra* in Sanskrit), 'a district', occurs in the Rūpnāth edict, L, and in the Sārnāth edict, I, where it is opposed to the 'territories surrounding forts' (*kōṭṭa-vishaya* in section J), i.e., apparently, tracts which were not yet fully pacified, but were held by military posts, such as the 'forests' (*aṭavi*) mentioned in the rock-edict XIII, M. The *Mahāmātras* at **Tōsalī** and **Samāpā** were exercising judicial functions in the city (*nagara-vyavahāraka* or *nāgaraka*).<sup>7</sup> At the same time they had the control of the king's borderers who were yet unconquered,<sup>8</sup> i.e. they were what is called in the first pillar-edict (section F) *Anta-mahāmātras* or 'superintendents of the borderers'. A new class of *Mahāmātras* was created by Aśōka when he had been anointed thirteen years, viz. the *Dharma-mahāmātras* or 'superintendents of morality',<sup>9</sup> whom he employed for converting his subjects to his moral creed. Other special *Mahāmātras* had to supervise Buddhists, Brāhmaṇas and Ājīvikas, Nirgranthas, and other sects.<sup>10</sup> Even the control of women was entrusted to separate officers (*stry-adhyaksha-mahāmātra*, rock-edict XII, M). In Buddhist literature the word *Mahāmātra* is frequently used in the sense of 'a minister'. In Aśōka's edicts it has evidently a wider meaning.<sup>11</sup>

Another class of high officers were the *Rājūkas*<sup>12</sup> or *Lajūkas*. They were 'placed

<sup>1</sup> *Mahāvamsa*, V, 19 f., 33; *Samantapāsādikā*, p. 299.

<sup>2</sup> See the Junāgaṛh rock-inscription of Rudradāman, EI, 8. 47.

<sup>3</sup> See the Dhāuli separate edict II, A, and the Brahmagiri and Śiddāpura rock-inscriptions, A.

<sup>4</sup> See Text, p. 5 and n. 3.

<sup>5</sup> See the Brahmagiri and Śiddāpura edicts, section A.

<sup>6</sup> See the rock-edict III, E, and VI, F.

<sup>7</sup> See the first separate edict at Dhāuli, A and Y, and at Jaugaḍa, B and Z.

<sup>8</sup> See the second separate edict at Dhāuli, F, and at Jaugaḍa, G.

<sup>9</sup> See the rock-edict V, I, and XII, M; the Delhi-Tōprā pillar-edict VII, P, Y, AA.

<sup>10</sup> See the same pillar-edict, Z.

<sup>11</sup> Thomas (JRAS, 1914. 387) suggests the translations 'official' or 'dignitary'.

<sup>12</sup> See the Gīrnār rock-edict III, C.



in charge of many hundred thousands of men',<sup>1</sup> and 'either rewards or punishments were left to their discretion'.<sup>2</sup> Bühler has shown that the two dialectical forms *Rājūka* and *Lajūka* are derived from \**Rajjūka*, and that this is an abbreviation of *rajju-gāhaka*, 'rope-holder', which occurs in the *Jātaka*.<sup>3</sup> The *Rajjūka* originally 'held the rope' in order to measure the fields of the ryots and to assess the land-tax. Thus the word became the designation of a revenue settlement officer, just as in British India the chief administrative officer of a district is still called 'collector', because his special duty is the collection of the revenue.<sup>4</sup>

Along with the *Rājūka* and the *Prādesika*, the rock-edict III, C, mentions the *Yutas* or 'secretaries', who correspond to the *Yuktas* of the *Kautilīya*.<sup>5</sup> The last section (E) of the same edict suggests that they were employed for codifying royal orders in the office of the *Mahāmātras* or ministers.

The rock-edict XIII, S, refers to 'those to whom the envoys (*dūta*) of *Dēvānāmpriya* do not go'. It may be concluded from this that Aśoka maintained ambassadors not only in the frontier states enumerated in section R, but at the foreign courts named in section Q, viz. those of the five Greek kings, the Chōḍas and Pāṇḍyas, and the island of Ceylon. Similarly, Dionysius may have been the ambassador of Ptolemy II Philadelphus of Egypt at Aśoka's court.<sup>6</sup>

From Indian literature we know that at all times kings used to entertain spies (*chāra* or *gūḍha-purusha*).<sup>7</sup> It seems probable that these are meant by the word *Purusha* in the pillar-edicts I, IV, and VII, and I have followed V. A. Smith in translating it by 'agents'. These agents were graded into 'high ones, low ones, and those of middle rank' (I, E), were acquainted with the king's wishes, controlled the *Lajūkas* (IV, G), and were 'placed in charge of many people' (VII, M). A similar class of officers, which was created by Aśoka himself, were the 'reporters' (*prativēdaka*), who were posted everywhere, as he says, 'in order to report to me the affairs of the people at any time, while I am eating, in the harem, in the inner apartment, even at the cowpen, in the palanquin, and in the parks'.<sup>8</sup> It is worth noting that this list does not include vehicles drawn by horses or bullocks, instead of which palanquins were employed in the time of Aśoka. Horses are mentioned only in the pillar-edict V, K. Section I of the same edict refers to the elephant-park (*nāga-vana*) of the king. As Bühler (ZDMG, 46. 78) remarked on the authority of Mēdhātithi,<sup>9</sup> the taming and the sale of elephants used to be a royal monopoly. According to Megasthenes (IA, 6. 239),

<sup>1</sup> See the pillar-edict IV, C, and VII, N.

<sup>2</sup> See the pillar-edict IV, D and J.

<sup>3</sup> See ZDMG, 47. 466 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *Hobson-Jobson*, s. v. *Collector*. Megasthenes (IA, 6. 238) speaks of high officers (*ἀρχοὺς*) who 'superintend the rivers, measure the land, as is done in Egypt, and inspect the sluices by which water is let out from the main canals into their branches, so that every one may have an equal supply of it. The same persons have charge also of the huntsmen, and are entrusted with the power of rewarding or punishing them according to their deserts. They collect the taxes, and superintend the occupations connected with land, as those of the woodcutters, the carpenters, the blacksmiths, and the miners.'

<sup>5</sup> See Text, p. 5, n. 1.

<sup>6</sup> See above, p. xxxv.

<sup>7</sup> These are evidently the *ἑφόροι* or *ἐπίσκοποι* of Megasthenes (IA, 6. 124). According to Arrian (id., p. 237) 'they spy out what goes on in country and town, and report everything to the king', and according to Strabo (loc. cit.) 'some are entrusted with the inspection of the city, and others with that of the army. The former employ as their coadjutors the courtezans of the city, and the latter the courtezans of the camp [cf. Māgha, V, 27]. The ablest and most trustworthy men are appointed to fill these offices.'

<sup>8</sup> See the Girnār rock-edict VI, D.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. SBE, 25. 323, note.



'a private person is not allowed to keep either a horse or an elephant. These animals are held to be the special property of the king, and persons are appointed to take care of them.' These officers are the *Aśvādhyaksha* and *Hastyaadhyaksha* of the *Kautilīya* (p. 132 ff.). The *Gōdhyaksha* of the same work (p. 128 ff.) probably corresponds to the *Vracha-bhūmikas* or 'inspectors of cowpens' in the rock-edict XII, M. The king's cowpen is referred to in the rock-edict VI, D.

At the end of the set of rock-edicts (XIV, E) Aśōka uses the word *lipikara*, 'a writer', the formation of which is taught by Pāṇini (III, 2, 21). The three Mysore edicts were drafted by one of this class, who wrote at the end of his signature the instrumental case *lipikareṇa* in Kharōṣṭhī characters,<sup>1</sup> showing thereby that he had been transferred from North-Western India.<sup>2</sup> The word *lipi*, 'a rescript or inscription', occurs six times in the rock-edicts. The commentary on the *Unādisūtras* (IV, 119) derives *lipi* from the root *lip*, 'to smear'. This is impossible because the two Kharōṣṭhī versions use instead of *lipi* the form *dipi*, which is found in the Achæmenidan inscriptions.<sup>3</sup> Besides, the participles *likhita*, *lekhita*, *likhāpita* are replaced at Shāhbāzgarhī by *nipista*, *nipesita*, *nipesapita*,<sup>4</sup> which cannot be derived from the Sanskrit root *nish-pish*, 'to crush', but must be connected with the Ancient Persian *ni-pish*, 'to write'.<sup>5</sup> The words *ayi dhrama-dipi nipista*, 'this rescript on morality has been written', at Shāhbāzgarhī, V, O, and XIII, X, remind one most strongly of the cuneiform inscriptions. Thus Darius says at Behistan, column 4, section 15 :—*[tu]vam kā hya aparam imām dipim vaināhy tyām adam niyapi[sha]m*, 'O thou who shalt see this inscription in the future which I have written';<sup>6</sup> and Xerxes says at Van :—*yanaiy dipim naiy nipishtām akunaush pasāva adam niyashltāyam imām dipim nipish-tanaiy*, 'where [Darius] did not cause an inscription to be written; afterwards I commanded to write this inscription'.<sup>7</sup> The conclusion is irresistible that neither *dipi* nor *nipista* are genuine Indian words, but that they have been taken over from the Ancient Persian language before Pāṇini's time, when the provinces of **Sindhu** and **Gandhāra** belonged to the Persian empire.<sup>8</sup> The Kharōṣṭhī alphabet<sup>9</sup> and the Persepolitan capital<sup>10</sup> came to India from the same source. The preamble of many of Aśōka's edicts : 'king *Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin* speaks thus', is evidently a reminiscence and modification of the Achæmenidan formula : *θātiy Dārayavaush* (*Xshayārshā*, *Artaxshathrā*) *xshāyathiya*, 'says Darius (Xerxes, Artaxerxes) the king'. Tushāspa, the name of the Yavana king who was Aśōka's governor of Gīrnār,<sup>11</sup> seems to be a Persian word like Vishtāspa, Keresāspa, &c., and suggests that Aśōka enlisted Irānians in his service.

<sup>1</sup> Brahmagiri, l. 13; Śiddāpura, l. 22; Jaṭiṅga-Rāmēśvara, l. 22.

<sup>2</sup> Bühler, EI, 3. 135.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Westergaard's *Zwei Abhandlungen*, p. 33 f.

<sup>4</sup> See JRAS, 1913, 654.

<sup>5</sup> See id., 1914. 97.

<sup>6</sup> See Tolman's *Ancient Persian Lexicon* (Nashville, 1908), p. 28 f.

<sup>7</sup> See id., p. 53 f.

<sup>8</sup> The provinces of Hindu and Gandāra are mentioned in the inscriptions of Darius at Persepolis and Naqsh-i-Rustam, and Herodotus (VII, 65 f.) names the *Ἰνδοί* and *Γανδάριοι* among the tribes composing the army of Xerxes.

<sup>9</sup> See Bühler's *Ind. Pal.*, § 8.

<sup>10</sup> See the Indices to Fergusson's *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, revised by Burgess and Spiers, 2. 515, and to V. A. Smith's *History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon*, p. 513.

<sup>11</sup> See above, p. xl and n. 2.



## CHAPTER IV. ASOKA'S CONVERSION

FROM Buddhist literature we learn that Aśoka became a convert to and patron of Buddhism. The Kaśmīr historian Kalhaṇa also reports that Aśoka 'adopted the religion of Jina (i.e. Buddha)' and built many *Stūpas*.<sup>1</sup> According to the *Dīpavaṃsa* (VI, 55), he became a Buddhist lay-worshipper (*upāsaka*), and the accounts of the *Mahāvamsa* (V, 72) and of the *Samantapāsādikā* (p. 303) imply the same fact. His conversion took place three full years, i.e. in the fourth year, after his *abhiśhēka*.<sup>2</sup> He is believed to have built no less than 84,000 *Vihāras* in as many towns, besides the *Aśokārāma* at Pāṭaliputra, and to have consecrated all these buildings after three years, i.e. in the seventh year of his reign.<sup>3</sup>

Aśoka's inscriptions fully corroborate the tradition that he favoured Buddhism, and show that he was intimately acquainted with its tenets, legends, and literature. This will be clear from the subjoined references.

(1) In the Calcutta-Bairāt rock-inscription the king pays his respects to the *Samgha* or clergy, gives expression to his reverence to and faith in the Buddha, the *Dharma* or doctrine, and the *Samgha*, and recommends to monks and nuns, to laymen and to laywomen, the study of seven 'expositions of the *Dharma*' selected by himself. These seven texts have been actually traced in the Buddhist canon.<sup>4</sup>

(2) In the Kauśāmbī, Sārnchī, and Sārnāth pillar-edicts he orders heretical monks and nuns to be expelled from the *Samgha*. This order of the king is known to the tradition of the Southern Buddhists.<sup>5</sup>

(3) The rock-edict VIII, C, states that when he had been anointed ten years, he paid a visit to **Sāmbōdhi**, i.e. Bōdh-Gayā, the place where the Buddha had attained to perfect knowledge. According to the *Divyāvadāna* (p. 393), Aśoka visited **Bōdhi** in the company of the *Sthavira* Upagupta and distributed there 100,000 (gold pieces).

(4) The same sum he is said to have spent at **Lumbinī-vana**, the site of Buddha's birth (id., p. 389 f.). His visit to it is confirmed by the Rummindēi pillar, which was erected by him when, having been anointed twenty years, he came himself to the village of **Lummini** and worshipped the spot where the Buddha Śākyamuni was born.

(5) The Nigālī Sāgar pillar records that when he had been anointed fourteen years, he enlarged the *Stūpa* of the (mythical) Buddha Kōnākamana to the double (of its original size), and that when he had been anointed [twenty] years, he came himself and worshipped that spot.

(6) The Kālsī and Dhauli rocks bear the figure of an elephant with the labels 'the best elephant' and 'the white (elephant)'.<sup>6</sup> On the Girnār rock the elephant has been destroyed, but the existing label implies that the missing figure represented the Buddha, who is believed to have entered his mother's womb in the shape of a white

<sup>1</sup> *Rājatarāṅginī*, I, 102. According to I, 106, and VIII, 339I, Aśoka seems to have had the surname *Śāntāvasāda*.

<sup>2</sup> See *Dīpavaṃsa*, VI, 18, 24; *Mahāvamsa*, V, 34; *Samantapāsādikā*, p. 300.

<sup>3</sup> According to the *Mahāvamsa*, V, 209, in his sixth year; but see IA, 20. 233, n. 18.

<sup>4</sup> See Text, p. 174, n. 1.

<sup>5</sup> See Text, p. 160, n. 5.

<sup>6</sup> See Text, p. 50, n. 3, and p. 92, n. 1.



elephant;<sup>1</sup> cf. the *Nidānakathā* of the *Jātaka*, vol. 1, p. 50, and the representation of the 'descent of the Blessed one' on the Bharaut *Stūpa*.<sup>2</sup>

These six references raise a strong presumption in favour of the view that Aśoka had adopted the Buddhist religion in the course of his reign. Further undeniable evidence is supplied by the Rūpnāth, Sahasrām, Bairāt, Maski, and the three Mysore rock-inscriptions, which will have now to be considered at some length. These records, or proclamations (*śrāvaṇa*) as Aśoka calls them himself, were issued 'two and a half years and somewhat more' after he had become a **Buddhist** (*Śākya* at Rūpnāth, *Buddha-Śākya* at Maski, section B) or a lay-worshipper (*upāsaka*, Sahasrām, &c.), and 'a year and somewhat more' after he had approached the *Samgha* (Rūpnāth, &c., section D). Section B confirms the statement of the *Dīpavaṃsa* that Aśoka became a Buddhist *upāsaka* (above, p. xliii). In section D the word 'approached' (*upēta*) is ambiguous. Bühler, who first edited these inscriptions, took it in the sense of 'entered'; and, by adding thirty-two and a half years (which were derived from the misreading *adhitisāni* at Rūpnāth) and one further year to the traditional date of Aśoka's conversion (three years), he arrived at the conclusion that the Rūpnāth edict was issued shortly before his death (IA, 6. 153). After Oldenberg had shown that *adhitisāni* was a misreading for *adhātiyāni*, 'two and a half',<sup>3</sup> Bühler was obliged 'to give up the assumption that the statements of the inscription regarding the time of Aśoka's conversion to Buddhism agree with those of the Buddhist tradition' (EI, 3. 137). As Aśoka is known to have reigned thirty-seven years,<sup>4</sup> Fleet, who followed Bühler in assigning the Rūpnāth and cognate edicts to the last years of the king's life, assumed that he abdicated before the end of it in order to turn a Buddhist monk. But literary tradition knows nothing of such an abdication, unless we can find some reminiscence of it in the fact that 'the *Divyāvadāna* relates that Aśoka died destitute of power and possessions, having given everything that he could give to the Buddhist *Samgha*'.<sup>5</sup> Moreover, an ex-king could not have issued commands (*ānapayati*, Brahmagiri edict, B) to his former officers. Besides, the Rūpnāth and Sahasrām edicts must be considered the earliest of all the Aśoka inscriptions for two reasons:—(1) they speak of inscriptions on rocks and pillars as a task which it was intended to carry out, and not as a *fait accompli*; <sup>6</sup> (2) they, and the three Mysore records, contain the first elements of Aśoka's *Dharma*, which we find more fully developed in his rock- and pillar-edicts. Bühler (EI, 3. 141) believed that, as the Rūpnāth edict contrasts the words 'since I have approached the *Samgha*' with the words 'since I am a (Buddhist) lay-worshipper', the former cannot convey any other meaning but 'that he had entered the *Samgha*, and had become, at least nominally, a monk; compare the Sanskrit phrases *yajñam, vratam, or brahmacharyam upa-i*'. But the only other testimony for such a *pabbajjā* is that of the Chinese pilgrim I-tsing, who mentions an image of Aśoka dressed in the garb of a Buddhist monk;<sup>7</sup> and the expression *saṃgham upa-i* for the precise idea of 'entering into the monastic order' is, as Senart (IA, 20. 163) reminds us, 'vague and not sanctioned by the ordinary terminology, necessarily fixed at an early date in such a matter; besides, this situation of a king, who, while preserving his royal prerogatives and his royal life, enters into a religious order, is far removed from the idea which we are accustomed to

<sup>1</sup> See Text, p. 27, n. 2.

<sup>2</sup> Cunningham's *Stūpa of Bharhut*, plate 28, and IA, 21. 235, No. 98: *Bhagavato ūkramti* (read thus instead of *okramti* and see Bühler's *Ind. Pal.*, § 16, section C, No. 6).

<sup>3</sup> See Text, p. 167, n. 17.

<sup>4</sup> See *Dīpavaṃsa*, V, 101; *Mahāvaṃsa*, XX, 6.

<sup>5</sup> Fleet in JRAS, 1913. 657.

<sup>6</sup> See Senart, IA, 20. 236.

<sup>7</sup> See Fleet, JRAS, 1908. 496.



form with regard to Buddhist monachism in the ancient period.' These considerations induce me to accept the view of Senart, who takes the word *upāta* in the sense of 'visited' and finds in it a reference to a state visit paid by the king to the *Samgha*.<sup>1</sup> Aśoka's first visit to the *Samgha* is placed by the *Dīpavaṃsa* (VI, 78), *Mahāvamsa* (V, 76), and *Samantapāsādikā* (p. 303) in the very year of his conversion to Buddhism. Senart compares the visit recorded in the Rūpnāth and connected edicts with the festival of the consecration of Aśoka's 84,000 *Stūpas*, which is alleged to have been celebrated three years later, and at which the king is stated to have 'stood in the midst of the *Samgha*'.<sup>2</sup>

As stated above (p. xliv), the Rūpnāth edict informs us that, when issuing it, (1) Aśoka had been a Buddhist for more than two and a half years (section B), and (2) more than a year had passed after his visit to the *Samgha* (section D). The word *sumi*, 'I am', in section B of the Rūpnāth, Sahasrām, and Maski edicts proves that the two and a half years of Aśoka's *upāsakatva* did not precede the single year which followed his visit to the *Samgha*, but included the second period.<sup>3</sup> Instead of section C of the Rūpnāth and Sahasrām edicts, the Brahmagiri and Śiddāpura edicts read: 'but indeed I had not been very zealous for one year'. This more precise statement implies that the period of somewhat more than two and a half years has to be subdivided into one year with, no doubt, a little more, followed by one year with the balance of the whole period. During this second year, Aśoka, having visited the *Samgha*, showed himself very zealous.<sup>4</sup> In section E of the Sahasrām edict he states that, in consequence of his zeal, 'men in Jambudvīpa (i.e. in India), being during that (i.e. in the preceding) time unmingled with the gods, have (now) been made (by me) mingled with the gods'. This passage has been much discussed and interpreted in various ways. I have suggested that the 'gods' (*dēva*) may be compared with the 'divine figures' (*divyāni rūpāṇi*) of the rock-edict IV, B, where the king claims to have exhibited 'representations of aerial chariots, representations of elephants, masses of fire, and other divine figures', evidently in order to induce his subjects to lead moral lives and thereby to qualify for heaven.<sup>5</sup> The 'festive meetings' (*samāja*) which were approved of by him in the rock-edict I, E, are probably identical with those religious shows instituted by him.

I now pass to the knottiest problem of all those which the Rūpnāth and cognate edicts propound to posterity, viz. the meaning and application of the word *vivāsa* at the end of the Rūpnāth edict. This substantive may be expected to be derived from the same root as, and to be connected in meaning with, the verb *vivasati* in a preceding section (L). The same verb occurs as *vivāsayati* in section I of the Sārnāth edict. As I have shown elsewhere,<sup>6</sup> this section adds nothing new to the king's order, but contains further provisions for ensuring a still wider circulation to it, and we have to translate *vivāsayati* at Sārnāth and, along with it, *vivasati* at Rūpnāth by 'causing to leave home, causing to start on tour, despatching (messengers)'.<sup>7</sup> Consequently the substantive *vivāsa* seems to mean 'staying away from home, remaining on tour'. A comparison of the wording of section M at Rūpnāth with section J at Sahasrām yields the result that the edict was

<sup>1</sup> See IA, 20. 234, and cf. JA (11), 7. 435 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Dīpavaṃsa*, VII, 3; *Mahāvamsa*, V, 185; *Samantapāsādikā*, p. 304.

<sup>3</sup> This point was first recognised by Senart in 1892; see JA (8), 19. 481, and cf. my remarks in JRAS, 1910. 144 f., and Senart in JA (11), 7. 436.

<sup>4</sup> See Rūpnāth, D; Maski, C; Brahmagiri and Śiddāpura, E.

<sup>5</sup> See JRAS, 1913. 652 f.

<sup>6</sup> See Text, p. 163, n. 10, and JRAS, 1912. 1053 ff.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Thomas, JA (10), 15. 518.



issued by a person on tour, who can be no other but Aśoka himself,<sup>1</sup> when he had spent 256 nights<sup>2</sup> on tour. It follows that Aśoka had started on tour a few months after visiting the *Samgha*, which he had done more than a year before issuing the Rūpnāth, Sahasrām, Bairāt, Maski, and the three Mysore edicts.

The Rūpnāth and cognate edicts do not specify the years of Aśoka's reign in which his conversion and his visit to the *Samgha* took place; but they furnish a few details which enable us to fix their time with great probability, viz.:

- (a) Aśoka became a Buddhist *upāsaka*.
- (b) He visited the *Samgha* one year after (a).
- (c) He started on tour.
- (d) He issued the Rūpnāth edict, &c., more than two and a half years after (a), more than one year after (b), and 256 nights after (c).

On p. xxxvi I gave a conspectus of the regnal dates which Aśoka's inscriptions contain. Of these I here repeat the following ones in tabular form:

No. 1	Rock-edict XIII	8 years after the <i>abhishēka</i>	Conquest of Kalinga.
" 2	" " VIII	10 " " "	Visit to Sāmbōdhi.
" 3	Pillar-edict VI	12 " " "	Publication of rescripts on morality.
" 4	Rock-edict IV	" " " "	Institution of public shows of edifying subjects.

On p. xlv I gave two pieces of evidence to show that (d) the Rūpnāth and cognate edicts must be considered the earliest of all. No. 3 places them twelve years after Aśoka's *abhishēka*, i.e. in the thirteenth year of his reign.<sup>3</sup> If we suppose that they belong to the second half of the thirteenth year, we may combine No. 2 with (a) and assume that Aśoka's visit to Sāmbōdhi in the eleventh year of his reign was connected with his conversion to Buddhism. In this case (b) would fall in his twelfth year and (c) about the end of the same year. No. 1 explains the conversion by mentioning the circumstances which occasioned it. The king confesses that the Kalinga war was the turning-point in his religious career, and that his grief at the enormous loss of human life made him repent of his conquest and aspire henceforth to the 'conquest by morality'.<sup>4</sup> Herewith we may compare the *Mahāvamsa*, V, 189:

'Before, he had been known as Chaṇḍāśoka (i.e. the fierce Aśoka) on account of his evil deeds; afterwards he became known as Dharmāśoka (i.e. the pious Aśoka) on account of his virtuous deeds'.<sup>5</sup>

The *Mahāvamsa* places this change of name and character in the seventh year of Aśoka's reign and his conversion already in the fourth year (above, p. xliii). These dates cannot be reconciled with the epigraphical ones and must be erroneous.<sup>6</sup> But the fact that the Buddhist chronicles agree with the inscriptions in recording a change in Aśoka's policy and principles of government about the time of his conversion proves that their accounts are not purely imaginary, but are based on contemporaneous tradition.

<sup>1</sup> See Text, p. 169, n. 8.

<sup>2</sup> The discovery of the word *lāti*, 'a night', which had escaped the attention of scholars for thirty-three years, is due to Thomas; see JA (10), 15. 520.

<sup>3</sup> This view is confirmed by section E of the Rūpnāth edict, which alludes to the same shows as No. 4.

<sup>4</sup> See the rock-edict XIII, P and U.

<sup>5</sup> The same statement is made in the *Divyāvadāna*, p. 382.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Senart's remarks, IA, 20. 235.



At the same time they furnish in this manner another piece of evidence in favour of the correctness of Prinsep's identification of Aśoka with the *Dēvānāmpriya* who issued the edicts published in this volume.

A few words have to be added concerning the 256 nights which the king had spent on tour when he published his first religious proclamations. Aśoka's tours are referred to and their object specified in the rock-edict VIII, in which he states that, after he had gone to Sāmbōdhi (i.e. after his conversion to Buddhism), he commenced to undertake 'tours of morality' (*dharma-yātrā*) for 'visiting Brāhmaṇas and Śramaṇas and making gifts (to them), visiting the aged and supporting (them) with gold, visiting the people of the country, instructing (them) in morality, and questioning (them) about morality'. This edict was probably not issued before the rock-edict V which records the appointment of *Dharma-mahāmātras* thirteen years after the *abhiśhēka*. As the tour during which Aśoka issued the Rūpnāth edict had been undertaken in his twelfth year when he commenced to be 'very zealous', it may be concluded that it was his first *dharma-yātrā*. When he issued his proclamation in the second half of his thirteenth year, he had been in camp 256 nights. The special reason which induced him to acquaint us with this figure is not apparent. Fleet has shown that it does not mark any division or total of subdivisions of the year, either lunar or solar;<sup>1</sup> but, as I believe I have shown that the Rūpnāth and other records are not the last, but the earliest of the edicts, I am unable to accept his ingenious suggestion that the 256 nights had been spent in worship because they corresponded to an equal number of years which had then elapsed since Buddha's Nirvāṇa.<sup>2</sup>

It must still be noted that the Calcutta-Bairāt rock-inscription or 'letter to the *Saṅgha*' seems to be earlier than all the other rock- and pillar-edicts. The references to a few Buddhist tracts in this inscription suggest that after his visit to the *Saṅgha*, and before starting on tour, he was engaged in studying the sacred literature. This would place the inscription in the twelfth year of his reign.

The Kauśāmbī, Sārnchī, and Sārnāth edicts cannot be earlier than the six first pillar-edicts, because the first of them is engraved on the Allahabad-Kōsam pillar in a position which shows it to have been a subsequent addition.<sup>3</sup>

## CHAPTER V. ASOKA'S DHARMA

In the last chapter I trust to have proved that Aśoka had already embraced Buddhism when he commenced to issue 'proclamations on morality' (*dharma-śrāvāṇa*) or 'rescripts on morality' (*dharma-lipi*) in order to convert his subjects. He tells us himself (pillar-edict VII, J-L):

'The following occurred to me: I shall issue proclamations on morality (and shall order instruction in morality (to be given). Hearing this, men will conform to (it), will be elevated, and will (be made to) progress considerably by the promotion of morality.'

The date of this propaganda is given in the pillar-edict VI, B:

'(When I had been) anointed twelve years, rescripts on morality were caused to be written by me for the welfare and happiness of the people, (in order that), not

<sup>1</sup> JRAS, 1911. 1097.

<sup>2</sup> id., 1910. 1307 f.

<sup>3</sup> See above, p. xix.



transgressing those (rescripts), they might attain a promotion of morality in various respects.'

As shown above (p. xlv), Aśoka's first proclamations (*śrāvaṇa*)<sup>1</sup> were the Rūpnāth and cognate edicts. When issuing them, he ordered that his views should be made public by inscribing them on rocks and pillars.<sup>2</sup> In the same year he directed his officers to carry on the propaganda on their quinquennial circuit (rock-edict III, C):

'Everywhere in my dominions the *Yuktas*, the *Rājūka*, and the *Prādēśika* shall set out on a complete tour (throughout their charges) every five years for this very purpose, (viz.) for the following instruction in morality as well as for other business.'<sup>3</sup>

In the next year of his reign he created special '*Mahāmātras* of morality' (*Dharma-mahāmātra*, rock-edict V, I), whom I have mentioned before (p. xl). A fresh set of six edicts was engraved on pillars twenty-six years after the *abhishēka*, and the seventh pillar-edict at Delhi-Tōprā was added in the next year.

European analogies might lead us to expect that Aśoka's conversion to Buddhism would have induced him to persecute the votaries of other religions. In reality the Hindūs have been at all times extremely tolerant to other creeds, and have allowed everybody to try to attain salvation in his own fashion. Among the six orthodox schools of philosophy they count the pantheistic Vēdānta and the atheistic Sāṃkhya, and epigraphical and literary records show that Hindū kings considered it their duty to build temples and to make grants to other gods and denominations than their own. The same tolerance was practised by Aśoka. As a pious Hindū he acknowledged the 'debt' (*ṛiṇa*) which every king owes to his subjects in return for the revenue (*śaḍbhāga*) levied from them, and which consists in affording them protection (*pālana*):

'Whatever effort I am making, (is made) in order that I may discharge the debt (which I owe) to living beings, (that) I may make them happy in this (world), and (that) they may attain heaven in the other (world).'<sup>4</sup>

In the same spirit he says:

'All men are my children. As on behalf of (my own) children I desire that they may be provided by me with complete welfare and happiness in this world and in the other world, even so is my desire on behalf of all men.'<sup>5</sup>

This principle is further specified in the pillar-edict VI, C-E:

'(Thinking): "thus the welfare and happiness of the people (will be secured)", I am directing my attention not only to (my) relatives, but to those who are near and far, in order that I may lead them to happiness, and I am instructing (them) accordingly. In the same manner I am directing my attention to all classes. And all the sects have been honoured by me with honours of various kinds.'

<sup>1</sup> Rūpnāth, H, M; Sahasrām, H, J; Brahmagiri and Siddāpura, I, K.

<sup>2</sup> Rūpnāth, J, K; Sahasrām, L, M; Delhi-Tōprā pillar-edict VII, P.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. also the Dhauri separate edict I, Z—CC.

<sup>4</sup> See the rock-edict VI, L, and cf. the second separate edict at Dhauri, H, and at Jaugaḍa, I. On the other hand, the king reminds the *Mahāmātras* that they owe him the debt of obedience in return for the salary received from him; see id., L and M, respectively, and the first separate edict, Q and R, U and V, respectively.

<sup>5</sup> See the first separate edict at Jaugaḍa, F, G, and the second, E, F.



Accordingly he directed his *Dharma-mahāmātras* to busy themselves with Brāhmaṇas and Ibhyas (i.e. Vaiśyas, rock-edict V, K), and with ascetics and householders (pillar-edict VII, Y), placed special officers in charge of the Buddhist clergy, of the Ājīvikas,<sup>1</sup> Nirghanthas (i.e. Jainas), and other sects (id., Z), and permitted all sects to reside in any place they liked (rock-edict VII, A). In the very remarkable rock-edict XII, which does him the greatest credit, he gives expression to his impartial consideration for all sects<sup>2</sup> and entreats them in their own interest to respect each other:

'For whosoever praises his own sect or blames other sects,—all (this) out of devotion to his own sect, (i.e.) with the view of glorifying his own sect,—if he is acting thus, he rather injures his own sect very severely' (section H).

Hence the king recommends to all sects concord (*samavāya*, section I) and the guarding of speech (*vachō-guṇṭi*, section D).

There is nothing specifically Buddhistic in those benefactions to which the second rock-edict refers. Aśoka arranged for medical treatment of men and cattle not only in his own dominions, but among his borderers, and caused medicinal herbs, roots, and fruits to be cultivated. Along the roads he had trees planted and wells dug for the benefit of cattle and men.<sup>3</sup> The Delhi-Tōprā pillar-edict VII, which was issued twenty-seven years after the *abhishēka*, states that he planted banyan-trees and mango-groves along the roads, that at intervals of eight *kōs* he had wells dug and flights of steps (for descending into the water) built, and that he established numerous places for the supply of drinking-water to cattle and men (sections R–T). When twenty-six years had elapsed after his *abhishēka*, he had ordered the release of prisoners twenty-five times (pillar-edict V, L). This suggests that he used to proclaim an amnesty to criminals at almost every anniversary of his coronation. The fourth pillar-edict records that the king left rewards and punishments to the discretion of his *Lajūkas*, in order to ensure impartiality in judicial proceedings, and that he granted three days' respite to prisoners on whom the sentence of capital punishment had been passed. The fifth rock-edict (L) and the first separate edict (Dhauḷi, J, K, Y; Jaugada, K, L, Z) also testify to his regard for innocent prisoners.

All these measures were certainly prompted by his care for his subjects, but they do not characterize him as a Buddhist reformer. If we turn to an examination of what he tells us about the nature of his *Dharma*, it appears that the latter is in thorough agreement with the picture of Buddhist morality which is preserved in the beautiful anthology entitled *Dhammapada*, i.e. 'words of morality'. Here we find Buddhism *in statu nascendi*. 'From the definitions or descriptions which the king gives us, it follows that to him *Dharma* ordinarily implies what we call the sum of moral duties.'<sup>4</sup> 'The ideas and the language which are brought to light, from a religious point of view, in our inscriptions, cannot be considered as an isolated expression of individual convictions or conceptions.' The *Dhammapada* 'lays before us an equivalent sufficiently exact to allow

<sup>1</sup> The Barābar Hill inscriptions record a grant of caves to the Ājīvikas, but it is not absolutely certain whether the donor was identical with Aśoka.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. also the pillar-edict VI, E, and VII, Y.

<sup>3</sup> Megasthenes speaks of officers who 'construct roads, and at every ten *stadia* set up a pillar to show the by-roads and distances' (IA, 6, 238), and of the 'royal road' (*ὁδὸς βασιλική* = *rāja-patha* in Sanskrit) leading from the western frontier to the capital Pāṭaliputra, which 'has been measured by *schoeni* (1 *σχῶνος* = 40 *stadia*), and is in length 10,000 *stadia*' (id., p. 126).

<sup>4</sup> Senart, IA, 20. 260.



us to consider that they correspond to a certain state of Buddhism, earlier than that which has found expression in the majority of the books which have come down to us.<sup>1</sup>

The word *Dharma* is first mentioned in the Maski edict (section E). It is defined thus in the second portion of the Brahmagiri record (sections M-Q):

'Moreover, *Dēvānāmpriya* speaks thus: Obedience must be rendered to mother and father, likewise to elders; firmness (of compassion) must be shown towards animals; the truth must be spoken: these same moral virtues (*dharmaguṇa*) must be practised. In the same way the pupil must show reverence to the master, and one must behave in a suitable manner towards relatives. This is an ancient rule, and this conduces to long life. Thus one must act.'

The rock-edicts repeat or amplify the same injunctions:

'Meritorious is obedience to mother and father. Liberality to friends, acquaintances, and relatives, to Brāhmaṇas and Śramaṇas (i.e. Buddhist monks) is meritorious. Abstention from killing animals is meritorious. Moderation in expenditure (and) moderation in possessions are meritorious' (III, D).

'Abstention from killing animals, abstention from hurting living beings, courtesy to relatives, courtesy to Brāhmaṇas and Śramaṇas, obedience to mother (and) father, (and) obedience to the aged' (IV, C).

'Proper courtesy to slaves and servants, reverence to elders, gentleness to animals, (and) liberality to Brāhmaṇas and Śramaṇas' (IX, G).

'Proper courtesy to slaves and servants, obedience to mother (and) father, liberality to friends, acquaintances, and relatives, to Brāhmaṇas and Śramaṇas, (and) abstention from killing animals' (XI, C).

'Obedience to those who receive high pay, obedience to mother and father, obedience to elders, proper courtesy to friends, acquaintances, companions, and relatives, to slaves and servants, (and) firm devotion' (XIII, G).

Finally, the pillar-edict VII, section HH, speaks of a progress 'in obedience to mother and father, in obedience to elders, in courtesy to the aged, in courtesy to Brāhmaṇas and Śramaṇas, to the poor and distressed, (and) even to slaves and servants'.

A noteworthy point in the above extracts is the equal respect which the king paid to Brāhmaṇas and Śramaṇas.<sup>2</sup> As Senart (IA, 20. 263) has shown, the *Dhammapada*, though a professedly Buddhist work, does exactly the same. There are, however, two edicts in which Aśoka denounces Brāhmaṇical usage. In the ninth rock-edict he condemns 'many and various vulgar ("offensive" at Shāhbāzgarhi) and useless ceremonies' which women are practising 'during illness, at the marriage of a son or a daughter, at the birth of a son, and when setting out on a journey', and recommends in their stead the practice of morality.<sup>3</sup> Secondly, in the first rock-edict, section B, he directly prohibits the killing of animals at sacrifices. At the end of the same edict, however, he naïvely confesses that he had not yet been able to carry out fully the 'abstention from killing animals' which formed part of his moral code, and that three animals were still being killed daily in his kitchen; but he promises that even this

<sup>1</sup> Senart, IA, 20. 26

<sup>2</sup> Megasthenes mentions the *Βραχμάναι* and *Σαρμάναι* as two kinds of φιλόσοφοι; see IA, 6. 243.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. the *Maṅgala-sutta* (*Khuddaka-pāṭha*, V; JRS, 1870. 312 ff.) or *Mahāmaṅgala-sutta* (*Suttanipāṭa*, II, 4), in which the Buddha himself declares what he considers 'the highest maṅgala'.



slaughter would be discontinued in future. Along with animal sacrifices he prohibited festive meetings (*samāja*, sections C, D), perhaps because some of them, like the Spanish bull-fights, consisted of contests of animals,<sup>1</sup> and substituted another kind of festive meetings (section E), viz. the edifying shows alluded to in the fourth rock-edict and in the Rūpnāth and cognate edicts (above, p. xlv).

Among Aśoka's 'good deeds' the second pillar-edict (E) gives prominence to various benefits conferred on animals. This statement is explained by the fifth pillar-edict, which contains a detailed list of animals that were declared inviolable either permanently or on certain days, among them the well-known fast-days (*posatha*).<sup>2</sup> From the Delhi-Tōprā pillar-edict VII it appears that this limitation of the general principle of *ahimsā* was a concession which Aśoka, though a convinced Buddhist, was obliged to make to the majority of his subjects :

'Now this progress of morality among men has been promoted (by me) only in two ways, (viz.) by moral restrictions and by instruction.<sup>3</sup> But among these (two), those moral restrictions are of little consequence; by instruction, however, (morality is promoted) more considerably. Now moral restrictions indeed are these, that I have ordered this, (that) certain animals are inviolable . . . . By instruction, however, the progress of morality among men has been promoted more considerably, (because it leads) to abstention from hurting living beings, (and) to abstention from killing animals' (sections JJ–NN).

One of the items in the lists of virtues which constituted Aśoka's *Dharma* was liberality or charity (*dāna*). He not only practised it on his 'tours of morality' (above, p. xlvii), but organized the distribution of his own gifts and of those of his relatives through his officers; see the Delhi-Tōprā pillar-edict VII, sections CC, DD :

'Both these and many other chief (officers) are occupied with the delivery of the gifts of myself as well as of the queens, and among my whole harem [they are reporting] in divers ways different worthy recipients of charity both here and in the provinces. And others were ordered by me to busy themselves also with the delivery of the gifts of (my) sons and of other queens' sons, in order (to promote) noble deeds of morality (and) the practice of morality.'

According to the next section (EE) 'noble deeds of morality and the practice of morality (consist in) this, that (morality), viz. compassion, liberality, truthfulness, purity, gentleness, and goodness, will thus be promoted among men'; while the pillar-edict II (B, C) says:—'What does morality include? (It includes) few sins, many virtuous deeds, compassion, liberality, truthfulness, (and) purity.' These two lists remind us of verse 224 of the *Dhammapada*, where it is stated that the practice of truthfulness, absence of anger, and charity leads to the gods :

Sachchaṃ bhaṇe na kujjheyya dajjā appasmi yāchito ।  
eteḥi tīni tṭānehi gachchhe devāna santike ॥

With the words 'few sins, many virtuous deeds' in the pillar-edict II, C, Senart (IA, 20. 262) compares verse 183 of the *Dhammapada* :

Sabbapāpass' akaraṇaṃ kusalass' upasampadā ।  
sachittaparyodapanam etaṃ Buddhāna sāsanaṃ ॥

<sup>1</sup> See Thomas, JRAS, 1914. 392 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Kern's *Manual of Indian Buddhism*, p. 99 f., and *Vinaya Texts*, part I (SBE, 13), p. x. The Buddhist fast-days are mentioned also in the Sārnāth pillar-edict, H.

<sup>3</sup> This, and not 'conversion', seems to be the actual meaning of *nijhati*. Cf. *Suttanipāta*, II, 8, verses 5 and 7.



In the fourth rock-edict Aśoka remarks that 'the practice of morality is not (possible) for (a person) devoid of good conduct' (*aśīlasya*, section H), and exhorts his descendants to be 'abiding by morality (and) by good conduct' (*dharmē śīlē tishṭhantaḥ*, F). In the *Dhammapada* we read in verse 217 :

Sīla-dassana-sampannaṃ dhammatṭhaṃ sachchavādinam ।

and in verse 84 :

sa sīlavā paññavā dhammiko siyā ॥

Aśoka's remark : *sukaram hi pāpam*, 'for sin is easily committed' (Girnār edict V, G), reminds us of *sukarāni asādhūni* in verse 163 of the *Dhammapada*, and the words : *dupaṭivekhe chu kho esā*, 'now this (evil deed of mine) is indeed difficult to recognise' (pillar-edict III, D), of verse 252 :

Sudassaṃ vajjam aññesaṃ attano pana duddasaṃ ।

and of verse 50 :

Na paresaṃ vilomāni na paresaṃ katākataṃ ।  
attano va avekkheyya katāni akatāni cha ॥

The lists of evil passions (*āsinava-gāmīni*, pillar-edict III, F) and dispositions (*jātāni*)<sup>1</sup> do not tally with the *āsavas* and *kilesas* of the Buddhists.<sup>2</sup> To counteract these dispositions, Aśoka recommends 'the absence of anger and the avoidance of hurry'<sup>3</sup> and continues :

'Whoever is fatigued in the administration (of justice), will [not] move and rise ; but one ought to move, to walk, and to advance in the administration (of justice)' (Jaugada, Q).

This maxim reminds one of verse 168 of the *Dhammapada* :

Uttitṭhe nappamajjeyya dhammaṃ sucharitaṃ chare ।

Already Aśoka's earliest proclamations have zeal (*parākrama* or *prākrama*) for their subject.<sup>4</sup> He returns to it in the sixth rock-edict, which dwells on the necessity of exertion (*utthāna*, sections H, J) or zeal (*parākrama*, N) in conducting public business. Similarly, the *Dhammapada* recommends *utthāna* (verses 24, 25, 280), *parakkama* (verses 23, 383), and *appamāda* (verses 21-32). In two of his sermons on 'zeal' Aśoka appeals to all his subjects, not only to those in high positions, but to those in humble life as well ; see the Rūpnāth edict, sections G, H :

'And this cannot be reached by (persons of) high rank (alone), (but) even a lowly (person) is able to attain even the great heaven if he is zealous. And for the following purpose has (this) proclamation been issued, (that) both the lowly and the exalted may be zealous.'

Compare with this the rock-edict X, sections E, F :

'But it is indeed difficult either for a lowly person or for a high one to accomplish this without great zeal (and without) laying aside every (other aim). But among these (two) it is indeed (more) difficult to accomplish for a high (person).'

<sup>1</sup> See the first separate edict at Dhauri, M, and at Jaugada, N.

<sup>2</sup> See Childers' *Pāli Dictionary*.

<sup>3</sup> See the first separate edict at Dhauri, O, and at Jaugada, P.

<sup>4</sup> Rūpnāth, Sahasrām, and Bairāt, F-H ; Brahmagiri and Śiddāpura, G-I.



A similar sentiment occurs in the seventh rock-edict, section E :

'But even one who (practises) great liberality, (but) does not possess self-control, purity of mind, gratitude, and firm devotion, is very mean.'

The eleventh rock-edict (B) and the ninth (J) state that 'there is no such gift as the gift of morality' (*dharma-dāna*). Senart (IA, 20. 62) compares verse 354 of the *Dhammapada* :

Sabbadānaṃ dhammadānaṃ jināti.

Spiritual insight (*chakku*), which Aśoka claims to have spread in many ways,<sup>1</sup> is alluded to in the *Dhammapada*, verse 273 :

virāgo seṭṭho dhammānaṃ dipadānaṃ cha chakkhumā ॥

According to the thirteenth rock-edict (L) '*Dēvānāmpriya* thinks that even (to one) who should wrong (him), what can be forgiven is to be forgiven'.<sup>2</sup>

This remark reminds us of the noble verse 223 of the *Dhammapada* :<sup>3</sup>

Akkodhena jine kodham asādhunā sādhanā jine ॥  
jine kadaryaṃ dānena sacchenālikavādinaṃ ॥

The thirteenth rock-edict (sections M–O) continues thus :

'And even (the inhabitants of) the forests which are (included) in the dominions of *Dēvānāmpriya*, even those he pacifies (and) instructs.<sup>4</sup> And they are told of the power (to punish them) which *Dēvānāmpriya* (possesses) in spite of (his) repentance, in order that they may be ashamed (of their crimes) and may not be killed. For *Dēvānāmpriya* desires towards all beings abstention from hurting, self-control, (and) impartiality in (case of) violence.'

This is the 'conquest by morality' (*dharma-vijaya*) which Aśoka substitutes for the conquest by arms, and which he claims to have won even among his neighbours (sections P–U). He requests his descendants that they 'should not think that a fresh conquest ought to be made, (that) if a conquest does please them they should take pleasure in mercy and light punishments, and (that) they should regard the conquest by morality as the only (true) conquest' (section X).

In one important point Aśoka's inscriptions differ from, and reflect an earlier stage in the development of Buddhist theology or metaphysics than, the *Dhammapada* : they do not yet know anything of the doctrine of *Nirvāṇa*, but presuppose the general Hindū belief that the rewards of the practice of *Dharma* are happiness in this world and merit in the other world. See the rock-edict IX, M, N (Kālsī) ; X, C ; XI, E ; XIII, W, Y, AA ; the Dhāuli separate edict I, F ; II, E, G, K ; the pillar-edict I, C ; III, H ; IV, E, M, N ; VII, PP. Cf. the *Dhammapada*, verse 219 f. :

Chirappavāsīm purisaṃ dūrato sotthim āgataṃ ॥  
ñātimittā suhajjā cha abhinandanti āgataṃ ॥  
Tath' eva katapuññaṃ pi asmā lokā paraṃ gataṃ ॥  
puññaṇi patigaṇhanti piyaṃ ñātvā āgataṃ ॥

<sup>1</sup> See the pillar-edict II, D.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. the Dhāuli separate edict II, G.

<sup>3</sup> The same verse occurs both in the *Jātaka* and in the *Mahābhārata* ; see Rhys Davids, *Buddhist Birth Stories*, p. xxvii, and Franke, VOJ, 20. 320 ff.

<sup>4</sup> See above, p. li, n. 3.



Instead of 'merit in the other world' Aśoka often uses the term 'heaven' (*svarga*). See Rūpnāth, Sahasrām, and Bairāt, G; Brahmagiri and Śiddāpura, H; the rock-edict VI, L; IX, K, L (Girnār); the Dhauli separate edict I, S, U; II, L. The *Dhammapāda* (verse 126), however, distinguishes *Nirvāṇa* from *Svarga*:

saggaṃ sugatino yanti parinibbant' anāsavā ॥

\* \* \* \* \*

At the end of this survey of the contents of Aśoka's inscriptions we have still to consider the fourteenth rock-edict, in which the author of the preceding edicts states that he caused them to be written 'either in an abridged (form), or of middle (size), or at full length. For the whole was not suitable everywhere'. The words 'at full length' must apply to the complete sets of fourteen edicts at Girnār, Kālsī, Shāhbāzgarhī, and Mānsehrā. These four versions are practically identical, with the exception of the end of edict IX, where the three last of them (Kālsī, &c.) differ, for reasons which are not apparent, from Girnār, Dhauli, and Jaugaḍa.<sup>1</sup> The words 'in an abridged (form)' may refer to the Rūpnāth and cognate edicts, and the words 'of middle (size)' to Dhauli and Jaugaḍa, where two separate edicts were substituted for the rock-edicts XI-XIII. These, or at least the third of them, were 'not suitable' here because Dhauli and Jaugaḍa formed part of the newly conquered country of Kalinga and required different treatment and special orders to the administrative officers. It can be shown that the two separate edicts at Dhauli and Jaugaḍa were contemporaneous with the thirteenth rock-edict of the other versions: The words 'that *Dēvānāmpriya* will forgive them (viz. his unconquered borderers) what can be forgiven; that they may (be induced) by me (to) practise morality; (and) that they may attain (happiness in) this world and (in) the other world' in section G of the Dhauli separate edict II correspond to sections L and M of the thirteenth rock-edict at Shāhbāzgarhī:

'And *Dēvānāmpriya* thinks that even (to one) who should wrong (him), what can be forgiven is to be forgiven. And even (the inhabitants of) the forests which are (included) in the dominions of *Dēvānāmpriya*, even those he pacifies (and) instructs.'<sup>2</sup>

Another point of contact exists between the first separate edict and the third rock-edict, which Aśoka issued twelve years after his *abhishēka*, and in which he ordered the officers of all districts of his empire to undertake quinquennial tours for inspection and propaganda purposes. The first separate edict at Dhauli must have been drafted in the same year because in its sections Z and CC the king speaks of the quinquennial circuit of the *Mahāmātras* as a measure which he was about to introduce. At the same time triennial tours were instituted in the provinces of Ujjayinī and Takshaśilā; see sections AA, BB of the same edict.

I now add a classified list of all the Aśoka inscriptions.

#### I. Buddhist Inscriptions.

- (1) Calcutta-Bairāt rock-inscription.
- (2) Rummindēi and Nigālī Sāgar pillars.
- (3) Kauśāmbī, Sārnchī, and Sārnāth pillar-edicts.

#### II. Proclamations or 'rescripts on morality'.

- (1) Early edicts.
  - (a) Rūpnāth, Sahasrām, Bairāt, and Maski.
  - (b) Brahmagiri, Śiddāpura, and Jaṭiṅga-Rāmēśvara.

<sup>1</sup> See Text, p. 39, n. 1.

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. liii and n. 4.



## (2) Rock-edicts.

(a) Edicts I-XIV at Gīrnār, Kālsī, Shāhbāzgarhī, and Mānsehrā.

(b) Edicts I-X, XIV, and two separate edicts at Dhauri and Jaugaḍa.

## (3) Pillar-edicts.

(a) Edicts I-VI at Delhi-Mīraṭh, &amp;c.

(b) Edicts I-VII at Delhi-Tōprā.

**III. Donative inscriptions.**

(1) Barābar Hill cave-inscriptions.

(2) Queen's pillar-edict.



## CHAPTER VI.

## GRAMMAR OF THE GIRNAR ROCK-EDICTS

## A.—PHONETICS

## I. VOWELS.

The vowel *a* is replaced by *u* in *osudha* (=Skt. *aushadha*, II, 5). This change is due to the influence of the *o* in the preceding syllable; cf. *udupāna*=Skt. *udapāna* in the Māgadha dialect.<sup>1</sup>

The *e* of *eta* (= \**itra*?) seems to be developed from an original *i*; see Johansson, *Shāhā*, § 21.

As in Pāli, Skt. *u* is represented by *a* in *garu* (XIII, 6), while the form *guru* occurs three times. The *a* may have been introduced from the comparative *gariyas* and the superlative *garishtha*; see Michelson, IF, 23. 260, n. 1. In *kho* (=Skt. *khalu*) the *a* is lost by syncope, the *l* is assimilated to the preceding *kh*, and Skt. *u* is represented by *o*. The form *kho* is used also in Pāli, while the literary Prākṛits have *khu* (for \**khlu*, an enclitic form of *khalu*) instead of it.<sup>2</sup>

In the foreign name *Amṭiyaka*=*Ἀμτιόχος*, *ḍ* is expressed by *a*. In [*A*]m[*ek*]ina=*Ἀμτιόγινος*, *e* and *i* correspond to *i* and *ḍ*, and in *Turamāya*=*Πτολεμαῖος*, *u* and *a* to *ḍ* and *ṛ*.

The Gīrnār dialect has lost one of the Sanskrit vowels, viz. *ṛi*, which became *i* (after the stress accent) in *etārisa*, *tārisa*, *yārisa* (=Skt. *ētādṛiṣa*, &c.), and *u* (after labials) in *paripucchā* and *vuta* (= *vṛitta*, X, 2), but generally *a*:—*ānamṇa* (= *ānṛiṇya*), *kacha* (= *kritya*), *kata*, *daḍha*, *bhata*, *bhataka*, *maga*, *magavyā*, *mata* (= *myita*, XIII, 1), *vistata*, *vyāpata*, *suhadaya*<sup>3</sup> (IX, 7), *v[a]dhi* (= *vṛiddhi*, IV, 11). In *vaḍhi* (= *vṛiddhi*, XII, 2, 8, 9) and *usaṭa*<sup>4</sup> the *ṛi*, which became *a*, has caused the lingualization of the following dental. In *vachha* (= *vṛiksha*, II, 8) the vowel *ṛi* is represented by the syllable *ra*, and in *sruṇāru* (XII, 7) by *ru* through the influence of other forms of the root *śru*.

Of diphthongs, *ai* is found only in *thaira*, *traidasa*, and *samachaira*, the genesis of which will be explained below (p. lvii f.), and *au* is always changed to *o*:—*dvo*, *pāralokika*, *potra*, *prapotra*, *osudha*, *-opaga* and *-opaya*.

Short vowels are lengthened in *ānantaram*<sup>5</sup> (=Skt. *anantaram*, VI, 8), *āchāyī[ke]*<sup>6</sup> (= *ātyayikam*, VI, 7), *mādhuratā* (= *madhuratā*, XIV, 4), *nātisu* (IV, 1), *abhikāra* (= \**abhikāra*, V, 7), *abhīramaka* (VIII, 2), *paṭivesiya* (= *prativēṣiya*, XI, 3), *paṭibhā[g]a* (XIII, 4), *saṃpratīpati* (=Skt. *saṃpratīpatti*, IV, 2; also spelt *saṃpratīpati* and *saṃpaṭīpati*), *vīvāha*<sup>7</sup> (= *vivāha*, IX, 2), *vījaya* (XIII, 10; also *vijaya*), *bahūhi* (= *bahubhih*, IV, 4), and at the end of words in *tatrā* (XIII, 1), *paratrā* (VI, 12), *sarvatrā* (II, 6), *etamhī* (IX, 2), *paṃthesū* (II, 8).

Initial *ā* is shortened in *aropitam*, and final *ā* in *tatha* (= *tathā*, XII, 6), [*Vo*]na-rāja (XIII, 8) = *Yona-rājā* (II, 3), and in the enclitic *va*, which is far more frequent than its original form *vā*. The three forms *āradho*,<sup>8</sup> *āradhī* (i.e. \**āraddhī*), and *aparadha* are perhaps to be derived from the root *radh*

<sup>1</sup> I use the term 'Māgadha dialect' for designating the language of the province to which Aśoka's capital belonged. It must not be confused with the Māgadhi of the Prākṛit grammarians; cf. Michelson, AJP, 30. 284.

<sup>2</sup> S. Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 148, and cf. Michelson, IF, 23. 269 f.

<sup>3</sup> This word is used in the sense of Skt. *suhrid*, 'a friend'. Cf. *suhajja* in the *Dhammapada*.

<sup>4</sup> This participle corresponds in form to Skt. *utsṛita*, but its meaning agrees with that of Prākṛit *ussiya* (Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 64)=Skt. *uchchhṛita*. In other words, the Gīrnār form seems to be due to a false popular etymology of *uchchhṛita* from the root *sṛi* instead of *śri*.

<sup>5</sup> The length of the initial *ā* may be due to the fact that the word is a translation of the Māgadha *ānamṭaliyam*; see the Dhāuli and Jaugaḍa versions, VI, 4.

<sup>6</sup> Kālsī, Dhāuli, and Jaugaḍa have *atiyāyike*, Pāli both *achchāyika* and *achcheka* (i.e. \**achchayika*).

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Böhtlingk's *Wörterbuch*, s.v. *vīvāha*, and Pāṇ. VI, 3, 122.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. *āraddha-chitta* in the *Dīghanikāya*, translated by Franke, p. 144, n. 2.



used in the same sense as *rādh*. The short *a* of *etarisan* (= *ētādṛiṣam*), *etārisani* (= *ētādṛiṣāni*), *dana* (= *dānam*) is probably due to clerical mistakes. Final *i* is shortened in the nom. sing. of masculine bases in *-in*:—*Priyadasi*, *hasti*.

The initial *a* of the enclitic *api* is dropped everywhere except in *evamapi* (II, 2). The initial *i* of *iti* is generally preserved, but it is dropped in *-nisrito ti* (V, 8) and in the compound *kimti* or *kiti*.

## II. SIMPLE CONSONANTS.

Greek  $\chi$  and  $\gamma$  are expressed by *k* in *Am̐tiyaka* = 'Avr̐loxos and [A]m̐[ek]ina = 'Avr̐iyovos. In *-opaga* and *-opaya* we seem to have a change of *g* into *y*; cf. Franke, VOJ, 9. 345 ff. Skt. *gh* has become *h* in *lahuka*.

In *vacha* (VI, 3; XII, 9), *ch* corresponds to the *j* of Skt. *vraja*; cf. *vracham̐ti* = Skt. *vrajanti* at Shāhbāzgarhī.

Skt. *ṇ* is preserved in *kalāṇa* (= *kalyāṇa*), *gaṇanā*, *charaṇa*, *prakaraṇa* and *pakaraṇa*, *prāṇa* and *pāṇa*, *vinikhamana* (from *vinish-kram*), *sramaṇa* and *samaṇa* (= *śramaṇa*). In terminations, however, dental *n* is not, as in Sanskrit, lingualized after *r* and *sh*:—*agena* (= *agrēna*), *parākramena*, *putrena* and *putena*, *mitrena*, *abhīramakāni*, *rūpāni*, *sahasrāni*, *Gaṇdhārānam*, *gurūnam*, *thairānam*, *manusānam* and *mānushānam* (= *mānushāṇām*). On the other hand, lingual *ṇ* is newly developed after *r* in *prāpunati* (from Skt. *prāṇṇōti*), *darsana* and *dasana* (= *darśana*), *saṁtīraṇā* (from *śrayati*), and without apparent reason in *Yona* (V, 5), while *Yona* (with dental *n*) occurs four times.

As stated above (p. lvi), dentals are lingualized after the vowel *ṛi* in *usaṭa* and *vaḍhi*, and *d* becomes *r* before an original *ṛi* in *etārisa*, &c. Similarly, *dh* has turned to *ḍh* through the influence of the preceding *sh* in *osudha* (= Skt. *ausadha*), and *t* becomes *ṭ* after *r* in the preposition *paṭi* (ten times), while the original form *prati* occurs four times in *pratipati* and *saṁpratipati*. In *lipi* (= *dipi* in Ancient Persian; see above, p. xlii) *d* has become *l*. In *idha* the Gīrnār dialect has preserved the ancient form of Skt. *iha*; cf. Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 266.

The labial aspirate *bh* has become *h* in the instrumentals *bahūhi* (= *bahubhiḥ*), *tehi* (= Vedic *tēbhiḥ*), *paṭivesiyehi*, *satehi*, and in some forms of the root *bhū*, viz. *hoti* (= *bhavati*), *aho* (= *abhavat*), and *ahimsu*, while *bh* is preserved in *bhavati*, *bhave*, *bhūta*.

The semivowel *y* is developed out of *i* in *Am̐tiyaka* = 'Avr̐loxos, and *Πτολεμαῖος* becomes *Turamāyo*. Initial *y* is lost in *ā* = Skt. *yā* (II, 2) and *āva* = Skt. *yāvat*. In the dative *athā* (XII, 9) = Skt. *arthāya* the whole syllable *ya* seems to be dropped. In causatives the characteristic affixes *aya* and *ayi* sometimes remain unchanged. More frequently both are changed to *ai* (*aya* by *Samprasāraṇa*, and *ayi* by the elision of *y*) and contracted to *e*. Thus Skt. *prativēdayata* becomes *paṭivedetha*, while e.g. *pūjayati* remains unaltered, and Skt. *hāpayishyati*, *ārādhayitum*, *rōchayitavya*, *a-rōchayitvā* are converted to *hāpesati*, *ārādhetu*, *lochetavya*, [a]-*lochetpā*, while *ayi* remains in *dasayitpā* = Skt. *darśayitvā*. Similarly, Skt. *mayūra* becomes first *\*maūra* and then *mora* (I, 11). In two instances an original *aya* is not represented by *e*, but by *ai*: *\*trayadaśa* (= Skt. *trayōdaśa*) becomes *traidasa* (V, 4), and Skt. *\*sama-charya*, having passed through the intermediate stages *\*samachariya* and *\*samacharia*, becomes *samachaira* (XIII, 7) through metathesis.<sup>1</sup>

Lingual *ḍ* corresponds to Sanskrit *ḷ* in *mahidā*, and to Tamil *ḷ* in *Choḍa*. The *l* of *lochetavyā* and [a]-*lochetpā*, which corresponds to Skt. *r*, is due to the influence of the Māgadha dialect; see Text, p. 8, n. 3. Greek  $\lambda$  is represented by *r* in *Turamāyo* = *Πτολεμαῖος*. This word proves that the Gīrnār and Shāhbāzgarhī versions are translations from the Māgadha dialect, where the  $\lambda$  of the Greek original is preserved (*Tulamaye* at Kālsī).<sup>2</sup> Another instance in which *r* corresponds to *l* is *\*ārabhate*, 'to kill', = Skt. *ālabhatē*; see below, p. lxvi.

The semivowel *v* is developed out of *u* in *vuta* (= Skt. *ukta*, IX, 6; XIV, 4). As *aya* to *ai* and *e*, *ava* is changed by *Samprasāraṇa* to *ai* and *o*. In this way *bhavati*, *abhavat*, *avarōdhana*, *\*avavāditavya* become *hoti*, *aho*, *orodhana*, *ovāditavya*. The contracted form *hoti* and its original,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Geiger's *Pāli*, § 27, and *puñña* (XI, 4), which goes back to Skt. *punya* and presupposes the intermediate forms *\*puñiya* and *\*puñiya*.

<sup>2</sup> If my explanation of *supadālaye* at Kālsī, Dhauri, and Jaugada (Text, p. 33, n. 3) is right, *supadarave* at Mānsehrā would be another wrong translation from the Māgadha dialect.



(= *rājñā*), *Ri(Rā)ṣṭika* (= *Rāṣṭrika*), *sūpāthāya* (= *sūpārthāya*), *ithijhakha* (= *stry-adhyaksha*), *kīti* (= *kīrti*), *ī[ṣ]o* (= *tivrah*), *sāmīp[am]* (= *sāmīpyam*).

A long nasalized vowel is shortened before consonants, as it is frequently at the end of words (see above, p. lviii), in *Tambapamī* (= Skt. *Tāmrāparṇī*) and *Devānampriya*, while Anusvāra is suppressed after a long vowel in *atīkrāta* and *atīkāta* (= *atīkrānta*), *[ā]parātā* (= *āparāntā*), *chhāti* (= *kshānti*), *[n]iyātu* (= *niyāntu*), *Pādā* (= *Pāṇḍyā*), *bhāda* (= *bhāṇḍa*), *karote* (for *\*karōnte*, IX, 3), *karoto* (for *\*karōnto*), *pāti* (read *hoti*, for *\*hoṁti*). In *avihīsā* (IV, 6) *i* has taken the place of the *im* of *vihimsā* (IV, 1). Conversely in *susrū[n]sā*, *susuṁsā*, *susuṁsera* the short nasalized vowel *uṁ* is substituted for the *ū* of *susrūsā* (III, 4), and in *susrusā* and *susrusatā* the Anusvāra of *uṁ* is omitted.<sup>1</sup> There are several other instances in which Anusvāra is omitted after a short vowel:—*magala* (IX, 3) = *maṅgala*, the two 3. pers. plur. *ichhati* (VII, 2) and *prāpuṇati* (XIII, 4), *sambadha* (XI, 1) = *sambandha*, *sastuta* (twice) = *saṁstuta*, *sachhāya* (XIV, 5) = *saṁkṣāya*, *pāsaḍa* (twice) = *pāshaṇḍa*, *sayama* = *saṁyama*, *savaḍa* (also *saṁvaḍa*) = *saṁvarta*, *kich[i]* (also *kīnchī*) = *kīnchit*, *kiti* (also *kīmti*) = *kīmiti*. In the first six of them the omission of Anusvāra may be due either to clerical mistakes or to the faint articulation of the nasal sound. The form *pāsaḍa* (= Skt. *pārshada*) is a recognised variant of *pāsaiṇḍa* (passim); cf. *prashaḍa* and *prashaiṇḍa* at Shāhbāzgarhī. In *sayama*, which occurs four times, and in *savaḍa* the nasal may have been assimilated to the following semi-vowel; cf. Pāṇini, VIII, 4, 59. The forms *kichi* and *kiti* occur again in other Aśoka inscriptions and are perhaps defective spellings for *kichchi* and *kitti* = *\*kid + chid* and *\*kid + iti*; see Johansson, *Shāhb.*, § 90.

So far we have seen that the Gīrnār dialect either preserves groups of consonants or assimilates them. A third mode of disposing of them is the development of an auxiliary vowel (*svarabhakti*) between two consonants. This vowel is *a* in *garahati* and *garahā* (= Skt. *garhati* and *garhā*), *i* in *paṭivesiya* (= *prativēśya*), *puiṇa* (for *\*puṇiya* = Skt. *puṇya*), *samachaira* (for *\*samachariya* = Skt. *\*sama-charya*), and *u* after a labial in *prāpuṇati* (3. plur. ind. pres. act. of Skt. *prāpnōti*). Similarly, an auxiliary *i* is prefixed to an initial group in *ithi* (i.e. *itthi*, = Skt. *stri*).

I now subjoin an alphabetical list of Sanskrit groups with their Gīrnār equivalents.

*kt* becomes *t* (i.e. *tt*) in *abhisita*, *bhati*, *yuta*, *vataṣyaṁ*, *vutaṁ*.

*ky* becomes *k* (i.e. *kk*) in *saka*.

*kr* remains in *atīkrāt[a]m* (VI, 1), *parākramāmi*, *parākramena*, but becomes *k* in *atīkātaṁ*, *pari(rā)k[a]mate* (X, 3).

*kś* becomes *chh* in *sachhāya* (XIV, 5); see Bühler, ZDMG, 40. 142.

*ksh* becomes *kh* in *ithijhakha*, *saṁkhit[ε]na*; *chh* in *chhaṇati*, *ackhatim*, *chhamitave*, *chhāti*, *chhudaṁ*, *chhudakena*, *vrachhā*.

*khl* becomes *kh* in *kho* = Skt. *khalu*; see above, p. lvi and n. 2.

*gn* becomes *g* in *agi*.

*gr* becomes *g* in *agenā*, *-anugaho*.

*jñ* becomes *mñ* or *ñ* in *katamñātā*, *rāñā*, *rāño*, *āñapayāmi*, *āñapayisati*, *āñapitaṁ*, *ñāti*, *ñātika*.

*dy* becomes *ḍ* in *Pādā* (= Skt. *Pāṇḍyā*).

*ny* becomes *mñ* in *ānamñam*, *hiramñā*; *mñ* or *ñ* in *apumñam* and *puiñam*.<sup>2</sup>

*tm* becomes *tp* in *ātpa*-. Cf. *tp* = *tv*, below.

*ty* becomes *ch* in *[a]pacham*, *āchāyi[ke]*, *ilokachasa*, *ekachā*, *kacham*, *parichajitpā*, *prachamtesu*.

Other instances of palatalization are *j* = *dy*, *jh* = *dhy*, *chh* = *ts*, *kś*, *ksh*.

*tr* remains or becomes *t*; see e.g. *trī* and *tī*, *tatra* and *tata*, *ānatra* and *añata*, *sarvatra* and *sarvata*, *putra* and *puta*, *mitra* and *mita*, *mahāmātra* and *mahāmāla*.

*tv* becomes *tp* in *chatpāro*, *ārabhitpā*, *[a]-lochitpā*, *dasayitpā*, *parichajitpā*, *tadātpano(ne)*, *-hitatpā*. Cf. *db* = *dv* in *dbādasa*.

*ts* becomes *chh* in *chikichhā*; *s* in *usaṭena*.<sup>3</sup>

*tsth* becomes *sṭ* in *ustāna* for *\*ut-sthāna*,<sup>4</sup> while the corresponding Sanskrit word is *utthāna*.

*dy* becomes *j* in *aja*, *paṭipajetha*; *y* in *uyānesu*.

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps *susrusā* is meant for *susrussā*, as *bhuya* for *bhuyya*; see above, p. lix. Cf. also Geiger's *Pāli*, § 6.

<sup>2</sup> For the epenthesis of *i* see above, p. lvii, n. 1.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *ṭhāṇa* = Skt. *sthāna* in Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 309.

<sup>4</sup> See above, p. lvi, n. 4.



*dhavati*, are about equally frequent in the Gīrnār text. In *thaira* = Skt. *sthavira*, *v* is elided and *ai* contracted to *ai*.

As in most Prākṛits, the two sibilants *ś* and *ṣ* have become *s* throughout: e.g. *paśu* = Skt. *paśu*, *dosa* = *dōsha*.

As in all other Prākṛits, final consonants are dropped. Hence the ablative singular of masculines and neuters in *-a* ends in *-ā* (= *-āt*); Skt. *tat*, *etat*, *yat*, and *yāvat* become *ta*, *eta*, *ya*, and *āva*; Skt. *bhavēti*, *abhavat*, *vasēyuh* become *bhave*, *aho*, *vaseyu*; and the nom. plur. of masculines in *-a* and of feminines in *-ā* ends in *-ā* (= *-āḥ*). But *ā* is shortened in the dative-genitive *imāya dhaṁmānusastīya* (III, 3), in the nom. plur. fem. *chikichha* (II, 4), and in the 3. sing. optative *tisteya* (for *\*tishthēyāt*). Final *as* generally becomes *o* (e.g. *yaso* = Skt. *yaśaḥ*, *rāṇo* = *rājāḥ*, *tistanto* = *tishthantaḥ*, *Devānāmpriyo* = *Dēvānāmpriyaḥ*); but in some instances the corresponding Māgadhā form in *-e* is improperly used (e.g. *Devānāmpiye*, XII, 1), and in others we have *-ā* (*Magā*, XII, 8; *sā* = Skt. *saḥ*, XIII, 10; *esā* = *ēśaḥ*<sup>1</sup>) or *-a* ([*A*]nt[*ek*]ina, XIII, 8, *bhuya* = *bhūyaḥ*, VIII, 5, and *esa*). Final *is* becomes *i* in *apachiti*, *rati*, *kīni*, but *ī* in *līpi*, &c.

While thus all final consonants are dropped, a word may end not only in a simple vowel, but in a nasalized vowel, i.e. in a vowel + Anusvāra, and Sanskrit words ending in *m* and *n* substitute Anusvāra for these two nasals; e.g. Skt. *dānam* becomes *dānaṁ*, and *karuṁ* (XII, 4) is formed from Skt. *karōti* on the analogy of Skt. *kurvan*. Just as in modern Hindī, Anusvāra is, however, omitted frequently in writing; see *ida* (XI, 3), *katavya* (= Skt. *kartavyam*, IX, 6), *dana* (= *dānam*, IX, 7), *phala*, *mata* (= *matam*, XIII, 2, and = *mṛitam*, XIII, 1), *mādava*, *vinikhamana*, *saka* (= *śakyam*), *ki* (IX, 9), *kiti* and *kīti* (= *kīrtim*), *chhāti* (= *kshāntim*), *v[a]dhi* (= *vṛiddhim*), *susumsera* (= *śuśrūṣhēran*), *karu* (for *karuṁ*), *ārādhetu* (= *ārādhayitum*), *eva* (= *ēvam*, IX, 1).<sup>2</sup>

A long nasalized vowel is generally shortened (e.g. *gaṇanāyaṁ*, *bhūtānaṁ*, *yesaṁ*, *ñātinaṁ*, *gurūnaṁ*, *anuvataṁ*); but it is preserved in *bhūtānaṁ* (XIII, 7), *pūjāṁ*, *yātāṁ*, *anuvīdhiyatāṁ*. Anusvāra is omitted in *pū[jā]* (= Skt. *pūjām*, XII, 2), *mahāthāvah[ā]*, *susru[m]sā*, *susrusatā*. The long vowel is shortened and Anusvāra is omitted at the same time in *tesa* (= *tēśhām*, XIII, 4) and *saṁtīraṇāya* (loc. sing. of *saṁtīraṇā*, VI, 9), unless the latter is a genitive used in the sense of the locative.

### III. SANDHI.

In the last paragraphs it was shown that at the end of words consonants are as a rule dropped and nasals converted into Anusvāra. In *tad-opayā* (VIII, 5) and *tad-aṁñathā* (XII, 5) the final consonant of the base *tad* is preserved in composition,<sup>3</sup> and final *m* remains before an initial vowel in *evamapi* (II, 2) and *katavyam-eva* (IX, 3). Similarly, hiatus is prevented by nasalizing the first of two vowels in [*a*]ñam-aññasa (= Skt. *anyōnyasya*, XII, 7) and *bhatam-ayesu* (= *bhṛitā-ryēshu*, V, 5; cf. Text, p. 10, n. 4).

In the majority of cases, *a + ā* are, as in Sanskrit, contracted into *ā*; e.g. *nāsti*, *dhaṁmānusāsanāṁ*, *prānāraṁbho*. But the first *a* is elided before *a* in *dhaṁm-avāyo* (XIII, 1), *dham-anugaho* (IX, 7), *dhām-adhiṣṭānāya* (V, 4), *etayam* (= *\*itra + ayam*, VIII, 3); before *e* in *etāy-eva* (III, 3), *cheva* (IV, 7; XIV, 3), *chesā* (XIII, 4), *ta[te]ta* (= *tatraitat*, IX, 4), *ten-esā* (VIII, 3); before *o* in *m[a]nus-opagān[i]* (II, 5), and *u* before *o* in *pas-o[pa]gāni* (II, 6). The result of *i + a* is *ī* in *ithijhakha* (= *stry-adhyaksha*, XII, 9).

### IV. GROUPS OF CONSONANTS.

The Gīrnār dialect has preserved a number of combined consonants which would have been assimilated in the later Prākṛits. As remarked by Bühler (*Ind. Pal.*, § 16, last section), there are among them some ligatures in which the second consonant is placed first for the sake of convenience in writing. As this point is of importance because it affects the transcription of the Gīrnār alphabet, I subjoin a list of such combinations of consonants.

- (a) *tp* (written *pt*) in *ārabhitpā*, *dasayitpā*, [*a*]-*lochetpā*, *-hitatpā*, *tadātpano(nē)*, *chatpāro*, *ātpa-*.
- (b) *vy* (written *yv*) in *vyamjanato*, *vyasanam*, *vyāpatā*, *apa-vyayatā*, *divyāni*, *magavyā*, *katavya*, *vataavyam*, *prajūhitavyam*, *ovāditavyam*, *vijetavyam*, *lochetavyā*, *paṭ[i]vedeta[v]yam*.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Text, p. 15, n. 7.

<sup>2</sup> It deserves to be noted that in the R̥gveda *ēva* is used nearly throughout in the sense of *ēvam*.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 341.



(c) *st* (written *ts*) in *anusasṭi*, *seṣṭe*, *tisṭanto*, *tisṭeya*, *ṣṭitā*, *-adhistānāya*, *uṣṭāna*, *nistānāya*.

Although in the words given under (a) *tp* is written as *pt*, their Sanskrit prototypes suggest that we have to pronounce and transcribe *tp*. Michelson (JAOS, 31. 235 f.) supports this view by referring to *dbādasa* = Skt. *dvādaśa* (III, 1; IV, 12): 'There is no question but that *db* represents the correct order of the letters. Now if Indic *dv* becomes *db*, then Indic *tv* surely should become *tp*. Hence gerunds in *-tpā* (Skt. *-tvā*) are to be read as such. This settles the reading *ātpa* (Skt. *ātma*-) without further arguments.'

The same holds good for (b) *vy* which is written *yv*. Dr. Michelson writes to me:—'It is inconsistent to transcribe *divyāni*, *vyasanam*, but *-tayva*, as the same symbol is used in all cases. *yvasanam* would be unpronounceable. Bühler's argument from Pāli that *yv* is correct from the analogy of *yh* from Skt. *hy* is useless, as *vy* does not become *yv* but *bv* (or remains) in Pāli.' See also JAOS, 31. 235.

On the same analogy (c) *ts* has been transcribed by *st*, although Franke (*Gurupūjākāumudī*, p. 26, note) thinks that *ts* represents the actual pronunciation.

The fact that the Gīrnār alphabet marks the letter *r* in combination with several consonants was discovered independently by Senart (*Inscriptions de Piyadasi*, 1. 25 f.) and by Pandit Bhagvanlal Indraji (IA, 10. 106 and note). Although the *r* is generally placed at the top of the other consonant, nobody has ever doubted that it was in most cases pronounced after it, and that we must transcribe *kr*, *tr*, *pr*, *br*, and not *rk*, *rt*, *rp*, *rb*. The symbol *rs*, however, does duty for both *sr* and *rs*, and *rv* for *vr* and *rv*. The former must certainly be read *sr* in *sahasra*, *sruṇāru*, *bahu-srutā*, *susrūsā*, *srāvāpakam*, *-sramaṇānam*, *-nisrito*, *a[pa]-parisrave*, but it cannot be meant for anything but *rs* in *vimāna-darsanā* (IV, 3) and *dasa-varsābhisito* (VIII, 2). Likewise the symbol *rv* may be read *vr* in *vrachhā* (II, 8), but must be intended for *rv* in *sarva* and *sarvata* or *sarvatra*. The spelling *bhūta-pruva* (V, 4; VI, 2) would be, in the opinion of Michelson (JAOS, 31. 228), the result of an erroneous translation of the Māgadha form *-puluva* which the writer found in the original draft of the edicts. I consider it more likely that the writer wanted us to pronounce *-purva*, but committed the mistake of connecting the *r* with the *p* instead of inserting it before the *v*; cf. the same spelling in the Shāhbāzgarhī and Mānsehrā versions.

A large number of combined consonants are not preserved unchanged, but have been assimilated. In later Prākṛit inscriptions, as in the British Museum plates of Chārudēvi and in the plates of Vijaya-Dēvavarman (EI, 8. 144, and 9. 57), the double consonant which is the result of such an assimilation is written in full. The inscriptions of Aśoka and of the Andhra kings, however, express every double consonant by a single letter; e.g. *aggi* = Skt. *agni* is written *agi*, *attha* = *artha* becomes *atha*, *laddha* = *labdha* becomes *ladha*, *gabbha* = *garbha* becomes *gabha*, and *nijjhatti* = *\*nidhyapti* is spelt *nijhati*. In double nasals both ways of spelling are in use; e.g. *dhamma* and *dhama* = *dharma*, *añña* and *aña* = *anya*.

At the beginning of words an assimilated group is simplified in all Prākṛits; e.g. *ñāti* = Skt. *jñāti*, *ti* = *tri*, *pāṇa* = *prāṇa*, *bhātrā* = *bhrātrā*, *chhuda* (i.e. *chhudda*) = *kshudra*. Also in the interior of words an assimilated group may be simplified and the preceding vowel lengthened; see *kāsati* (also *kasati*, i.e. *kassati*) = *\*karshyati*, *dhāma* (also *dhamma*) = *dharma*, *vāsa* (also *varsa*) = *varsha*, *chikichhā* = *chikitsā*, *rājūka* (from *rajju* or *rajjū*; see Text, p. 5, n. 2).

In a few cases a long vowel preceding a group of consonants is shortened; see *anusasṭi* = Skt. *anūsāṣṭi*, *ayesu* (i.e. *ayyesu*) = *āryeṣhu*, *kiti* (i.e. *kitti*) = *kīrti*, *digha* (i.e. *diggha*) = *dīrgha*, *puva* (i.e. *puvva*) = *pūrva*. Even a long vowel preceding a simple consonant may be shortened and the consonant itself doubled; cf. Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 90 f. Thus the short vowel in *bhuya* (= Skt. *bhūyaḥ*), *anuvīdhiyare* and *anuvīdhiyatām* (from Skt. *anuvīdhīyatāḥ*) suggests that these words have to be read *bhuyya*, *anuvīdhiyyare* and *anuvīdhiyyatām*, and that consequently *tisṭeya* (VI, 13) may be meant for *tisṭēyya* with doubled *y* and short *e*, as in the corresponding Pāli form of the 3. sing. opt. act.<sup>1</sup> But, as a rule, a long vowel preceding a group remains unchanged; see *asamāṣ[a]m* (= Skt. *asamāptam*), *āchāy[ke]* (= *ātyayikam*), *āñāpayāmi* (= *ājñāpayāmi*), *āṭṭa* (= *ātma*-), *tadātpano(ne)*, *nāsti*, *parākrama*, *brā[m]haṇa* and *bāmhaṇa* (also *bramhaṇa* and *bamhaṇa*), *bhātrā*, *mahāmāta* and *mahāmātra*, *mādava* (= *mārdava*), *mahāthāvaha* (= *mahārthāvaha*), *rāñā*

<sup>1</sup> Similarly *nichā* may represent *\*nichchā*, into which *nichā* has been changed on the analogy of *uchchā*; see SPAW, 1914. 844.



- dr* becomes *d* in *chhudam*, *chhudakena*.  
*dv* remains in *dvo*, *dve*, but becomes *db* in *dbādasa*.  
*dhy* becomes *jh* in *ithijhakha*, *nijhati*, *majhamena*.  
*dhr* remains in *dhruvo*, [*A\**]*mdhra*.  
*ny* becomes *mū* or *ñ* in *amūa* and *añā*, *manūate* and *manate*, *ñayāsu*. Cf. *apumūa* = Skt. *apunya*.  
*pt* becomes *t* in *gutī*, *nijhatī*, *asamāś[a]m*, *saṁkhiś[e]na*, *Turamāyo* (= Πτολεμαῖος).  
*pn* becomes *pun* in *prāpuṇati* (from Skt. *prāpnōti*).  
*py* becomes *p* in *sāmīp[am]*.  
*pr* remains or becomes *p*; see e.g. *prakaraṇa* and *pakarana* (IX, 8), *prāṇa* and *pāṇa* (IX, 5), *Devānampiya* and *Devānampiya*, *Priyadasi* and *Piyadasi*, *pratīpatī* and *paṭipajetha* (XIV, 4), *saṁpratīpatī* and *saṁpaṭipatī* (IV, 6).  
*bdh* becomes *dh* in *ladhesu*.  
*br* remains in *brā[m]haṇa* (IV, 2) and *brahmāṇa* (IV, 6), but becomes *b* in *bāmhaṇa* and *bamhaṇa* (IX, 5).  
*bhy* becomes *bh* in the passive forms *ārabhare*, *ārabhisu*, *ārabhisare*.  
*bhr* becomes *bh* in *bhātrā* or *bhāt[ā]*.  
*my* remains in *samya-*.  
*mr* becomes *m̐b* (through the intermediate stage *\*m̐br*) in *Tambapaṁṇī*.  
*rg* becomes *g* in *svaga*.  
*rg̐h* becomes *gh* in *dighāya*.  
*r̐ṇ* becomes *m̐ṇ* in *Tambapaṁṇī*.  
*rt* becomes *t* in *katavya*, *kiti* or *kīti*, *amev[a]tare*, *anuvataṛam*, *anuvatisare*; *ṭ* in *saṁvaṭa* or *savaṭa*.  
*rth* becomes *th* in *atha*.  
*rd* becomes *d* in *mādava*.  
*rdh* becomes *dh* in [*pra\**]*vadhayisaṁti* (IV, 9); *ḍh* in *vaḍhayati* (XII, 4), *vaḍhayisati* (IV, 7), *vaḍhita*. Cf. *ṭ* for *rt* in *saṁvaṭa*.  
*rbh* becomes *bh* in *gabhāgāramhi*.  
*rm* becomes *m̐m* or *m* in *kaṁma* (= Skt. *karman*), *dhamma* and *dhama*.  
*ry* becomes *y* in *ayesu*,<sup>1</sup> but is represented by *riy* in *samachairam*, which presupposes the form *\*samachariyam* (= Skt. *\*sama-charyam*); see above, p. lvii.  
*rv* remains or becomes *v* in *sarva* or *sava*. Instead of Skt. *pūrva* we have *puva* in IV, 5, while *pruva*, which is probably meant for *pūrva*, occurs in two places; see above, p. lix.  
*rs* becomes *rs* in *vimāna-darsanā*, but *s* in *hasti-da[sa]ṇā*, *dasane*, *dasayitpā*, *Priyadasi*; *daspanam* (VIII, 4) is probably a clerical mistake for *darsanam*.  
*rsh* becomes *rs* in *varsa* (VIII, 2), but *s* in *vāsa* (= Skt. *varsha*).  
*rshy* becomes *s* in *kāsati*, *kāsaṁti*, *kasa[m]ti*.  
*rh* becomes *rah* in *garahati*, *garahā*.  
*lp* becomes *p* in *apa*, *kapā*.  
*ly* becomes *l* in *kalāṇa*.  
*vy* remains in *vyamjanato*, *-vyayatā*, *vyasanam*, *vyāpatā*, *divyāni*, *magavyā*, and in the affix *-tavya* (seven instances), but becomes *y* in *pūjetayā* (XII, 4).  
*vr* becomes *v* in *tī[v]o*, [*pa*]*vajitāni*, *vacha* (VI, 3; XII, 9) = Skt. *vraja*.  
*sch* becomes *chh* in *pachhā*. Other instances in which a sibilant causes aspiration are *kh* = *sk*, *shkr*, *ksh*; *chh* = *ts*, *kś*, *ksh*; *th* = *str*.  
*sy* becomes *s* in *pasati*, but *siy* in *paṭivesiyehi* (XI, 3).  
*sr* becomes *sr* in *sramaṇa*, *susrūsā*, *susru[m]sā*, *susrusā*, *susrusātā*, *bahu-srutā*, *srāvāpakam*, *nisrito*, but *s* in *samaṇa*, *susumāsā*, *susumsera*, *seste* (= Skt. *śrēṣṭham*).  
*śv* becomes *sv* in *sveto*.  
*shk* becomes *k* in [*du*]*kataṁ*, *dukaram*.  
*shkr* becomes *kh* in *vinikhamana*.

<sup>1</sup> The 3. plur. imper. act. [*n*]*iyātu* (III, 3) need not be derived from *nir-yā*, but may stand for *niyāntu*; cf. *ñayāsu* (VIII, 1) from *nī-yā* used in the sense of *nir-yā*.



*shṭr* becomes *ṣṭ* in *Ri(Rā)ṣṭika*.

*shṭh* loses its aspiration and becomes *ṣṭ* in *seṣṭe*, *tisṭeya*, *tisṭamto*, *niṣṭānāya*, *-adhīṣṭānāya*. Cf. the Māgadhi forms *śuṣṭu* = Skt. *sushṭhu* and *koṣṭāgālam* = *kōshṭhāgāram* (Hēmachandra, IV, 290, and Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 303), and at Girnār *ṣṭita* = Skt. *sthita*, *uṣṭāna* = \**ut-sthāna*, *Ri(Rā)ṣṭika* = *Rāshṭrika*, *anusasṭi* = *anuśāṣṭi*.

*shy* becomes *s* in *manusa*, *āñṇapayisati*, and in other futures.

*sk* becomes *kh* in *agi-kh[a]mḍhāni*.

*st* remains in *asti*, *nāsti*, *hasti*, *saṁstuta*, *vistata*; it becomes *ṣṭ* in *anusasṭi*.

*str* becomes *th* in *ithi*.

*sth* becomes *th* in *thaira*, *st* in *gharastāni*<sup>1</sup> and *ṣṭ* in *ṣṭitā*.

*sm* becomes *mh* in the locatives in *-amhi*.

*sy* becomes *s* in the genitives in *-asa*, and in the optatives *asa*, *asu* of root *as*.

*sr* remains in *sahasra* and *a[pa]-parisrave*, but becomes *s* in *parisave* (X, 3).

*sv* remains in *svaga*, *svāmikena*, *svayaṁ*, but becomes *s* in *sarasake* (XIII, 11).

*hm* becomes *mh*, as in Prākṛit, in *banhaṇa* and other equivalents of the Sanskrit and Pāli word *brāhmaṇa*.

## B.—DECLENSION

### I. BASES IN *-a*.

#### (1) Masculines and neuters in *-a*.

Singular.		Plural.
Nom. masc. <i>jano</i> , &c.	} neut. <i>dānaṁ</i> , &c.	Masc. <i>morā</i> , &c.; neut. <i>phalāni</i> , &c.
Acc. masc. <i>janam</i> , &c.		Masc. <i>yute</i> , <i>athe</i> ; neut. <i>divyāni</i> , <i>rūpāni</i> .
Instr. <i>janena</i> , &c.		<i>paṭivesiyehi</i> , <i>satehi</i> .
Dat. <i>athāya</i> , &c.		
Abl. <i>kapā</i> , <i>-hitatpā</i> , <i>pachhā</i> .		
Gen. <i>janasa</i> , &c.		<i>thairānaṁ</i> , &c.
Loc. (a) <i>athamhi</i> , &c.; (b) <i>kāle</i> , &c.		<i>thairesu</i> , &c.

Nom. sing.—In a few neuters the final Anusvāra is missing, viz. *phala*, *mata*, *mādava* (acc.), *vinikhamāṇa*. In many instances the Māgadha termination *-e* is used; (a) masculines:—*parisave*,<sup>2</sup> *a[pa]-parisrave*, *Devānaṁpiye* (XII, 1), *prādesike*, *bhā[g]e*, *rājūke*, *sakale*, *sayame*; (b) neuters:—*āchāyī[ke]*, *kaṁme*, *-charaṇe*, *tārise*, *dasane*, *dāne*, *-puve*, *bakuvīdhe*, *maṁgale*, *-mate*, *mah[ā]-phale*, *mahālake*, *mūle*, *yārise*, *vaḍhite*, *vip[ul]e*, *seṣṭe*. The wrong form *-paṭivīdhāno* (VIII, 4) is probably due to the fact that the clerk who drafted the Girnār version thoughtlessly replaced the *-e* of the Māgadha neuter *paṭivīdhāne* by *-o*, as in the masculine *jano*, &c. = Māgadha *jane*, &c. The foreign name *[A]m[ek]ina* (XIII, 8) has no termination, while *Magā* lengthens its final *a*.

Dat. sing.—The form *athā* (XII, 9) for *athāya* is found also in the Delhi-Tōprā pillar-edict VII; cf. Text, p. 22, n. 3. and Michelson, JAOS, 31. 240.

Loc. sing.—In *pravāsaṁmhi* (IX, 2) the *m* is doubled. The termination *-e* occurs also in *pakarane*, *prakarane*, *Pāṭalīpute*, *vijaye*, *vijite*, *sarasake*; *tadātpano* is a mistake for *tadātpane*.<sup>3</sup>

The acc. plur. masc. uses the termination *-āni*, which, as shown by Lüders (SPAW, 1913. 992 ff.), is peculiar to the Ardhamāgadhi dialect, in four instances:—*agi-kh[a]mḍhāni* (IV, 4) and *sava-pāsaṁdāni cha* *[pa]vajitāni cha* *gharastāni cha* *phujayati* (XII, 1).

The acc. plur. neut. has the termination *-ā* instead of *-āni* in *vimāna-darsanā cha hasti-da[sa]nā cha* (IV, 3).

Gen. plur.—The long vowel is preserved before Anusvāra in *bhūtānām* (XIII, 7).

Loc. plur.—The final *u* is lengthened in *paṁthesū* (II, 8).

<sup>1</sup> In accordance with Vararuchi, IV, 32, and Hēmachandra, II, 144, Skt. *griha* is replaced by *ghara*.

<sup>2</sup> The corresponding Pāli word *parissaya* is not a neuter, as Childers thought, but a masculine; see Lüders, SPAW, 1913. 1004 and n. 5.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *-paṭivīdhāno* for *-paṭivīdhāne* in the nom. sing.



## (2) Feminines in -ā.

Singular.	Plural.
Nom. <i>icchā</i> , &c.	(a) <i>katā</i> (II, 4); (b) <i>mahīḍāyo</i> .
Acc. <i>pūjām</i> , <i>yātām</i> .	
Instr. <i>pūjāya</i> , &c.	
Loc. <i>gaṇanāyaṁ</i> , <i>parisāyaṁ</i> .	

Acc. sing.—The final Anusvāra is omitted in *pū[jā]* (XII, 2), *mahāthāvaḥ[ā]* (X, 1), *susru[m]sā* (X, 2).

Loc. sing.—In *saṁtīraṇāya* (VI, 9) the final Anusvāra is omitted, or it may be a genitive used in the sense of the locative.

Nom. plur.—In *chikichha* (II, 4) the long *ā* of the first of the two different terminations is shortened. The second termination is identical with -āo in the Prākṛits; see Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 376.

## II. BASES IN -ī.

## (1) Masculines in -ī.

Nom. plur. <i>trī</i> , <i>tī</i> .
Gen. plur. <i>ñātinām</i> .
Loc. plur. <i>ñātīsu</i> .

The nom. plur. in -ī is common in Prākṛit; see Pischel's *Grammatik*, p. 380.

## (2) Feminines in -ī and -ī.

Singular.	Plural.
Nom. <i>lipī</i> , &c.	<i>aḷaviyo</i> .
Acc. <i>Sambodhinī</i> , &c.	
Instr. <i>-anusasṭiyā</i> , <i>bhatiyā</i> .	
Dat. <i>-anusasṭiya</i> (with final <i>ā</i> shortened).	
Nom. sing.—The final <i>ī</i> remains short in <i>apachiī</i> , <i>rati</i> , <i>hīni</i> .	
Acc. sing.—The final Anusvāra is omitted in <i>kiti</i> (X, 2), <i>kīti</i> (X, 1), <i>chhāti</i> (XIII, 11), <i>v[a]dhi</i> (IV, 11).	

## III. BASES IN -u.

Besides the gen. plur. masc. *gurūnam* we have three forms of the neuter base *bahu*, viz. nom. sing. *bahu*, nom. and acc. plur. *bahūni*, and instr. plur. *bahūhi*. The nom. sing. *sādhū* is the same in all three genders.

## IV. BASES IN -ī.

Instr. sing. masc. <i>pitā</i> (for <i>pitrā</i> ), <i>bhātrā</i> or <i>bhāt[ā]</i> .
Loc. sing. <i>pitari</i> , <i>mātari</i> and <i>mātr[i]</i> .

## V. BASES IN CONSONANTS.

As in other Prākṛits, bases ending in consonants have a tendency to follow the analogy of the *a*-declension. Thus the feminine base *parishad* becomes *parisā* (III, 6) and forms the loc. sing. *parisāyaṁ* (VI, 7). The present participle *sat* forms the nom. sing. masc. *saṁto*. Of bases in -an, *panthan* forms the loc. plur. *paṁthesū*, and the neuter *karman* the Māgadha nom. sing. *kaṁme* and the dat. sing. *kaṁmāy[a]*.

The original consonantal declension survives in the subjoined incomplete paradigms.

## (1) Present participles in -at.

Nom. sing. masc. <i>karuṁ</i> or <i>karu</i> .
Nom. plur. masc. <i>tiṣṭaṁto</i> .

The nom. sing. *karuṁ* is derived from the Sanskrit verb *karōti*. In *karu* the Anusvāra is omitted. Two other forms of the same case, *karoto* (for *\*kareṁto*) and *saṁto* (from root *as*) follow the analogy of the *a*-declension.



(2) Masculines and neuters in *-an*.

Singular.	Plural.
Nom. masc. <i>rājā</i> .	<i>rājāno</i> .
Acc. neut. <i>nāma</i> .	
Instr. <i>rāñā</i> .	
Gen. <i>rāño</i> .	

In the nom. sing. masc. [*Yo*]na-rāja (XIII, 8) the final *ā* is shortened, while II, 3 has *Yona-rājā*.

(3) Masculines in *-in*.

Nom. sing. <i>Priyadasi</i> , <i>hasti</i> .
Instr. sing. <i>Priyadasinā</i> .
Gen. sing. <i>Priyadasino</i> .

(4) Neuters in *-as*.

Acc. Sing. *yaso*, *bhuya* (= Skt. *bhūyah*).

## C.—PRONOUNS

## (1) Pronoun of the first person.

Nom. sing. <i>aham</i> .
Instr. sing. <i>mayā</i> .
Gen. sing. <i>mama</i> , <i>me</i> .

(2) Base *ta*.

Singular.	Plural.
Nom. masc. <i>so</i> } neut. <i>ta</i> .	Masc. <i>te</i> .
Acc.	
Instr. <i>tena</i> .	
Dat. <i>tāya</i> .	<i>tehi</i> .
Gen. <i>tasa</i> .	<i>te[sa]m</i> , <i>tesa</i> .
Loc. <i>tamhi</i> .	

Nom. sing. fem. *sā*.

In *pīti-raso sā* (XIII, 10) the nom. sing. masc. ends in *-ā*. The neuter *ta* (= Skt. *tat*) occurs twice (X, 3; XIII, 2) as pronoun and frequently as conjunction. Its Māgadha equivalent *se* is taken over unchanged in I, 10.

(3) Base *na*.

Acc. plur. masc. *ne*; neut. *nāni*.

For this pronoun see Hēmachandra, III, 70, 77.

(4) Base *ēta*.

Singular.	Plural.
Nom. masc. <i>esa</i> (X, 3), <sup>1</sup> <i>esā</i> ; neut. <i>eta</i> , <i>etañ</i> , <i>esa</i> .	Masc. <i>etē</i> .
Acc. neut. <i>eta</i> (XI, 3).	
Dat. <i>etāya</i> , <i>etakāya</i> .	
Gen. <i>etasa</i> .	
Loc. <i>etamhi</i> .	

Nom. sing. fem. *esā* (VIII, 3).

With the nom. sing. masc. *esā* (VIII, 5;<sup>2</sup> XIII, 4) cf. *sā* (= Skt. *saḥ*, XIII, 10) and *Magā* (XIII, 8). The neuter *eta* (= Skt. *etat*) occurs twice, and *etañ* once (X, 4), while the masculine

<sup>1</sup> Cf. above, p. lxii, n. 2.

<sup>2</sup> See Text, p. 15, n. 7.



form *esa* is employed three times as neuter and was known as such to Hēmachandra (III, 85), who quotes *esa siram* (= Skt. *ṛtachukhiraḥ*). Cf. the Māgadha nom. sing. *se*, which is used both as masculine and as neuter (= Skt. *saḥ* and *tat*), and see Pischel's *Grammatik*, p. 299.

(5) Demonstrative *idam*.

Singular.	Plural.
Nom. masc. <i>ayan</i> ; neut. <i>idam</i> , <i>ayan</i> .	Masc. <i>ime</i> .
Acc. neut. <i>idam</i> .	
Instr. <i>iminā</i> .	
Gen. <i>imasa</i> .	
Loc. <i>imamhi</i> .	
Nom. sing. fem. <i>iyam</i> , <i>ayan</i> .	
Dat. sing. fem. <i>imāya</i> .	

The Anusvāra of the neuter *idam* is omitted in *ida* (XI, 3). The masculine *ayan* is employed instead of it three times, and instead of the feminine *iyam* (I, 1) five times. In Pāli only *ayan* is used as feminine.

## (6) Interrogative Pronoun.

The nom. sing. neut. *ki* (for *kin*) occurs in IX, 9, and *kam*, used as an indefinite, in XIV, 3. Of the indefinite base *kinchid* we have the nom. sing. masc. *kochi* (XII, 5) and the neuter *kinchi* or *kich[i]* (X, 3). The compound *kinṭi* or *kiti* (XII, 2) is used in the sense of 'that, in order that'.

## (7) Relative Pronoun.

Singular.	Plural.
Nom. masc. <i>yo</i> ; neut. <i>ya</i> .	Masc. <i>ye</i> ; neut. <i>yāni</i> .
Acc. neut. <i>ya</i> , <i>ya[m]</i> .	
Gen. <i>yasa</i> .	<i>yesam</i> .
Nom. plur. fem. <i>yā</i> .	

The acc. sing. neut. *ya[m]* is found only in X, 3, while *ya* (= Skt. *yat*) occurs ten times.

(8) Base *anya*.

Singular.	Plural.
Nom. masc. <i>amñe</i> ; neut. <i>añ[a]</i> , <i>añe</i> .	Masc. <i>a[m]ñ[e]</i> , <i>añe</i> } neut. <i>añāni</i> .
Acc.	Acc.
Dat. <i>añāya</i> .	
Gen. <i>[a]ñamamñasa</i> .	
Loc. <i>añamhi</i> .	

The nom. sing. masc. and neut. *amñe* (VIII, 5) and *añe* (IV, 7) are Māgadha forms,<sup>1</sup> while *añ[a]* (IX, 5) is the regular equivalent of Skt. *anyat*.

(9) Base *sarva*.

Singular.	Plural.
Nom. and acc. sing. neut. <i>sarvam</i> , <i>savam</i> .	Masc. <i>savē</i> .
Loc. <i>sarve</i> , <i>s[a]ve</i> .	<i>[sa]vesu</i> .

(10) Base *ekatara*.

Loc. sing. *ekataramhi*.

(11) Base *\*ekatya*.

Nom. plur. masc. *ekachā*.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. above, p. lxii.

<sup>2</sup> The corresponding Pāli form is *ekachche*; see Childers, s. v., and Geiger's *Pāli*, § 113.



## D.—NUMERALS

One.

Nom. sing. masc. *eko*.

Two.

Nom. masc. *dvo*; fem. *dve*.

These two are the only dual forms preserved in the Gīrnār dialect.

Three.

Nom. masc. *trī*, *tī*.

Four.

Nom. masc. *chatpāro*.

Five.

Loc. *pañchasu*.

Ten, twelve, thirteen.

*dasa*, *dbādasa*, *traidasa*.

Hundred.

Acc. plur. *satāni*; instr. *satehi*.

Hundred thousand.

Nom. plur. *sata-sahasrāni*.

## E.—CONJUGATION

## I. PRESENT.

## (1) Bases.

## First Sanskrit class.

Root *kram*: *parākramāmi*, *pari(rā)k[a]mate*. The active form *kramati* occurs also in the epics, while classical Sanskrit has *krāmati* in the active and *kramatē* in the middle.

Root *gam*: *gaccheyam*.Root *garh*: *garahati*.Root *drś*: *pasati* (i.e. *passati* = Skt. *paśyati*).Root *bhū*: *bhavati* and *hoti*.

Root *labh*. The absolutive *ārabhitpā* and the passive forms *ārabhare*, *ārabhisu*, *ārabhisare* presuppose the present *\*ārabhate*, 'to kill' (= Skt. *ālabhatē*).

Root *vas*: *vaseyu*.Root *vṛt*: *anuṣ[a]tare*.Root *sthā*: *tisteya*.

## Second Sanskrit class.

Root *as*: *asti*.Root *yā*: *[n]iyātu*.Root *han* follows the analogy of the ninth class: *upahanāti*.

## Third Sanskrit class.

The gerundive *prajūhitavyam* presupposes the present *\*jūhati* = Pāli *juvhati* (for *\*juhvati*); see Pischel, GGA, 1881. 1324.

## Fourth Sanskrit class.

Root *pad*: *paṭipajetha* (= Skt. *pratipadyēta*).Root *man*: *mamñate* (= Skt. *manyatē*).



## Fifth Sanskrit class.

Root *āp* follows the ninth class : *prāpuṇati* (for *°namti*).<sup>1</sup>

Root *śru* follows the ninth class and forms the 3. plur. imperative active *sruṇāru*.

## Sixth Sanskrit class.

Root *ish* : *ichhati*.

## Seventh Sanskrit class.

Both *bhuj* (*bhujj[a]mānasa*, VI, 3) and *yuj* (*yujamtu*, IV, 11) follow the *a*-conjugation.

## Eighth Sanskrit class.

Root *kri* : *karoti*.

Root *kshaṇ* follows the *a*-conjugation : *chhaṇati*.

## Tenth Sanskrit class and causatives.

(a) With *aya* : *pūjayati*, *dasayitpā*, *dīpayema*, *ārādhayaṃtu*, *vaḍhayati*. The character *aya* is contracted into *e* in *paṭivedetha*, *paṭ[i]vedeta[v]yaṃ*, *pūjetayā*, *ārādhetu*, *lochetavyā*, [*a*]-*lochetpā*.

(b) With *paya* : *hāpesati* and the derivative *dāpaka*. The long vowel of the root *jñā* is shortened, as it is optionally in Sanskrit, before *paya* in *āñāpayāmi*. With this agrees the Prākṛit *āṇavedi*, while Pāli has *āñāpeti* with long *ā*; cf. Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 8.

(c) With *āpaya* : *likhāpayisaṃ*, *sukhāpayāmi* (which is, properly speaking, a denominative of *sukha*), and the derivatives *khānāpita*, *lekhāpita*, *hārāpita*, *srāvāpaka*. In *lekhāpita* the vowel *i* of the root *likh* is strengthened by Guṇa, while in *likhāpayisaṃ* it remains unchanged.

(d) With *pāpaya* : *ropāpita*.

## (2) Moods.

## (a) Indicative.

## Active.

1. sing. *parākramāmi*, *karomi*, *āñāpayāmi*.

3. sing. *garahati*, *pasati*, *bhavati* and *hoti*, *asti*, *upahanāti*, *ichhati*, *karoti*, *chhaṇati*, *pūjayati*, *vaḍhayati*.

3. plur. *pāti* (read *hoti*, XIII, 6), *ichhati* (VII, 2), *prāpuṇati* (XIII, 4). In these three forms we would have expected the termination *-nti* instead of *-ti*.

## Middle.

3. sing. *pari(rā)k[a]mate*, *maññate* or *mañate*, *karote*, which follows the analogy of the active *karōti*, while Sanskrit has the weak form *kurutē*.

3. plur. *karote* (IX, 3) for *\*karōnte*. The termination is *-re* in *anuv[a]tare* (XIII, 9), in the future *anuvatisare*, in the two passives *anuvīdhiyare* and *ārābhare*, and in the future passive *ārābhisare*. The same termination is known from Vēdic Sanskrit, Prākṛit, and Pāli; see Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 458.

## (b) Subjunctive.

## Active.

1. sing. *sukhāpayāmi* (VI, 12), which has the termination of the indicative, but must be explained as a subjunctive because it is co-ordinated with the optative *gachheyaṃ* and the imperative *ārādhayaṃtu*.

3. sing. *maññā* (XIII, 11) from *maññate*. Cf. *paśyāt* and many other Vēdic forms.

## (c) Optative.

## Active.

1. sing. *gachheyaṃ*.

3. sing. *asa* (= Pāli *assa* for *\*asyāt* from root *as*), *bhave*, *tisteya*. Pāli, too, has both the terminations *-e* and *-eyya*.

1. plur. *dīpayema*.

3. plur. *asu* (= Pāli *assu* for *\*asyuh*), *vaseyu*.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the Ardhamāgadhī form *pāṇanti* in Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 504.



## Middle.

3. sing. *paṭipajetha* (XIV, 4). The termination *-tha* (= Skt. *-ta*) is the same in Pāli; see Geiger's *Pāli*, § 129.

3. plur. *susūṃsera* (desiderative of *śru*) with the termination *-ra* for Pāli *-raṃ* = Skt. *-ran*.

## (d) Imperative.

## Active.

2. plur. *paṭivedetha* (VI, 5). As in Prākṛit and Pāli, the termination of the corresponding person of the indicative is transferred to the imperative.

3. plur. *yujāntu*, *ārādhayaṃtu*, [*n*]iyāntu (with *-tu* for *-ntu*), *sruṇāru* (XII, 7) from *\*sruṇāti* = Skt. *śṛiṇōti*. With the termination *-ru* cf. the middle termination *-re* in the indicative, the optative *susūṃsera*, and the imperative *anuvataṛaṃ*.

## Middle.

3. sing. *anuvīdhiyatām* (passive) and *susrusatā* (desiderative).

3. plur. *anuvataṛaṃ* (VI, 14). Pischel (GGA, 1881. 1331) compared the Vēdic imperative *duhrām*. The middle termination *-raṃ* (for *-rām*) corresponds to Skt. *-ntām*, as the active termination *-ru* to Skt. *-ntu*, and as the indicative middle termination *-re* to Skt. *-ntē*. In the optative middle the Sanskrit termination *-ran* agrees with Gīrnār and Pāli.

## (e) Imperfect.

3. sing. act. *aho* for *\*abhot* = Skt. *abhavat*; see Johansson, *Shāhb.*, § 30, last section.

## II. AORIST.

3. plur. act. *ñayāsu* (VIII, 1) = Skt. *\*nyayāsuḥ* from root *yā* with the preposition *ni* in the sense of *nis*; cf. Michelson, JAOS, 31. 245. The form *ahūmsu* (VIII, 2) seems to be based on the 3. sing. *ahu* (= Skt. *abhūt*), as Pāli *āsimsu* on *āsi* (= Skt. *āsīt*). In *ārabbisu* (I, 9), which must be connected with the passive *ārabbare* (I, 11) = Skt. *ālabhyantē*, the *bh* is a defective spelling for *bḥ*.

## III. PERFECT.

3. sing. act. *āha*. The form *ayāya* (VIII, 2) has been generally explained as an imperfect of root *yā*. It may be as well a perfect of root *i*, = Skt. *iyāya*, but with modified reduplication.

## IV. FUTURE.

## Active.

1. sing. *likhāpayisaṃ* (XIV, 3) has the same termination as in Prākṛit and Pāli.

3. sing. *āñāpayisati*, *vaḍhayisati*, *hāpesati*, *kāsati* (= Pāli *kāhati*) from *\*karshyati*.

3. plur. [*pra\**] *vaḍhayisaṃti*, *anusāsisaṃti*, *kāsaṃti* and *kasa[m]ti* from root *kṛi*.

## Middle.

3. plur. *anuvatisare* (V, 2). In the passive *ārabbisare* (I, 12) the *bh* is a defective spelling for *bḥ*; cf. the remark on the aorist *ārabbisu*, above, section II.

## V. PASSIVE.

The forms which occur in the Gīrnār text are all derived from the two Sanskrit passives *ālabhyatē* and *anuvīdhiyatē*:

3. plur. indicative *ārabbare*, *anuvīdhiyare* are defective spellings for *ārabbhare*, *anuvīdhiyyare*; see above, p. lix.

3. sing. imperative *anuvīdhiyatām*.

3. plur. aorist *ārabbisu*.

3. plur. future *ārabbisare*.

## VI. DESIDERATIVE.

The 3. plur. optative *susūṃsera* (XII, 7) and the 3. sing. imperative *susrusatā* (X, 2) are derived from Skt. *śuśrūṣatē*.



## VII. PARTICIPLES.

## (1) Present participle.

## Active.

Root *sthā*: nom. plur. masc. *tistamto*.

Root *as*: nom. sing. masc. *samto*.

Root *kṛi*: nom. sing. masc. *karoto*, *karum*, *karu*.

## Middle.

Root *bhuj*: *bhunj[a]māna*.

## (2) Past passive participle.

(a) In *-ta*: *mata* (= Skt. *mata*, XIII, 2, and = *mṛita*, XIII, 1), *kata* (= *kṛita*), *vyāpata* (= *vyāpṛita*), *vistata* (= *vistṛita*), *usaṭa* (= *utsṛita*), *nisṛita* (= *\*nīṣṛita*), *sṛita* (= *sthita*), *atīkrāta* (VI, 1) or *atīkāta* (= *atīkrānta*), *vuta* (= *ukta*), *samāta* (= *samāpta*), *saṃkhita* (= *saṃkshipta*), *ladha* (= *labdha*), *āṇapita*, &c. The participles *vijita* and *vinīta* (VI, 4) are used as substantives.

(b) The only participle in *-na* is *prasamna*.

## (3) Future passive participle.

(a) In *-tava*: *katavya* (= Skt. *kartavya*), *vatavya* (= *vaktavya*), *prajūhitavya* (from *\*jūhati* = Pāli *juvhati*), *ovādītavya* (from Pāli *ovadati*), *vijetavya* (from *vi-jī*), *pūjetaya* (= *pūjayitavya*), *lochetavya* (= *rōchayitavya*), *paṣ[i]vedeta[v]ya*.

(b) In *-ya*: *kacha* (= Skt. *kṛitya*, IX, 8), *saka* (= *śakya*).

## VIII. INFINITIVE.

(a) Accusative: *ārādhetu* (= Skt. *ārādhayitum*).

(b) Dative: *chhamitave* from root *ksham*; cf. Vēdic forms like *charitave*, and *gantave*, &c., in Pāli.

## IX. ABSOLUTIVE.

(a) In *-tpā* (= Skt. *-tvā*): *ārabhitpā*, *parichajitpā* (from root *tyaj*), *dasayitpā* (from causative of *dṛiś*), *[a]-lochetpā* (= *a-rōchayitvā*).

(b) The only absolute in *-ya* is *sachhāya* from *saṃ-kṣā* (= *saṃ-khyā*).

## F.—SUFFIXES

Under this heading I note a few remarkable formations which differ from Sanskrit.

(1) *Kṛit* suffixes.

(a) *-anā*: *saṃtiraṇā* from Skt. *tīrayati*.

(b) *-ti*: *nijhati* = *\*nidhyapti*, *anusastī* = Skt. *anūsāsti* (Böhtlingk's *Wörterbuch*, 5. 991), while Pāli *anusisṭhi* agrees with Skt. *anūsishṭi*.

(c) *-ni*: *hīni* (IV, 11) from root *hā* on the analogy of the participle *hīna*.

The first member of the compound *vachī-guti* (XII, 3) is not a fossilized locative, as Michelson (JAOS, 31. 230) thinks, but must be connected with Ardhamāgadhi *vaī* or *vaī* = *\*vāchī*; see Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 413.

(2) *Taddhita* suffixes.

(a) *-ka*: *rājūka* (from *rajju*; see Text, p. 5, n. 2), and often pleonastic: *etaka*, *y[ā]vata[k]a*, *tāvataka*, *sarasaka*, *ñātika*.

(b) *-ālaka*: *mahālaka* (from Skt. *mahat*) = Prākṛit *mahālaya* and *mahallaya* (Pischel's *Grammatik*, pp. 402, 404).

(c) *-ika*: *ilokika* and *pāralokika* (XIII, 12).

(d) *-tya*: *ilokacha* (XI, 4), *ekacha* (I, 6). The first component of *ilokacha* and *ilokika* is the pronominal base *i*, from which Skt. *itara*, *itas*, and *iha* (for *idha*) are derived; see Franke in GN, 1895. 535.

(e) *-tara*, added to participles and substantives: *bāḍhataram*, *katavyataram*, *kammatarām* from Skt. *karman*.

(f) *-tvana*: *tadātpano(ne)*; see Text, p. 18, n. 8.



## G.—SYNTAX

Here also I do not aim at completeness, but note only a few particular constructions.

To denote time, several cases are used: the accusative in *atikātaṃ amtaraṃ*, 'in times past' (IV, 1; V, 3; VI, 1; VIII, 1), the instrumental in *bahūhi v[āsa]-satehi*, 'for many hundreds of years' (IV, 4), the dative in *dighāya*, 'in the distant (future)' (X, 1), and the locative in *pañchasa pañchasa vāsesu*, 'every five years' (III, 2), *sarve kāle*, 'at any time' (VI, 3, 8), and *tadātpano(ne)*, 'at the present time' (X, 1).

The nominative absolute occurs in XI, 4:—*so t[ā]thā karu*, 'if one is acting thus', and the genitive absolute in VI, 3:—*bhujy[a]mānasa me*, 'while I am eating'.

The genitive is employed in connexion with *bhavati* (IV, 10) and *nāsti* (VII, 3), and instead of the instrumental with *kata* (= *kṛita*, II, 4), *sādhu-matā* (I, 6 f.), and *katavya-mate* (VI, 9).

The 3. sing. *asti* is the predicate of a nominative plural in I, 6, and *nāsti* in three places (II, 6, 7; XIII, 5); cf. Pischel's *Grammatik*, p. 350. In XIV, 1 f., *asti* is used as a particle in the sense of *vā*. In IX, 1, it opens a sentence, as frequently in the *Pañchatantra*; cf. Speyer's *Sanskrit Syntax* (Leyden, 1886), p. 234, n. 2. For instances from Prākṛit literature see Pischel, op. cit., p. 294.

## CHAPTER VII.

## GRAMMAR OF THE KALSI ROCK-EDICTS

## A.—PHONETICS

## I. VOWELS.

THE vowel *a* becomes *i* through the influence of a neighbouring *y* in *majhima* (= *madhyama*), *vaḍhiyati* (= *vardhayati*), *vaḍhiyisati*, and *u* after a labial in *muta*,<sup>1</sup> *munisa* (= *manushya*), *uchā-vucha*. In *gik[i]tha* (= *grihastha*, XIII, 37) and *ud[u]pāna* (= *udapāna*) the vowel of the second syllable is assimilated to the first. In *Alīkyaśudale* (XIII, 8) the *u* is perhaps due to a popular etymology deriving the foreign name Ἀλέξανδρος from *alika*, 'the forehead', and *sundara*, 'beautiful'.

The *e* of *heta* or *hetā* (= *\*itra*) perhaps goes back to an original *i*; see above, p. lvi. In *edisa* and *heḍisa* the vowel *e* corresponds to the *i* of Skt. *īdriśa*.<sup>2</sup>

The *a* of *galu* corresponds to Skt. *u*; cf. above, p. lvi. In *munisa* (II, 6) the *u* of Skt. *manushya* has become *i* through the influence of the palatal *y* in the next syllable; cf. the form *manuśa* (i.e. *manuśśa*) at Shāhbāzgarhī and Mānsehrā, in which the *y* has palatalized the preceding *sh*.<sup>3</sup> In *kho* (= Skt. *khalu*) Skt. *u* is represented by *o*; see above, p. lvi and n. 2.

As in other Prākṛits, the Skt. vowel *ṛi* is lost. It becomes *a* in *[a]naniya* (= Skt. *ānṛiṇya*), *[u]shaṭa*, *kaṭa*, *dukaṭa*,<sup>4</sup> *gahaṭa* (= *grihastha*, XII, 31), *dakhati*, *bhaṭa*,<sup>5</sup> *bhaṭaka*, *mate*, *vataṃ* (= *vṛittam*, X, 27), *vaḍhi* and *vaḍhi* (= *vṛiddhi*), *vithaṭa*, *viyāpaṭa*; *i* in *edisa* and *heḍisa*, *tādisa*, *[ā]disa* (= *yādrīśa*), *kiṭanāṭ[ā]* (= *kṛitajñātā*), *gik[i]tha*, *diḍha*, *pañātikya* (= *\*pranapṭika*), *pitisu*, *bhātina*, *mige*, *migaviyā*; *u* in *ushuṭa*,<sup>6</sup> *shune[y]u*,<sup>7</sup> and after a labial in *a[gabhu]t[i]*, *palipuchhā*, *nī[v]uti* (= *nirvṛitti*), *vutaṃ* (= *vṛittam*, XIII, 11), *vudha* (= *vṛiddha*). It will be observed that in some of these words the original *ṛi* has caused the lingualization of the following dentals, and in *heḍisa*=Skt. *īdriśa* it has lingualized the preceding *d*. In *[lu]kha* (II, 6) the syllable *lu* corresponds to the syllable *vṛi* of Skt. *vṛiksha*; cf. Greek *λύκος* = Skt. *vṛika*, and see Wackernagel's *Altind.*

<sup>1</sup> The same form occurs in Pāli; see Geiger, § 18.

<sup>2</sup> Pāli has *edisa* and *erisa*, Prākṛit *īdisa* and *erisa*; see Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 121.

<sup>3</sup> Michelson (AJP, 32. 441) thinks that the vocalization of *munisa* may have followed the analogy of Māgadha *pulisa* = Skt. *purusha*. But the apparent resemblance of the two words is due chiefly to the defective spelling of *munisa*, which stands for *munissa*.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Skt. *vikāṭa* (for *vikṛita*), *utkaṭa*, *saṃkaṭa*.

<sup>5</sup> This Prākṛit word is used also in Sanskrit.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. the assimilation of the second vowel to the first in *ud[u]pāna* = Skt. *udapāna*.

<sup>7</sup> Here the *u* is due to the analogy of other forms of the root *śru*.



*Grammatik*, vol. 1, § 184, b). The Gīrnār equivalent *vrachha* disproves the etymology advocated by Pischel (*Grammatik*, § 320), who derived Prākṛit *rukṣha* from Skt. *rukṣa* (*Rigveda*, VI, 3, 7), to which Roth (*VIIIth Oriental Congress, Aryan Section*, p. 3) had assigned the meaning 'a tree', although the traditional meaning 'bright' gives a satisfactory sense.

The diphthongs *ai* and *au* are both lost. The former becomes *e* in *nī[che]* (perhaps = Skt. *nīchāiḥ*, VII, 22) and in the feminine case-termination *-e*; the second becomes *o* in *paṭotā* (XIII, 15), *pa[la]lokikya* or *palalokiya*, *-opaga* and *-opa[ya]*.

Short *a* is lengthened in *a[tiyāyike]* (= Skt. *ātyayikam*), *uyāma* (= *udyama*), *lāti* (= *rati*, VIII, 23), and at the end of a few bases in *-a*, viz. *uchāvuchā-* (VII, 21), *kiṭanā-* (= *krītajña*, VII, 22), *v[i]yā-* (= *vyaya*, III, 8), *śālā-* or *sh[ā]lā-* (= *sāra*), *shāvā-* (= *sarva*, XII, 31), *samanā-* (= *śramaṇa*, XI, 29). The lengthening of *a* is very frequent at the end of words; e.g. *ajā* (= *adya*), *atā* (= *ātra* and *yatra*), *anatā* (= *anyatra*), *asā* (= *yasya*), *āhā*, *evā* or *vā*, *chā*, *janasā*, *tasā* (= *tasya*), *tenā*, *dānenā*, *nā*, *nāmā*, *nikhamithā*, *Piyadasisā*, *mamā*, *hidā* (= *iha*), *hetā* (= *\*itra*).

Long *i* and *u* are nowhere distinguished in writing from the corresponding short vowels except in *osadhīn[i]* (II, 5), *Pi[ya]dasī* (I, 2), *s[i]lasi* (IV, 12), *[chū]* (I, 4), *majūf[ā]* (I, 4), *laj[ū]k[e]* (III, 7).

Similarly, *ā* is often represented by *a*. Although in some cases this defective spelling is perhaps due to the negligence of the writer, the subjoined list will not be considered superfluous.

(1) At the beginning: *akāla(le)na*, *anam[ta]/[i]yenā*, *[a]naniyam*, *apalaṁtā*<sup>1</sup> *ayatiye*, *alaṁbhiyisu*, *alabhi[ya]m[ti]*, *alābhī[y]isa[n]ti*, *av[āha]si*, *ahā*<sup>2</sup> (= Skt. *āha*, V, 13).

(2) In the interior of words: *adisha* (= *yādṛiṣam*, XI, 29), *anathesu* (= *anāthesu* at Dhauli), *apavahe* (= Skt. *apavāhaḥ*), *ava* (= *yāvat*, IX, 25), *ava[ta]ke*, *kala* (VI, 17), *Devanampiyem* (X, 28), *pa[la]lokikya* or *palalokiya* (= *pālalokika* in the two separate edicts at Dhauli and Jaugaḍa), *paśaḍa* (= Skt. *pāṣaṇḍa*, XII, 31), *badham* (XII, 32), *madhuliyāye*, *lajā*, *lajāne*, *lajinā*, *vijina-mane*, *v[i]dh[a]na[n]ti*, *vimana-*, *viyapaṭā* (V, 15), *vividh[aye]*, *shav[i]bhage*.

(3) At the end: *a* (= Skt. *ā*, XIII, 6), *anatha* (= *anyathā*), *abaka-* (= *ambikā*), *[e]sh[a]* (XIII, 37), *ma* (XIII, 16), *maha-phalā* (XIII, 14), *māta-pitisu* (III, 8), *lāja* (IV, 11), *va* (twice = *vā*), *hi[da]lokika* (XIII, 18).

Initial *a* is dropped in *pi* (= *api*) and *hakam* (for *ahakam* = *aham*); *i* in *ti* (= *iti*), also in *kiṁti* (only XII, 33) and *kīti*; *e* in *va* (only IX, 26) and *vā*, besides which the full forms *eva* and *evā* are also employed.<sup>3</sup>

## II. SIMPLE CONSONANTS.

The Kālśī dialect agrees with the Māgadha one in replacing the semivowel *r* by *l*, and the two nasals *ṇ* and *ṅ* by dental *n*, throughout.

The two gutturals *k* and *g* were often palatalized through the influence of the preceding vowel *i*. This pronunciation is expressed in writing by the groups *ky* and *gy*, of which the latter occurs three times in the word *Kaligya* (= Skt. *Kalīṅga*), and the former in *[n]iky[ā]y[ā]* (XII, 34), *Aliyashudale* (XIII, 8), and in the affixes *-ka* and *-ika* of *akāliky[e]*, *-thitikyā* and *-thitikyā*, *nātikya*, *panātikyā*, *pālaṁtikya*, *Pitinikyē[sh]n*, *-bh[n]mikyā*, *sh[a](shu)vām[i]kyena*, *sa[n]sayikyē*, *hidālokikya* and *pa[la]lokikya* (XIII, 18). Instead of the two last words we find also the forms *hi[da]lokika* and *palalokiya* (XIII, 17 f.), which suggest that *-ika* became *-iya* through the intermediate stage *-ikya*. In the same way Franke (VOJ, 9, 347, n. 2) explains *nilathiya*, which corresponds at Kālśī (IX, 24) to *niratha* at Gīrnār.<sup>4</sup> Another instance of the change of *k* to *y* after *i* would be *diyaḍha* (XIII, 35), which Pischel (*Grammatik*, § 230) derived from *\*dvikārdha*. To this may be added the affix *-ālaka* or *-ālaya* in *mahālaka* and *supadālaya* (V, 14); see below, p. lxxxiv.<sup>5</sup> The Kālśī

<sup>1</sup> Dhauli reads *āpalaṁtā*, and Gīrnār *[ā]parātā*. Cf. the adjective *Āparāntaka* in the *Kautiliya*, p. 81, l. 5.

<sup>2</sup> This may be an unreduplicated perfect, as in the pillar-edicts; see Michelson, IF, 23, 244.

<sup>3</sup> Instead of *no* at XIII, 16, we have perhaps to read *yo*, as at Shāhbāzgarhī. For *yo* = Prākṛit *yeva* see below, p. lxxxv.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. also *ata-patiya* in the pillar-edict IV, and *aṭha-bhāgiya* on the Rumindē pillar.

<sup>5</sup> In Turkish the guttural ک (kyaf) is liable to a similar palatalization and change to *y*; thus from کۆپک (kyöpek), 'a dog', is formed کۆپکی (pronounced kyöpeyi), 'his dog'.



dialect, like the Gīrnār dialect, furnishes an instance of the development of *y* from *g* in *-opaga* (II, 5) and *-opa[ya]* (VIII, 23). From the form *Kaligya*, which, as stated on p. lxxi, occurs three times at Kālsī, it may be inferred that the intermediate stage was *\*-opagya*. Greek *y* is expressed by *k* in *Amteki[ne]* and *Makā*, and *χ* by *g* in *Amtiyoga*. Skt. *gh* has become *h* in *lahu* and *lahuka*.

Of palatals, *ch* has been aspirated in *kechha* (= Skt. *kēcha*, XII, 32) and *kichhi* (= *\*kid + chid*). In *vacha* (VI, 18; XII, 34) *ch* corresponds to the *j* of Skt. *vraja*. The letter *j* has become *d* in *palitiditu* (X, 28), the absolutive of Skt. *parityajati*. Cf. Kuhn (*Pāli-Grammatik*, p. 36), who quotes from *Dhammapada*, p. 144 [l. 13], the aorist *parichchadi*; E. Müller's *Pāli Grammar*, p. 25; Fischel's *Grammatik*, § 215.

Dentals are lingualized in *duvāḍasa*; before *ri* in *heḍisa*; after *ri* in *[u]shaḍa* and *ushuḍa*, *kaḍa*, *dukaḍa*, *kiṭanāḍ[ā]*, *bhaḍa*, *bhaḍaka*, *maḍe*, *vithaḍa*, *viyāpaḍa*; after *ra* in the preposition *paṭi* (= Skt. *prati*). Dental *t* is palatalized in *chiṭhiṭ[u]* (IV, 12), the absolutive of Prākṛit *chiṭṭhadi*<sup>1</sup> (= Skt. *tishṭhati*). It is replaced by *d* in *dose* (VI, 19) and *hida-sukhāye* (V, 15).<sup>2</sup> In *tatopa[yā]* (= *tadopayā* at Gīrnār and Dhauri) it looks as if *t* had taken the place of *d*. But the first member of the compound might be, not *tad*, but *tata* (= Skt. *tatra*); cf. Senart's *Inscriptions de Piyadasi*, I. 194. In *hida* (= *idha* at Gīrnār) the *d* apparently corresponds to an original *dh*; but Johansson (*Shāhb.*, § 57) may be right in connecting *hida* with Vēdic *idā*, 'now'.

The labial aspirate *bh* has become *h* in the instrumental and dative plural in *-hi*, in *hoti*, *hotu*, *aho*, *huveyu*, *husu*, and in the participle *huta* (= Skt. *bhūta*), while *bhuta* is used as substantive.

The semivowel *y* has become *j* in *majūla* (= Skt. *mayūra*, I, 4); *v* in *visava* (= *viśaya*, XIII, 9) and *vas[e]vu* (= *vasēyuh*, VII, 21); *h* in *ye[ham]* (VI, 20).<sup>3</sup> Initial *y* is lost in *am* (= Skt. *yat*), *asā* (= *yasya*), *e* (= *yah*, *yat*, *yē*), *aṭ[a]* (= *yatra*), *athā* (= *yathā*), *[ā]ḍisa* (= *yāḍṛisa*), *āva* (= *yāvat*), *ava[ta]ke* (XIII, 39). In *apavudha* (= *apōdha*) *v* was developed out of *ū*.

The syllable *ya* becomes *i* in *palitiditu*, the absolutive of Skt. *parityajati*, and in *[a]pa-v[i]yātā* (= *apa-vyayatā* at Gīrnār), and *vā* becomes *u* in the absolutives in *-tu* (= Skt. *-tvā*).

In *i[e]ḍasa* (= *\*trayadaśa*) *aya* is contracted to *e*. The causative affixes *aya* and *ayi* either remain unchanged (in *dasayitu*, &c.) or are contracted (in *pujēti*, *pujētav[i]ya*, &c.); in *vadhiyati* and *vadhiyisati* the second *a* is changed to *i* through the influence of the palatal *y* which follows it. In the 3. sing. optative *nivāṭey[ā]* (= Skt. *nirvartayēt*) the *e* corresponds to an original *aye*.<sup>4</sup> For *ava* we have *o* in *olodhana*, *hoti*, *hotu*, *aho*.

Cases of Cockneyism are *hida* (= Skt. *iha*), *heḍisa* (= *īḍṛisa*), *heta* (= *\*itra*), *hevam*, and perhaps the conjunction *hamche* (IX, 26), which is identical in meaning with Pāli *sache*, 'if'. Johansson (*Shāhb.*, I. 66) derives it from Pāli *yamche* (Childers, *Pāli Dictionary*, p. 603, a) through the intermediate form *\*amche*, while Senart (IA, 21. 88) traces it directly to *sache*.

In the edicts I–IX the Kālsī dialect agrees with the Gīrnār one in replacing the two sibilants *ś* and *sh* by *s*.<sup>5</sup> From edict X the writer employs, besides *s*, the signs for *ś* and *sh*. In a few cases, *sh* is used where Sanskrit would require it; see *eshe*, *[va]sha* (= *varsha*, XIII, 35), *pāshamḍa*, *manu[shāna]m*, *tesham*, *yesham*, *ateshu* (= *antēshu*), *Kaṁbojeshu*, *Kali[m]geshu*, *nāṭikeshu*, *Nābhapaṁtishu*, *Pitinikeye[sh]u*, *pitishu*, *Y[o]neshe[u]*, *ladhesha(shu)*, *manishu*. But in the majority of instances both *sh* and *ś* are phonetically and etymologically impossible; see e.g. *taśa* and *tasha* (= Skt. *tasya*), *dāśa* and *dāsha* (= *dāsa*), *śamthuta* and *shamthuta* (= *śamstuta*), *ś[a]va* and *shava* (= *sarva*), *śālā-* and *sh[ā]lā-* (= *sāra*), *śiyāti* and *shiyāti* (= *syāt*), *[ś]e* and *she*, *shaha[ś]a* and *shahasha* (= *sahasra*). To explain this state of matters, we have to suppose that the writer spoke a dialect which knew no sibilant besides *s*, and that he used the letters *ś* and *sh* indiscriminately for expressing the same sibilant.<sup>6</sup> In other words, the letters *ś* and *sh* at Kālsī are purely graphical, and in the sequel it is tacitly assumed that every *ś* and *sh* is a vicarious symbol expressing dental *s*.

As in the Gīrnār dialect, all final consonants are dropped. The preceding vowel is sometimes lengthened; see *s[a]myā-* or *shamyā-* (= Skt. *samyak*, Pāli *sammā*), *palisā* (= Skt. *parishad*), *puna*

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Singhalese *siṭinu* or *hiṭinu*, 'to stand', in Geiger's *Litteratur und Sprache der Singhalesen*, p. 47, l. 3 f.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. below, p. lxxxv and n. 4.

<sup>3</sup> For similar forms of the 1. sing. optative see below, p. lxxxii.

<sup>4</sup> For similar contracted forms see below, p. lxxxii.

<sup>5</sup> But *ś* occurs twice in edict IV, l. 13 (*vaśa* = Skt. *varsha*, and *Piyadaśinā*).

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Senart's *Inscriptions de Piyadasi*, I. 37, and Bühler's *Ind. Pal.*, § 14, last section.



and *punā* (= *punar*), *āva*, *ava*, *avā* (= *yāvat*). It is nasalized in *avam* (XIII, 8). The termination *-ās* generally becomes *-ā* (e.g. *putā*), but the *ā* is shortened in a few cases; see below, p. lxxvi. Final *-as* becomes *-e*; e.g. *jāne* (nom. sing.), *natāle* (= Skt. *naptārah*), *lājine* (gen. sing.), *lājāne* (nom. plur.), *bh[u]ye* (= *bhūyah*), *ne* (= *nah*), *se* (= *sah*), *ye* or *e*, *amne*, *eke*, [*p*]ule (= Pāli *pure*, Skt. *purah*), [*m*]u[kha]t[*e*], *viyañjanat[*e*]*. But *o* is found instead of *e*, as at Girnār, in *Sātiyaputo*, *Ke[lala]puto*, *jani[yo]*, *lā[j]āno*, *yaso* or *yasho*, *tato*; *ā* in *Makā*; *a* in *vadha* (XIII, 36), *hidalokikya* (XIII, 17), *esh[a]* (XIII, 38), *va[cha]*- (XII, 31).

Sanskrit words ending in *m* and *n* substitute Anusvāra for these two nasals; e.g. *dhañmami*, *dānam*, and the two present participles *sañtam* and *kalañtam* (XII, 33), which correspond to Skt. *san* and *kurvan*. The Anusvāra is, however, frequently omitted; see *kala[nita]* (XI, 30) and *kalata* (XII, 32) for *kalañtam*, *anata* (XI, 30) for *anañtam*, *adisha* (= Skt. *yādriṣam*, XI, 29), *pāshamda*, *pāshada*, and *pāśada*, *bādha* (XIII, 36), *madava* (= *mārdavam*, XIII, 4), *vijay[a]* and *vijayataviya* (XIII, 16), [*sha*]va (= *sarvam*, X, 28), *heva* (= *ēvam*, XII, 32), and the accusatives feminine *-anusa[th]i* (XIII, 12), *kiti*, *khañti*, *vadhi*, *Sambodhi*, *sudhi*, *hini*. In other instances the Anusvāra is dropped and preceding *a* lengthened; see [*ā*]disā (= Skt. *yādriṣam*, IV, 10), *kañ[ma]talā* (= *\*karmataram*, VI, 20), *khudā* (= *kshudram*, IX, 24), *dosā* (I, 2), *nilathiyā* (IX, 24), *pāśadā* (XII, 32), *punā* (thrice = *puṇyam*), *bahuk[ā]* (I, 2), *maha-phalā* (= *mahā-phalam*, XIII, 14). As a rule, the nom. sing. of neuters in *-a* follows the analogy of the nom. sing. masculine and ends in *-e*; see *se*, *she*, *ese*, *eshe*, *ye*, *e*, *amne*, *save*, *shave*, *i[ta]le*, *dāne*, &c. The acc. sing. neut. has the same termination in *dāne* (XII, 31), *bādhatale* (XII, 33), and in the particles *e* (XIII, 38), *se*, *she*.

Words ending in long nasalized vowels are treated in three different ways. Long *ā* is generally shortened; e.g. *pānānam*, *tānam* (XIII, 38), *tesham* (XIII, 37), *nāti[nañ]* (IV, 10), *bhā[tina]ñ* (V, 16). In other instances the Anusvāra is dropped; see the genitives plural [*ba*]ñbha-nānā (XI, 29), *nātinā* (IV, 9), *bh[ag]i[ni]nā* (V, 16), *gulunā* (IX, 25), and the accusatives singular *pujā* (XII, 31), *-damdatā* (XIII, 17), *dishā* (XIV, 23), [*ma*]hathāvā (X, 27), which is perhaps a clerical mistake for *mahathāvahā* (= Skt. *mahārthāvahām*). Thirdly, the Anusvāra may be dropped and the long vowel shortened at the same time; see *pajāva* (= Skt. *prajāvān*, V, 15), *pāśadāna* (XII, 31), *m[a]ñnushān[a]* (XIII, 39), *i[d]āni* (= *idāñm*, I, 3).

### III. SANDHI.

Final *m* is preserved before the particle *ēva* in *tameva*, *i[ā]nam-ev[ā]*, [*e*]vam-evā, *pālañtikyam-eve(va)*. Hiatus is prevented by nasalizing the first of two vowels in the two compounds *amnam-anashā* (= Skt. *anyōnyasya*, XII, 33) and *bhatam-ayesu* (V, 15).

*a + a* are contracted into *ā* in *etāyāthāye* (XII, 34), [*kaṭābhikā*]le, *kuvāpi* (= Skt. *kvāpi*), *gabhā-gāla*, *-vasābhisita*, *dhañmānusa[th]i* (XIII, 12) or *dhañmānushathi* (twice), &c., but into short *a* in *dhañmānushathi* (thrice), *dhamma[vāy]e* (XII, 35), *li[p]ikalapalādhena* (XIV, 23), and before an original group of consonants in *a[ta]tā* (twice = Skt. *yatra yatra*), *apalañtā* (= *āparāntāh*, V, 15), *tenatā* (= *tēnātra*, VIII, 23), *diyaḍha* (= *\*dvikārdha*, XIII, 35), *nathi* (= *nāsti*), *supāthāy[e]* (= *sūpārthāya*, I, 3).

*a + ā* becomes *ā* in *pā[nā]lambhe* (IV, 9) and [*ma*]hathāvā (= Skt. *mahārtha + āvahām* (?), X, 27).

*ā + a* becomes *a* before an original group in [*ma*]hatha (= *mahā + artha*, X, 27).

*ā + u* becomes *o* in *pajopadāne(ye)*, on which see below, p. lxxv, n. 1.

*a* is elided before *i*, *e*, *o* in *bambhan-ibhesu* (V, 15), *cheva*, *manus-opagāni* (II, 5),<sup>1</sup> and before *u* in *chu*,<sup>2</sup> but<sup>3</sup> which corresponds to *chō* (= *cha + u*) in Buddhist *gāthās*.<sup>3</sup>

*i + a* are contracted into *i* in *ithidhiyakha* (= *stry-adhyaksha*, XII, 34).

*u* is elided before *o* in *pas-opagāni* (II, 5).

*a* is dropped after *e* in *eyam* (V, 15), *tā[ye-ṭh]ā[ye]* (VI, 19), *etā[y]e-ṭhāye* (VI, 20).

<sup>1</sup> For *tatopayā* see above, p. lxxii.

<sup>2</sup> Michelson (IF, 23, 261) considers *chu* a contamination of *tu* and *cha*.

<sup>3</sup> See Kern's translation of the *Saddharmapuṇḍarika* (SBE, vol. 21), Introduction, p. xvii.



## IV. GROUPS OF CONSONANTS.

Combined consonants are either assimilated, or an auxiliary vowel is developed between them. The only groups which occasionally remain unchanged are *tv*, *dhr*, *my*, *vy*, *sv*. For the two groups *ky* and *gy* see above, p. lxxi.

Long *ā* preceding a group of consonants is generally shortened; see *ata-* (= Skt. *ātman*), *a[tiyāyike]* (= *ātyayikam*),<sup>1</sup> *anap[a]yisanti* (III, 8), *anusathi* (= *anūsāsti*), *asamati* (= *asamāpti*), *ayesu* (= *āryēshu*), *āladhe* (= *\*ārāddham*), *gadhā* (= *\*gāddhā*), *tadatvāye*, *palakamāmi*, *palakamātu*, *palakamenā*, *pasavati* (= *prasāvyaṭē*), *ma[g]a* (= *mārga*, II, 6), *madava* (= *mārdava*, XIII, 4), *mahāmata* (= *mahāmātra*). But the length is preserved in *ānapayite* and *mahāmāta*. Long *i* preceding a simple consonant is shortened and the consonant itself doubled in *timni* (= *trīni*, I, 3). Similarly, *bh[u]ye*, *vedaniya*, *anuvīdhiyaṃ* (read *\*yānti*) may be meant for *bhuyye*, *vedaniyya*, *anuvīdhiyyānti*; cf. above, p. lix. Short *a* preceding a group is lengthened in *ānatā* (= *anyatra*, XIII, 38), *panātikya* (= *\*pranāptrika*, IV, 11), and *shāvā-* (= *sarva-*, XII, 31). In *pālāntikya* (twice = *pāratrika*) the short *a* preceding the group *tr* has been nasalized.<sup>2</sup>

A long nasalized vowel is shortened before consonants, as it is often at the end of words (see above, p. lxxiii), in *atikāntam* (= *atīkrāntam*), *khamti* (= *kshānti*, XIII, 16), *Tāmbapānni* (= *Tāmraparnī*), *Pāṇḍiyā* (= *Pāṇḍyāḥ*), *bāmbhana* (= *brāhmaṇa*), *[bha]m[da]* (= *bhāṇḍa*, III, 8), *sa[m]sayikye* (= *sāmsayikam*, IX, 26). In *b[ā]bhanā* (XIII, 37), *Devānāpiye* (twice), and in the third persons plural *pāpunāta(tī)*, *palakamātu*,<sup>3</sup> *lochetu* (XIII, 17), *[paṭi\*]vedetu* (VI, 18), the Anusvāra is dropped.

As at the end of words (see above, p. lxxiii), there are many cases in the interior of words where the Anusvāra is omitted after a short vowel; see *Atiyoge* (XIII, 6), *ateshu* (= *antēshu*), *anata* (= *ananta*), *anubadh[ā]* (= *anubandhāt*), *abaka-* (= *ambikā*), *alabhi[yam]ti* (cf. the aorist *alambhiyisu*, I, 3), *Alīkyashudale* (= *Ἀλέξανδρος*), *Kaligya* (= *Kalīṅga*), *pāṣaḍa* and *pāshaḍa* (= *pāshaṇḍa*),<sup>4</sup> *magala* (= *maṅgala*), *vihiṣā* (= *vihiṃsā*), *shambadh[e]* (= *sambandhaḥ*), *shav[i]bhage* (= *samvi-bhāgāḥ*), *sayama* and *sanyama* (IX, 25), *vashati* (= *vasanti*), and *manatu* (3. plur. imperative of root *man*).

While most groups of consonants are assimilated, others are avoided by developing an auxiliary vowel in the middle of them. This vowel is *a* in *ga[la]hati* (= Skt. *garhati*), *galahā*, *Alīkyashudale* (= *Ἀλέξανδρος*); *u* before or after labials in *kuvāpi*, *duve*, *duvāḍaṣa*, *puluva* (= *pūrva*), *suwāmika*, *pāpunāta(tī)*; and frequently *i*; see *lājinā* (= *rājñā*), *lājine* (= *rājñāḥ*), the future passive participles in *-taviya*, *-adhiyakha* (= *adhyaksha*), *[a]naniya* (= *ānriṇya*), *apatiye*, *alabhi[yam]ti*, *[e]katiyā*, *Pāṇḍiyā*, *paṭivesiya*, *madhuliya* (= *mādhurya*), *viyamjana*, *viyāpaṭa* (= *vyāpṛita*), *[shamācha]liya* (= *\*sama-charya*), *shinehe* (= *snēhak*), *siyā* (= *syāt*). Similarly, an auxiliary *i* is prefixed to the group *str* in *ithi* (= *strī*).

It is unnecessary to quote examples of the groups *kr*, *gr*, *tr*, *dr*, *pr*, *br*, *bhr*, *śr*, *sr*, which have become *k*, *g*, *t*, *d*, *p*, *b*, *bh*, *s*, *s* throughout. The remaining groups and their equivalents are given in the subjoined list.

*kt* becomes *t* in *Nābhapaṇti*, &c.

*kv* becomes *kuv* in *kuvāpi*.

*ksh* becomes *kh* in *-adhiyakha*, *khamti* (= Skt. *kshānti*), *khuda* (= *kshudra*), *dakhati*,<sup>5</sup> *[lu]kha* (= *vṛiksha*), *mokha*, *su(sam)khita* (= *samkshipta*); *chh* in *chhanati*.

*khy* becomes *kh* in *shamkheye* (read *samkhāya*).

*khl* becomes *kh* in *kho* = Skt. *khalu*; see above, p. lvi and n. 2.

*gn* becomes *g* in *agi*.

*jñ* becomes *n* in *kiṇāt[ā]* (= Skt. *kṛitajñātā*), *nāti*, *ānapayite*, but *jin* in *lājinā* (= *rājñā*) and *lājine* (= *rājñāḥ*).

<sup>1</sup> *atiyāyika* presupposes an intermediate form *\*atyāyika*, in which the initial *ā* was shortened before the group *ty*.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *vaṃka* = Skt. *vakra*, *suṃka* = Skt. *śulka*, &c., in Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 74.

<sup>3</sup> For these two forms see below, p. lxxxii.

<sup>4</sup> The form *pāshaḍa* may be derived from Skt. *pārshada*; see above, p. lx.

<sup>5</sup> Pischel (*Grammatik*, § 554) derives this form from *\*drikshati*, which is preserved in *idriksha*, *tādrīksha*, &c.



- dy* becomes *diy* in *Paṇḍiyā*.  
*ny* becomes *nn* or *n* in *kilaṇṇa*, *puṇā* (thrice = Skt. *punya*), but *niy* in *[a]naniya* (= *āṇṇiya*).  
*tp* becomes *p* in *pajopadāne*(*ye*).<sup>1</sup>  
*tm* becomes *t* in *ata-* (= Skt. *ātman*).  
*ty* becomes *tiy* in *apatiye*, *a[tiyāyike]*, *[e]katiyā*; *ky* in *nikyaṇ*.  
*tv* remains in *tadatvāye* (X, 27), where the *ā* of *tadā* has been shortened before the double consonant of the affix *-tva*; but *tv* is assimilated in *chatāli* (= Skt. *chatvāri*, XIII, 7).  
*ts* becomes *s* (or *sh*) in *chikisā*, *chikisakā*, *[u]shaṭe[na]* and *ushuṭena*.  
*tsth* becomes *th* in *uṭhāna*; cf. *uṭhāna* at Gīrnār.  
*dy* becomes *j* in *aja*, *paṭipajeyā*; *y* in *[u]y[ānasi]*, *uyāma*.  
*dv* becomes *d* in *diyadha*, but *duv* in *duve*, *duvāḍasa*.  
*dhy* becomes *jh* in *n[i]jhati*, *majhimenā*, but *dhiy* in *-adhiyakha*.  
*dhr* remains in *dhruve* (I, 4); but it seems to be assimilated in *[Adha]* (= *Andhra*, XIII, 10).  
*ny* becomes *nn* or *n* in *aṇṇa* and *ana*, *maṇṇaṭ[i]* and *manati*.  
*pt* becomes *t* in *guti*, *n[i]jhati*, *asamati*, *su(sam)khitenā*, *natāle* (= Skt. *naptārah*), *panātikyā*, *Tulamaye* (= Πτολεμαῖος).  
*pn* becomes *pn* in *pāpunāta(ti)*.  
*bḍh* becomes *dh* in *ladha*.  
*bhy* becomes *bh* in *-ibhesu*, but *bhiy* in *alabhi[yaṇ]ti*, *alambhiyisu*, *alābhi[y]isa[m]ti*.  
*my* remains in *s[a]myā-* or *shamyā-* (= Skt. *samyak*).  
*mr* becomes *m̐* in *Tambapāṇni*.  
*rg* becomes *g* in *m[a]ge[s]u*, *vagenā*, *svagaṇ*.  
*rn* becomes *nn* in *Tambapāṇni*.  
*rt* becomes *t* in *kiti*, *anuvataṇṭi*, *[a]nuvaṭ[a]tu*, *nivateti*; *ṭ* in *kaṭaviya*, *anuvāṭisa[m]ti*, *n[va\*]ṭeti*, *nivaṭey[ā]*.  
*rth* becomes *th* in *aṭha*; *th* in *aṭha* and *nilathiyā*; see above, p. lxxi and n. 4.  
*rd* becomes *d* in *madava* (= Skt. *mārdava*).  
*rdh* becomes *dh* in *vadhite*, *vadhiyisati*; *ḍh* in *vadhite*, *vaḍhiyati*, *[pa]v[ā]ḍhayisaṇṭ[i]*, *diyadha*.  
*rbh* becomes *bh* in *gabhāgālas[i]*.  
*rm* becomes *mm* or *m* in *kaṇṇa* (= Skt. *karman*), *dhaṇṇa* and *dhama*.  
*ry* becomes *y* in *ayesu* (= Skt. *āryeṣu*), but *ṛy* in *anaṇṭ[ta]ṭ[i]ya* (= *ānantarya*), *madhuliya* (= *mādhurya*), *[shamacha]liya* (= *\*sama-charya*).  
*rv* becomes *v* in *sava*, *nivateti*, *niv[n]tiyā*, but *luv* in *puluva*.  
*rś* becomes *s* in *dasana*, *dasayitu*, *Piyadasi* (also spelt *Piyadashi* and *Piyadaṣi*).  
*rsh* becomes *s* in *vasa* (also spelt *[va]sha* and *vaṣa*).  
*rh* becomes *lah* in *ga[la]hati*, *galahā*.  
*lp* becomes *p* in *apa*, *kapaṇ*.  
*ly* becomes *y* in *kayāna*.  
*vy* remains in *divyāni* (IV, 10); but it is assimilated in *pasavati* (= Skt. *prasāvyatē*, IX, 27), and it becomes *viy* in *viyaṇṇana*, *viyashanaṇ*, *viyāpaṭā*, *migaviyā*, and in the affix *-taviya*.  
*vr* becomes *v* in *tive*, *pav[a]ṭitā[n]i*, *vacha* (VI, 18; XII, 34) = Skt. *vraja*.  
*sch* becomes *chh* in *[pa]chhā*.  
*sy* becomes *siy* in *paṭivesiyenā*.  
*shk* becomes *k* in *dukaṭa*, *dukala*.  
*shkr* becomes *kh* in *nikham[am]tu*, *nikhamisu*, *nikhamithā*, *vinikhamane*.  
*shṭ* becomes *th* in *aṭha* (XIII, 35); *th* in *nikhamithā*.  
*shṭh* becomes *th* in *seṭhe*, *chithil[n]*; *th* in *adhithā[nāye]*.  
*shy* becomes *s* (or *sh*) in *manusa* and *manusha*, *anap[a]yisaṇṭi* and other futures.  
*sk* becomes *k* in *agi-kamdh[ā]ni*, while Gīrnār has *agi-kh[a]mḍhāni* (with *kh*).  
*st* becomes *th* in *athi*, *nathi*, *[ha]thini*, *samthuta*, *vitthāṇā*, *anusathi*.

<sup>1</sup> Dhāuli and Jaugada read °dāye, Mānsehrā °daye, but Shāhbāzgarhī *pajupadane*, which might correspond to Skt. *prajōpādane*. At Kālsī the locative of *utpādana* is excluded, because it would end in *-asi*. For *upadā* = Skt. *\*utpad* see Bühler, ZDMG, 37. 431 f.



*str* becomes *th* in *ithi* (= Skt. *strī*).

*sth* becomes *th* in *gahathāni*, *gih[i]thā*, *chi[la]-thitikyā* (V, 17), but *th* in *chila-thitikyā* (VI, 20).

*sn* becomes *shin* in *shinehe*.

*sm* becomes *s* in the locatives in *-asi*, but *ph* in *[ta]phā* (= Skt. *tasmāt*, XIII, 35).

*sy* becomes *siy* (*siy* or *shiy*) in *siyā*, *siyā*, *siyāti*, *shiyāti* (= Skt. *syāt*), but *s* in *a[su]* (3. plur. optative of root *as*) and in the genitives in *-asa*.

*sv* remains in *svagāni* (VI, 20); but it is assimilated in *shayaka* (XIII, 16), which seems to be derived from Skt. *svayam*,<sup>1</sup> and it becomes *sv* in *svāmika* (IX, 25).

*hm* becomes *m̐bh* in *bām̐bhana*. The form *bām̐hmana* (XIII, 39) is intermediate between *\*bahmana* (= Skt. *brāhmaṇa*) and *\*bamhana* (*bamhaṇa* at Gīrnār, IX, 5).

## B.—DECLENSION

### I. BASES IN *-a*.

#### (1) Masculines and neuters in *-a*.

Singular.	Plural.
Nom. masc. <i>jane</i> , &c.; neut. <i>dāne</i> , &c.	Masc. <i>putā</i> , &c.; neut. <i>phalāni</i> , &c.
Acc. masc. <i>dhaṇṇam̐</i> , &c.; neut. <i>dānam̐</i> , &c.	Masc. <i>yutāni</i> , &c.; neut. <i>divyāni</i> , <i>lupāni</i> .
Instr. <i>dānena</i> or <i>dānenā</i> , &c.	[ <i>sa</i> ] <i>tehi</i> .
Dat. <i>athāye</i> , &c.	<i>mahāmaṣ[ē]hi</i> .
Abl. <i>anubadh[ā]</i> , [ <i>pa</i> ] <i>chhā</i> .	
Gen. <i>jana[sa]</i> (IV, 10) or <i>janasā</i> , &c.	<i>pānānam̐</i> , &c.
Loc. <i>dhaṇṇmasi</i> , &c.	<i>vasesu</i> , &c.

Nom. sing. masc.—There are two forms in *-o* (*Sātiyaputo* and *Ke[lala]puto*, II, 4), two in *a* (*vadha*, XIII, 36, and *hidalekikya*, XIII, 17), and one in *-ā* (*Makā*, XIII, 7).

Nom. sing. neut.—In four instances the termination is *-am̐* (*anaṇṇam̐*, IX, 26, 27, *-anusāsanaṇṇam̐* and *kaṇṇam̐[am̐]*, IV, 12). It is *-a* in *adisha* (XI, 29), and *-ā* in [*ā*] *disā* (IV, 10), *kaṇṇ[ma]talā* (VI, 20), *punā* (thrice = Skt. *puṇyam*).

Acc. sing. masc.—The Anusvāra is omitted in *-pāśaḍa* (four times, XII, 32), *-pāshaḍa* and *-pāshaṇḍa* (XII, 33), [*shayama*] (XIII, 4), *vijay[a]* and *vijayataviya* (XIII, 16). The termination *-am̐* is replaced by *-ā* in *ata-pāśaḍā* (XII, 32), *bahub[ā]* and *dosā* (I, 2).

Acc. sing. neut.—The termination is *-a* in *madava* (XIII, 4); *-ā* in *maha-phalā* (XIII, 14), *khudā* and *nilathiyā* (IX, 24); *-e* in *dāne* (XII, 31) and *bādhatale* (XII, 33).

Nom. plur. masc.—The final *ā* is shortened in *-[nā]tikya* (XIII, 38), *pāśaṇḍa* (XIII, 37), *-pāshaṇḍa* (XII, 34), *-[pāsa]ṇḍa* (VII, 21), *-puluva* (V, 14), *pujetav[i]ya* (XII, 32).

Nom. plur. neut.—In *hālāpitā chā lopāpitā chā* (II, B and C), the termination is *-ā* instead of *-āni*. The Sanskrit masculine *vṛiksha* is used as neuter: [*lu*] *khāni* (II, 6).<sup>2</sup>

The remaining instances of the acc. plur. masc. in *-āni* are *-kaṇḍh[ā]ni* (IV, 10), *Kaligyāni* (XIII, 36), *-pāshaṇḍ[ān]i*, *pav[a]jitā[n]i*, *gahathāni* (XII, 31).

Acc. plur. neut.—The termination is *-ā* in *vimana-dasan[ā]* (IV, 9).

Gen. plur.—The Anusvāra is omitted in *-pāśaḍāna* (XII, 31) and *m[a]nushān[a]* (XIII, 39). The termination is *-ā* in *-[ba]m̐bhanānā* (XI, 29).

#### (2) Feminines in *-ā*.

##### Singular.

Nom. *ichhā*, &c.

Acc. *pujā*, &c.

Instr. *puj[ā]ye*.

Gen. or loc. *saṁti[ā]nāye*.

Nom. sing.—In *hi[da]lokika* (XIII, 18) the final *ā* is shortened.

<sup>1</sup> See Text, p. 49, n. 2.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *ruchhani* at Mānschrā, II, 8.



Acc. sing.—In [*-yātām*] (VIII, 22) the nasal of the original termination *-ām* seems to be preserved, and the *ā* to be shortened before it.

Instr. sing.—In *vividh[aye]* (XII, 31) the penultimate *ā* seems to be shortened.

## II. BASES IN *-i*.

### (1) Masculines and neuters in *-i*.

Nom. sing. neut. *asamati*.  
 Nom. plur. neut. *osadhī[ṭ]*,<sup>1</sup> *tini*, *tiñni*.  
 Gen. plur. *nāṭi[nām]*, *nāṭinā*.  
 Loc. plur. *Nābhapaṃtishu*.

### (2) Feminines in *-i* and *-ī*.

Singular.	Plural.
Nom. <i>lipi</i> , &c.	<i>jani[ye]</i> . <sup>2</sup>
Acc. <i>Sambodhi</i> , &c.	
Instr. <i>bhāṭiyā</i> , <i>-anusāṭhiye</i> .	
Dat. <i>-anusāṭhiyā</i> , <i>vaḍhiyā</i> .	
Abl. <i>nī[v]uṭiyā</i> , <i>Tambapaṃniyā</i> .	
Gen.	<i>bh[agī]nī[nā]</i> .
Loc. <i>ayāṭiye</i> .	

## III. BASES IN *-u*.

The nom. sing. *sādhu* or *shādhu* is the same in all three genders.

Nom. and acc. sing. neut. *bahu*.  
 Nom. and acc. plur. neut. *bahuni*.  
 Instr. plur. *ba[h]u[hī]*.  
 Gen. plur. *gulinā*.

## IV. MASCULINES IN *-ri*.

Nom. plur. *natāle* (= Skt. *naptārah*).  
 Gen. plur. *bhā[tina]m* (= *bhrāṭṛīṇām*).  
 Loc. plur. *pitisu* or *pitishu* (= *pitṛishu*).

The instr. sing. follows the *i*-declension: *pitinā*, *bhātinā*.

## V. BASES IN CONSONANTS.

### (1) Present participles in *-at*.

The nom. sing. masc. has a very curious form; it affixes the termination *-am*, which is evidently derived from Skt. *-an*, to the strong form of the base: *saṃtām* from root *as*, *kalaṃtām* (*kala[m]ta*), *kalata* from root *kṛi*.

### (2) Bases in *-vat*.

Nom. sing. masc. *pajāva* (= Skt. *prajāvān*).  
 Instr. sing. *hetuvāt*.<sup>3</sup>

With the nom. sing. cf. Pāli *guṇavā* = Skt. *guṇavān*.

<sup>1</sup> The Kālsī dialect has mixed up *osadhi* (= Skt. *ōśadhi*, fem.) with *osadha* (= Skt. *auśadha*, neut.).

<sup>2</sup> From Vedic *jani*, 'a wife'.

<sup>3</sup> In Sanskrit the corresponding base is not *hētuvat*, but *hētumat*; cf. Pāṇini, VIII, 2, 9, and Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 601.



(3) Masculines and neuters in *-an*.

Singular.	Plural.
Nom. masc. <i>lājā, lajā, lāja.</i>	<i>lā[f]āno, lajāne.</i>
Acc. neut. <i>nāma, nāmā.</i>	
Instr. <i>lājinā, lajinā.</i>	
Gen. <i>lājine.</i>	

The neuter base *karman* follows the *a*-declension: nom. sing. *k[an]me* or *kanim[an]*, dat. *kanimāye*.

(4) Masculines in *-in*.

Nom. sing. <i>Pi[ya]dasī</i> (I, 2), <i>Piyadasi, Piyadashi.</i>
Instr. sing. <i>Piyadasinā, Piyadašinā.</i>
Gen. sing. <i>Piyadasine, Piyadashine, Piyadasisā.</i>
Acc. plur. <i>[ha]thini</i> (= <i>hathini</i> at Dhauli, IV, 2).

The gen. sing. *Piyadasisā* follows the analogy of the *a*-declension.

With the acc. plur. masc. *[ha]thini* (i. e. *hathini*), cf. *yutāni*, &c., in the *a*-declension (above, p. lxxvi).

(5) Neuters in *-as*.

Acc. sing. *yaso* or *yasho*, *bh[u]ye*.

The base *va[cha]-* (XII, 31) corresponds to Skt. *vachas*.

## (6) Other bases in consonants.

The feminine base *dis* (or *disā*) forms the acc. sing. *dishā* (for *disām*). The two feminine bases *\*utpad* and *parishad* also follow the *a*-declension: loc. sing. *pajopadāne(ye)* (see above, p. lxxv, n. 1), *palis[ā]ye*; nom. plur. *palisā*.

## C.—PRONOUNS

## (1) Pronoun of the first person.

Singular.	Plural.
Nom. <i>hakam.</i>	
Instr. <i>mamāyā, me</i> (III, 7).	
Gen. <i>[mama], mamā, me.</i>	<i>ne</i> (V, 16).

The nom. sing. *hakam* must be derived from *ahakam* (= *ahaam* in Māhārāshṭrī); see Pāṇ. V, 3, 71, and Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 417.

The instr. sing. *mamāyā* for Skt. *mayā* is due to the influence of the genitive *mama*. Cf. *mamae*, Hēmachandra, III, 109.

(2) Base *ta*.

Singular.	Plural.
Nom. masc. <i>se, [ś]e, she</i> ; neut. <i>ta, se, [sh]e.</i>	Masc. <i>te.</i>
Acc. masc. <i>taim</i> ; neut. <i>se, she.</i>	
Instr. <i>tena, tenā.</i>	<i>tehi.</i>
Dat. <i>tā[ye].</i>	<i>te[hī].</i>
Abl. <i>[ta]phā, t[ā].</i>	
Gen. <i>taśa, tasha, tasā, tashā.</i>	<i>tesham, tānam.</i>
Loc. <i>taśi.</i>	

Nom sing. fem. *sā, shā.*

As noted by Bühler (ZDMG, 37. 592), the abl. sing. *[ta]phā* goes back to *tamhā* (= Skt. *tasmāt*); cf. *aphe* and *tuphe* (= Prākṛit *amhe* and *tumhe*) in the separate edicts at Dhauli and Jaugaḍa. The abl. *t[ā]* is used as conjunction (V, 13); cf. Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 425.



(3) Base *ṛta*.

Singular.	Plural.
Nom. masc. [e]se (VIII, 23), <sup>1</sup> [e]she (X, 28), <sup>2</sup> esh[a] (XIII, 38); neut. ese, eshe. Instr. etakenā. Dat. etāya (XII, 34), etāye, dha(e)ta[k]āye. Gen. etishā.	Neut. e[t]āni.

Nom. sing. fem. [e]sh[a] (XIII, 37).

With the gen. sing. etishā cf. etisa at Shāhbāzgarhī and Mānsehrā.

(4) Demonstrative *idam*.

Singular.	Plural.
Nom. masc. ayaṁ, iyaṁ; neut. iyaṁ. Acc. neut. imaṁ. Gen. imaś[ā].	Masc. ime.
	Nom. sing. fem. iyaṁ. Dat. sing. fem. imāya.

The nom. masc. ayaṁ is taken from V, 15, where eyaṁ perhaps stands for e + ayaṁ (= Skt. yō-yam). The form iyaṁ is used as masculine in V, 16; elsewhere as feminine and neuter.

## (5) Interrogative pronoun.

The acc. plur. neut. [kā]ni is used as a demonstrative; see Text, p. 35, n. 12. The indefinite pronoun is formed with chha = Skt. cha (nom. sing. masc. kechha) or chhi = Skt. chid (nom. and acc. sing. neut. kichhi). As at Girnār, the compounds kinti (XII, 33) and kiti are used in the sense of 'that'.

## (6) Relative pronoun.

Singular.	Plural.
Nom. masc. ye, e; neut. ye, e, a, aṁ. Acc. neut. yaṁ, aṁ, e (XIII, 38). Instr. yena. Gen. asā. Loc.	Masc. ye, e.  yeshaṁ. yesu.

(7) Base *anya*.

Singular.	Plural.
Nom. masc. and neut. aṁne. Acc. Dat. aṁnāye. Gen. aṁnamanashā.	Masc. aṁne, aṁne; } neut. aṁnāni.

(8) Base *sarva*.

Singular.	Plural.
Nom. neut. save, shave, [sha]va. Acc. masc. savaṁ; neut. savaṁ, shava[m]. Loc.	Masc. [sa]ve.  s[a]ves[u], shaveshu. Nom. sing. fem. shavā.

## (9)

Nom. sing. neut. i[ta]le, while classical Sanskrit has itarat.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. above, p. lxiv, n. 2.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. id., n. 1.



## INTRODUCTION

(10) Base *ubhaya*.Gen. plur. *ubhaye[sa]m*.(11) Base *ekatara*.Loc. sing. *ekatalash[i]*.(12) Base *\*ekatyā*.Nom. plur. masc. [*e*]katyā.

## D.—NUMERALS

One.

Nom. sing. masc. *eke*.

Two.

Nom. masc. *duve*.This form may be used for all genders in all Prākṛits ; see Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 437.

Three.

Nom. neut. *tini*, *tinini*.Cf. Prākṛit *tiṇṇi* ; Pischel's *Grammatik*, §§ 91, 438.

Four.

The nom. neut. *chatāli* is used with a masculine substantive (XIII, 7). The same irregularity is frequent in Prākṛit ; see Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 439.

Five, six.

Loc. *pañchasu*, *shashu* (= Prākṛit *chhasu*).

Eight, ten, twelve, thirteen.

*aṭha*, *das[a]*, *duvādasa* (with lingual *ḍ*),<sup>1</sup> *t[e]dasa*.

Hundred.

Acc. plur. *satāni* ; instr. [*sa*]tehi ; loc. *shateshu*.The ordinal is *shata* (= Skt. *śatātama*) ; see XIII, 39.

Thousand.

The ordinal is *shah[a]sha* (= Skt. *sahasratama*) ; see XIII, 39.

Hundred thousand.

Nom. sing. *shat[a]-shaka[s]e*.Nom. plur. [*sa\**]ta-sahasāni.<sup>1</sup> The *ḍ* has been further changed to *r* in Prākṛit *bārāsa* and *bārāha*.



## E.—CONJUGATION

## I. PRESENT.

## (1) Bases.

## First Sanskrit class.

Root *kram*: *palakamāmi*, *nikham[am]tu*.

Root *gark*: *ga[la]hati*.

Root *ji*: the participle *vijinamane* and the absolutive *vijin[i]tu* (XIII, 36) show that this root first followed the ninth class (Prākṛit *jīṇādi*) and subsequently the *a*-conjugation (Prākṛit *jīṇādi*).<sup>1</sup>

Root *driś*: *dakhati*.<sup>2</sup>

Root *bhū*: *hoti*, *huveyu* (sixth class).

Root *vas*: *vashati*, *vas[ε]vu*.

Root *vr̥t*: *anuvataṃti*.

Root *sthā*. The absolutive *chīṭhit[u]* (IV, 12) presupposes the Prākṛit present *chīṭṭhadi*.

## Second Sanskrit class.

Root *ad* follows the *a*-conjugation: *adamāna*.

Root *as*: *at̥hi*.

Root *i* or *yā*: *yaṃti*.

Root *yā*: *ye[ham]*; see below, p. lxxxii.

Root *han*: *up[a]hant[i]*.

## Third Sanskrit class.

The gerundive *pajohitaviye* (I, 1) is derived from the present *\*johati*, in which the *ū* of *\*jūhati* (see above, p. lxvi) is strengthened by Guṇa.

## Fourth Sanskrit class.

Root *pad*: *paṭipajeyā*.

Root *man*: *mannat[i]* and *manati*.

## Fifth Sanskrit class.

Root *āp* follows the ninth class: *pāpunāta(ti)*.

Root *śru* follows the *a*-conjugation: *śkune[y]u*.

## Sixth Sanskrit class.

Root *ish*: *ichhati*.

## Seventh Sanskrit class.

Root *yuj* follows the *a*-conjugation: *yujamtu*.

## Eighth Sanskrit class.

Root *kṛi*. The 3. sing. *kaleti* follows the analogy of the tenth class, but the 3. plur. *ka[la]ṃti* the *a*-conjugation. Cf. Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 509.

Root *kshaṇ* follows the *a*-conjugation: *chhanati*.

## Tenth Sanskrit class.

(a) With *aya*: *dasayitu*, *[d]ipayema*, *ālādhayi(yam)tu*, *a-lochayitu*, *alochayisu*, *[pa]v[a]dha-yisaṃti[i]*. The character *aya* is changed to *iya* in *vadhiyati* (XII, 32) and *vadhiyisati* (IV, 11) and is contracted to *e* in *pujeti*, *pujetav[i]ya*, *lochetu*, *nivateti* and *ni[va\*]teti*, *[paṭi\*]vedetu*.

<sup>1</sup> See Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 473.

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. lxxiv, n. 5.



- (b) With *āya*: *sukkhāyāmi* (VI, 20).  
 (c) With *paya*: *hāpa*[*y*][*sa*]*i*, [*ānapayā*]*mi*, *anap*[*a*]*yisaṃti*, *ānapayite*, *lopita*.  
 (d) With *āpaya*: *lekhāpesāmi*, *likhāpita* (without Guṇa of the radical vowel), *khānāpita*, *hālāpita*.  
 (e) With *pāpaya*: *lopāpita*.

(2) *Moods.*

The terminations of the middle are replaced by those of the active, with the exception of the 3. sing. aorist *nikhamithā* and the two participles present *adamāna* and *vijīnamana*.

## (a) Indicative.

1. sing. *palakamāni*, [*ānapayā*]*mi*.  
 3. sing. [*pa*\*]*lakamati*, *ga*[*la*]*hati*, *dakhati*, *hoti*, *athi*, *up*[*a*]*hamti*[*i*], *mannat*[*i*] and *manati*, *ichhati*, *kaleti*, *chhanati*, *pujati*, *nivateti* and *ni*[*va*\*]*jeti*, *vadhiyati*.  
 3. plur. *anuvataṃti*, *vashati* (= Skt. *vasanti*), *yaṃti*, *ichhamti*, *ka*[*la*]*ṃti*. In *pāpunāta*(*ti*) the termination -*ti* (for -*nti*) is affixed to the strong base of the ninth class (*pāpunā-*); cf. the 3. sing. *pāpunāti* and the 2. plur. *pāpunātha* in the first separate edict at Dhauli and Jaugaḍa.

## (b) Subjunctive.

1. sing. *sukkhāyāmi* (with indicative termination).  
 3. sing. *susushātu* (desiderative, with imperative termination).  
 3. plur. *palakamātu* (with -*tu* for -*ntu*).

## (c) Optative.

1. sing. *ye*[*ham*] (for \**yeyam*) from root *yā* (VI, 20). Cf. [*pa*]*ti*[*pāday*]*eham* (or *paṭipātayeham*) and *ālābheham* in the separate edicts at Dhauli and Jaugaḍa. Senart has noted similar forms in the *Mahāvastu* (vol. I of his edition of this work, p. 403): *tishtheham*, *abhisambudhyeham*, *gachchheham*.  
 3. sing. *nivaṭey*[*ā*], *paṭipajeyā*, *siyā*, *siyā*, *siyāti*, *shiyāti*. The two last forms (= Skt. *syāt*) have the termination of the indicative; cf. Text, p. 71, n. 14. With the contracted form *nivaṭey*[*ā*] (= Skt. *nirvartayēt*, IX, 26) Senart (*Inscriptions de Piyadasi*, I, 215) compares Pāli *nibbatteyyam* (for *nibbattayeyyam*) in the commentary on the *Dhammapada*, p. 143 [l. 2]. Cf. also *choreyya* for *chorayeyya* in E. Müller's *Pāli Grammar*, p. 110, *dāve* = Skt. *dāpayēḥ* and *paḍigāhe* = Skt. *prati-grāhayēḥ* in Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 460.  
 1. plur. [*a*]*ipayema*.  
 3. plur. *a*[*su*] (cf. above, p. lxvii), *huveyu*,<sup>1</sup> *shune*[*y*]*u*, *skushuskeyu* (desiderative). The *y* of the optative is replaced by *v* in *vas*[*e*]*vu* (VII, 21).

## (d) Imperative.

3. sing. *hotu*, [*a*]*nuva*[*ta*]*tu*.  
 3. plur. *nikham*[*aṃ*]*tu*, *manatu*, *yujāntu*, *ālādhayi*(*yaṃ*)*tu*, *lochetu* (= Skt. *rōchayantu*), [*paṭi*\*]-*vedetu*, *anuvā*[*dh*]*iya*[*m*]*tu* (passive).

## (e) Imperfect.

3. sing. *ako* (from root *bhū*).

## II. AORIST.

3. sing. middle *nikhamithā* (from *nish-kram*, VIII, 22). In Pāli and Ardhamāgadhī the termination is -*ittha* and -*itthā*; see E. Müller's *Pāli Grammar*, p. 115, and Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 517.  
 3. plur. active *nikhamisu*, *husu* (= *ahimsu* at Girnār). The two forms *manishu* (XIII, 16) and *alochayisu*<sup>2</sup> are used as subjunctives.

<sup>1</sup> Hēmachandra (IV, 320, 323) quotes *huveyya* (= Skt. *bhavēt*) from the Paisāchī dialect.  
<sup>2</sup> See Text, p. 31, n. 7.



## III. PERFECT.

3. sing. *āhā, ahā* (V, 13) = Skt. *āha*.

## IV. FUTURE.

1. sing. *kachhāmi*,<sup>1</sup> *lekhāpeśāmi*.  
 3. sing. *kachhati*, *vadhiyisati*, *hāpa[y]i[sat]i*.  
 3. plur. *kachham[i]i*, *anuvāṭisa[m]ti*, *anusāsisaṃti*, *anap[a]yisaṃti*, *[pa]v[a]ḍhayisaṃti[i]*, and the two passives *[a]nuvidhiyisāma* (read °*saṃti*) and *alābhi[y]isa[m]ti*.

## V. PASSIVE.

The terminations are those of the active.

The 3. sing. indicative *pasavati* (= Skt. *prasāvyaṭē*) occurs three times and is misspelt twice (*pavasati*, IX, 26, and *paśavati*, XI, 30); cf. Text, p. 39, n. 3.

3. plur. indicative *anuvidhiyāma* (read °*yaṃti*, = Skt. *anuvidhiyantē*), *alābhi[yam]ti*.  
 3. plur. imperative *anuv[i]dh[iya[m]tu*.  
 3. plur. aorist *alāmbhiyisu*.<sup>2</sup>  
 3. plur. future *[a]nuvidhiyisāma* (read °*saṃti*), *alābhi[y]isa[m]ti* (cf. the Sanskrit aorist passive *alābhi*).

## VI. DESIDERATIVE.

3. sing. subjunctive *susushātu*.  
 3. plur. optative *shushusheyu*.

## VII. PARTICIPLES.

## (1) Present participle.

## Active.

Root *as*: *saṃtāṃ*.

Root *kṛi*: *kalamitaṃ* (*kala[m]ta*), *kalata*.

## Middle.

Root *jī*: *vijīnamana*; see above, p. lxxxii.

Root *ad*: *adamāna*.

## (2) Past passive participle.

(a) In *-ta*: *mata* and *muta* (= Skt. *mata*), *maṭa* (= *mṛita*), *kaṭa* (= *kṛita*), *viyāpaṭa* (= *vyāpṛita*), *viṭhaṭa* (= *vistrīta*), *[n]shaṭa* and *ushuṭa* (= *utsṛita*), *nisita* (= \**niśṛita*), *likhita*, *lekhita*, *likhāpita*, *khānāpita*, *hālāpita*, *lopita*, *lopāpita*, *ānapayita*,<sup>3</sup> *huta* (= *bhūta*), *atikaṃta* (= *atīkrānta*), *su(sam)khita* (= *saṃkshipta*), *vudha* (= *vṛiddha*), *apavudha* (= *apōdha*), *ladha* (= *labdha*), *ālādha* (= \**ārāddha*), &c.

(b) In *-na*: *p[a]sh[am]na*, *vipahina* (i. e. °*hina*).

## (3) Future passive participle.

(a) In *-tavya*: *kaṭaviya*, *vataviya*, *paḥokitaviya* (see above, p. lxxxii), *vijayataviya* (for Skt. *vijētavya* under the influence of the substantive *vijaya*), *pujetav[i]ya*, *paṭi[vedeta\*]viya*.

(b) In *-anīya*: *vedaniya*.

<sup>1</sup> Johansson (*Shākh.*, § 76, b) explains this form as a future derived from \**kajjati* (= \**karyati*), and compares the Ardhamāgadhī passive *kajjaī*.

<sup>2</sup> The introduction of the nasal is perhaps due to the influence of the Skt. aorist passive *alāmbhi* or of the substantive *ālāmbha* (III, 8, &c.).

<sup>3</sup> This barbarous equivalent of Skt. *ājñāpta* and *ājñāpita* retains the causative character *aya* of the present *ānapayati*.



## VIII. ABSOLUTIVE.

(a) In *-tu* (= Skt. *-tvā*): *ālabhitu*, *palitiditu* (from root *tyaj* with Saṁprasāraṇa of *ya* and dentalization of *j*), *chiṭṭiṭ[u]* (from the Prākṛit present *chiṭṭhadi*), *vijin[i]tu* (from the present *\*vi-jinati*; see above, p. lxxxix), *sutu* (from root *śru*), *dasayitu*, *a-lochayitu* (= *a-rōchayitvā*).

(b) In *-ya*: *śaṁkhheye* (read *saṁkhāya*) from *saṁ-khyā*.

## F.—SUFFIXES

The pleonastic affix *-ka* (or *-kya*) occurs in *hakam* (= Skt. *aham*), *etaka*, *ava[ta]ka* (from Skt. *yāvat*), *tāvataka*, *nātika* or *nātikya* (= Skt. *jñātī*), *panātikya* (= *pranapti*), *suṣāmika* (= *svāmin*). The adjective *shayaka* seems to be formed from Skt. *svayam*; see Text, p. 49, note 2.

With the affix *-ālaka* or *-ālaya* is formed *mahālaka*, 'wide' (XIV, 20), 'aged' (V, 16), = Prākṛit *mahālaya* (Pischel's *Grammatik*, p. 402). As suggested in the Text (p. 33, n. 3), *supadālaya* (V, 14) seems to contain the same affix and to signify 'stepping fast'.

The affixes *-tara* and *-tama* are added to substantives in *kaṁ[ma]talā* (i. e. *karmataram*, VI, 20) and *gajatame*, 'the best elephant' (Text, p. 50).

## CHAPTER VIII.

GRAMMAR OF THE SHAHBAZGARHI ROCK-EDICTS,  
WITH NOTES ON THE MANSEHRA VERSION

The Shāhbāzgarhī version has received the advantage of a detailed treatment by an accomplished linguist, Professor Johansson:—*Der Dialekt der sogenannten Shāhbāzgarhī-Redaktion der vierzehn Edikte des Königs Aśoka*. (Tiré des Actes du 8<sup>e</sup> Congrès International des Orientalistes, tenu en 1889 à Stockholm et à Christiania). [Part 1,] Leide, 1892. Part 2, Upsala, 1894. In the following pages the results of his investigations are utilized for my own inventory of the language of the text, which I had been able to improve by repeated examination of the fresh impressions.

## A.—PHONETICS

## I. VOWELS.

The vowel *a* becomes *u* after a labial in *mut[a]* (= Skt. *mata*, XIII, 8) and *uchavucha*. In *meṇati* (= *manyatī*, XIII, 11) the change of *a* into *i* is perhaps caused by the palatal *ñ*.<sup>1</sup>

If the reading *etra* (VI, 15) is correct (the other versions have here *iyam*, *eshe*, &c.), it would correspond to *eta* (Girnār) and *heta* (Kālsī) = *\*itra*; see above, pp. lvi and lxx. As at Kālsī, the vowel *e* corresponds to Skt. *ī* in *ediśa* (= *īdṛiśa*).

As in Pāli, Skt. *u* is represented by *a* in *pana* (VI, 14, 15) = *puna* (six times, for Skt. *punah*), and in *garuna* (IX, 19) = *guruna* (XIII, 4, for Skt. *gurūṇām*). Michelson suggests that the form *pana* may be due to vowel-assimilation; see IF, 23. 258, n. 1. In *kho* (= Skt. *khalu*) Skt. *u* is represented by *o*; see above, p. lvi and n. 2.

The vowel *ri* is replaced by (1) *a*, (2) *i*, (3) *u*, (4) *ra*, (5) *ri*, (6) *ir*, (7) *ru*, causing at the same time the lingualization of a following dental. See (1) *usaṭena*, *dukaṭam*, *bhaṭa*, *bhaṭaka*, *vadhi* (= Skt. *vṛiddhi*), *vapaṭa* and *viyapaṭa* (= *vyāpṛita*), *ananiyam*, *[da]khati*; (2) *kiṭa*, *s[u]kiṭa[m]*, *ediśa*, *tadiśa*, *yadiśa*, *pranatika*; (3) bases in *-ri*: *pitushu*, *bhratuna*, *spasa(su)na* (= *svasṛiṇām*).

<sup>1</sup> With *meṇati* Johansson (p. 19) and Wackernagel (*Altind. Grammatik*, vol. 1, p. xx) compare Gothic *ga-mainjan* and German *meinen* (English *to mean*).



and for *ri* after a labial: *agrabhuṣi*, *viyapuṣa* (= *vyāpṛita*), *muṭa*, *vutani* and *vutaṇi* (= *vṛittani*), *nivūṣa* (= *nirvṛitta*), *nivūṣi* (= *nirvṛitti*), *vuḍha* (= *vṛiddha*); (4) *grakatha* (= *grihastha*); (5) *[kr]i[ta]* (= *nirvṛitta*), *nivūṣi* (= *nirvṛitti*), *vuḍha* (= *vṛiddha*); (6) *kiṭra* (i.e. *kirṭa*, = Skt. *kṛita*);<sup>1</sup> (7) for *ri* after a labial: *pa[ri]p[ru]chha*, *mrugo*, *mrugaya* (= *mṛigayā*). In *śruṇeyu* (XII, 7) the *ru* is due to the influence of *śruta*, *śrutu*, &c.

In a few cases the vowel *e*, both if it is inherited from Sanskrit and if it is due to dialectical changes (cf. Johansson, § 23), appears to have become *i*; see *duv[i]* = *du[v]e* at Mānsehrā for Skt. *dvē* (II, 4) and *dvan* (I, 3), *ayi* for *\*aye* = Skt. *ayam*, *amūi* (VIII, 17) for *amūe* = Skt. *anyah*, *Amṭikini* (nom. sing., XIII, 9), *rajani* (nom. plur., XIII, 9).

The two diphthongs *ai* and *au* have become *e* and *o*, respectively; see *niche* (perhaps = Skt. *nīchaiḥ*, VII, 5), *[o]sha[dha]ni* (II, 5), *papotra* (XIII, 11), *paralokika*, *-opaka* and *-opaya*.

The Kharōṣṭhī alphabet does not mark the length of the three vowels *a*, *i*, *u*, and we must always keep in mind that every *a*, *i*, *u* of the text may be meant for *a* or *ā*, *i* or *ī*, *u* or *ū*, respectively.

Initial *a* is dropped in *pi* (= Skt. *apī*); *i* in *ti* (= *itī*) and *kiti* (= *\*kid + itī*); *e* generally in *va*, while *eva* is preserved three times through Sandhi. Besides *va*, the text often uses the two forms *vo* (= Vedic *ēvō*, i.e. *ēva + u*)<sup>2</sup> and *yo*, which Johansson (§ 36) derives from Prākṛit *yeva* (= Skt. *ēva*).<sup>3</sup>

## II. SIMPLE CONSONANTS.

The guttural *k* has become *y* in *niraṭhiya* (= *nilathiya* at Kālsī) and *-opaya* (VIII, 17) = *-opaka* (II, 5), instead of which the remaining versions of the rock-edicts (besides Mānsehrā) have *-opaga*. It seems to be dropped altogether in *diadha* = *\*dvikārdha*. Greek *χ* is expressed by *k* in *Amṭiyoka*, and *γ* by the same in *Amṭikini* and *Maka*. Skt. *gh* has become *h* in *lahu* and *lahuka*.

The palatal *j* has become *y* in *Kamboya*, *[p]rayukhotave*, *samaya* (= Skt. *samāja*, I, 1, 2), *raya* (= *rājā*), and is represented by *ch* in *vrachaspi*, *vracha-bhumika* (also at Mānsehrā), and in *vrachamti*, *v[r]acheyam*; cf. Prākṛit *vachchāi* (for *\*vrajyati*?) = Skt. *vrajati*.

Skt. *ṣ* is generally preserved, except in *kshamanaye*, *garana*, *aviprahino*, *pranatika*, *Pitinika* (= *P[e]tenika* at Girnār). In terminations, however, dental *n* is never lingualized after *ri*, *r*, or *sh*; see *akarena*, *agrena*, *anamṭariyena*, *khudrakena*, *Devanampriyena*, *parakramena*, *putrena*, *vagrena*, *abhiramani*, *rupani*, *sakasani*, *Gaṇḍharanam*, *manuṣanam*, *mahamatranam*, *Rathikanam*, *guruna*, *garuna*, *pituna*, *bhratuna*, *spasa(su)na*. On the other hand lingual *ṣ* is newly developed after *r* in *prapṇati* (from Skt. *prāpnōti*), *saṃtirana* (from *tirayati*), and wrongly in *Devanapriy[e]* (I, 1).

Dentals are lingualized after an original *ri* (see above, p. lxxxiv), after *ra* in the preposition *paṭi* (eight times) or *prati* (twice) for *prati* (five times), and after *sha* in *[o]sha[dha]ni* (II, 5), *prashamda* and *prashada* (for *\*pārshamda* and *\*pārshada* = Skt. *pārshada*). Between vowels *t* is replaced by *d* in *kapeṣadi* (= *kapeṣati* at Mānsehrā) and, as at Kālsī, in *hida-sukhaye* (V, 12).<sup>4</sup> Here we have the beginning of the process which, later on, every intervocalic *t* underwent in the Śaurasēnī dialect. For *hida* (five times) = *idha* at Girnār, see above, p. lxxii.

As in literary Prākṛit, the labial *p* becomes *v* between vowels in *avatrapeyu* (XIII, 8). Initial *b* is replaced by *p* in *padham* (VII, 5) for *badham* (XIII, 3). The aspirate *bh* has turned to *h* in *hoti* (only VIII, section E, for the usual *bhoti*), *aho*, and in the termination *-hi* (= Skt. *-bhiḥ*) of *bahuh* and *ṣatehi*.

As at Kālsī, *y* becomes *j* in *majura* (= Skt. *mayūra*, I, 3), and *v* in *vishava* (XIII, 9). It is dropped at the beginning of *ava* (five times) for *yava* (IX, 19) = Skt. *yāvat* and of *[e]* (XIII, 5) for *ye* = Skt. *yat*, and between two vowels in *Priadraṣi* (thrice), *Devanapriasa* (four times) or

<sup>1</sup> The spelling *kiṭra* suggests that (5) *[kr]i[ta]* is also meant for *kirṭa*. Cf. Johansson, § 27; Michelson, AJP, 31. 57; and below, p. lxxxvii.

<sup>2</sup> See Bühler, ZDMG, 43. 136, according to a suggestion of the late Professor Kirste.

<sup>3</sup> Michelson (JAOS, 30. 86, n. 4) identifies *yo* with the nom. sing. masc. of the relative pronoun.

<sup>4</sup> At Mānsehrā (VIII, 35) *t* is softened also before *r* in *yada* (for *\*yadra* = Skt. *yātrā*); and *tenada* (= *tēnātra*) in both versions presupposes an intermediate form *\*tenadra*. Cf. *adra*, *puḍra*, *midra* in the Wardak vase-inscription; EI, 11. 208, n. 3.



\**piasa* (I, 2), *ekatia* (I, 2), *vijetav[i]a* (XIII, 11). The syllable *ya* becomes *i* in *paritijitu* (= *palitiditu* at Kālsī). The causative affixes *aya* and *ayi* either remain unchanged (in *anapayami*, *draṣayitu*, &c.) or are contracted (in *anapemi*, *anapeśamti*, &c.). The same contraction takes place in *amuneti* (XIII, 7). The *e* of the 3. sing. optative *nivarteyati* (= Skt. *nirvartayāt*) corresponds to an original *aye*, and the *o* of the numeral *todaśa* (= Skt. *trayōdaśa*) to an original *ayo*.<sup>1</sup>

The change of *r* into *l* in *palig[o]dha* (V, 12), *palibodha* (V, 13), *sala* (= Skt. *sāra*, XII, 2, 8), *lo[ch]e[sh]u* and *a-loketi*<sup>2</sup> is a Māgadhiism, while, as at Girmār, *r* corresponds to *l* in \**arabhati*, 'to kill', = Skt. *ālabhatē* (see below, p. xciv), and in *Turamaye* = Πτολεμαῖος (XIII, 9). As stated above (p. lvii), this wrong translation of the foreign name *Tulamaye* (Kālsī) proves that the Shāhbāzgarhī version is based on a Māgadha original. In *Keraḍaputro* (II, 4) the *d* corresponds to the lingual *ḍ* of Tamil *Kēraḷa*; the other versions of the rock-edicts have *l* instead of *ḍ*.

The semivowel *v* is developed out of *u* and *ū* in *vuchati* (= Skt. *uchyatē*), *vuta* (= *upta*, II, 5), and *apavudha* (= *apōdha*). As at Kālsī, the syllable *vā* becomes *u* in the absolutes in *-tu* (= Skt. *-tvā*). Contraction of *ava* into *o* takes place in *orodhana*, *bhoti*, *hoti*, *bhotu*, *aho*.

Like the Kālsī version, the Shāhbāzgarhī one distinguishes the three sibilants *ś*, *sh*, *s*, but with one important difference. While at Kālsī these three symbols are used indiscriminately (see above, p. lxxii), the Shāhbāzgarhī text generally employs each of them where it would have been in its proper place in Sanskrit.<sup>3</sup> Thus we find *ś* in *anuśasti*, *aśamana*, *ediśa*, *tadiśa*, *yadiśa*, *daśa*, *deśa*, *draśana*, *draṣayitu*, *Priyadraśi*, *paśu*, *pradeśi[ka]*, *yaśo*, *śaka* (= Skt. *śakya*), *śata*, *śila* (i. e. *śīla*), *[śilana]* (i. e. *śīlana*), *śudhi* (i. e. *śuddhi*), *śaśayike*, *prativeśiya*, *niśita* (= Skt. *\*niśrita*), *śramaṇa*, *śravaka*, *śruta*, *śrutu*, *śruṇeyu*; and *sh* in *eshe*, *esha*, *[o]sha[dha]ni*, *ghosha*, *tosho*, *dosha*, *parisha*, *prashamḍa*, *vishava* (= *vishaya*), *pitushu*, in the loc. plur. in *-eshu*, in the gen. plur. *tesha[ni]* and *yesha*, in the 3. plur. aorist *nikramishu*, *mañishu*, *lo[ch]e[sh]u*, in *vasha* (= *varsha*) and *kashati* (= *\*karshyati*). Exceptions are not frequent: *s* for *ś* in *anusochana*, *[s]reṭha* (= *śreṣṭha*); *s* for *sh* in *abhisita* (= *abhishikta*), *yesu*, *u[bha]y[e]sa*, *[arabhi]yis[u]*; *sh* for *s* in *pañchashu* and *shashu*. In *manuśa* (= *manushya*) and in the futures in *-iśati* and *-eśati* the *ś* is a defective spelling for *śś*, in which the original *sh* had been palatalized through the influence of the following *y*. In *suśrusha*, *suśrushatu*, *suśrushayu* the first *s* (for *ś*) is probably due to dissimilation, and in *an[u]śaśana*, *anukaśiśamti* the second *ś* (for *s*) is due to assimilation.<sup>4</sup>

Cases of Cockneyism are *hañche* (see above, p. lxxii), *hahati* (twice) for *ahati* (thrice) = Skt. *āha*, *hida* (see above, p. lxxii), *hidalokika*. Conversely, *h* is dropped at the beginning of *[a]stina* = Skt. *hastinaḥ*, and between two vowels in *maa* = Prākṛit *maha* (gen. sing. of the pronoun of the first person), *ia* (= Skt. *iha*) and *ialoka*.

As at Girmār and Kālsī, all final consonants are dropped. In some cases this applies also to the *s* of final *as*; see *jana*, &c. (below, p. xc), *[sa]* (XIII, 10), *ekatia* (I, 2), *[a]stina* (= Skt. *hastinaḥ*, IV, 8), *vacha* (XII, 2). But generally final *as* becomes *o*, and frequently, as in the Māgadha dialect, *e*; see *bhuy[e]*, *chature*, and the nom. sing. masc. *eshe*, *y[e]* (V, 13), *añe* (XII, 9), *jane*, &c. (below, p. xc). In *amñi* (VIII, 17), *Amṭikini* (XIII, 9), *rajani* (XIII, 9) = *rajano* (II, 4), *-i* has taken the place of *-e*.

The Anusvāra of words ending in nasal vowels is omitted in many instances. The reason of this deficiency need not be the carelessness of the writer, but may have been as well the faint articulation of the nasal sound. Examples of the omission are *prajava* (= Skt. *prajāvān*), *ida* (IX, 20) = *idaṁ* (XIII, 3), *ima* (IX, 19) = *imaṁ* (passim), *aya* (twice) = *ayaṁ* (V, 13), *[i]dani* (= Skt. *idānīm*),<sup>5</sup> *eva* (twice) = *evaṁ* (passim), the acc. sing. masc. *aṭh[r]a*, *dosha*, *ba[hu]ka*, the nom. and acc. sing. neut. *dana*, &c. (below, p. xc), the acc. sing. fem. *puja*, &c., and *Sabodhi*, &c., the gen. plur. *ñatina*, *Nabhitina*, *guruna*, *garuna*, *bhratuna*, *spasa(su)na*, *tesha*, *yesha*, *u[bha]y[e]sa*, *abhiratana*, &c. (below, p. xc).

As in the Māgadha dialect, the nom. sing. neut. frequently ends in *-e* instead of *-am*; see *eshe* (X, section E), *ye* (VI, section F; IX, F and I; XIII, 1), *savre* (XII, 5; XIV, 13), *[saha]sre*

<sup>1</sup> Mānsehrā has *treḍaśa*, Dhaurī and Kālsī *tedasa*, for \**trayadaśa*.

<sup>2</sup> But not in *rochetu*; see Text, p. 8, n. 3.

<sup>3</sup> I differ here from Johansson, §§ 14, 48, and side with Michelson, AJP, 30, 289.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Skt. *śaśa* instead of \**śasa*, which is presupposed by German *Hase* (English *hare*).

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Hēmachandra, I, 29.



(XIII, 1), *dane*, &c. (below, p. xc). This barbarism is due to the analogy of the nom. sing. masculine.<sup>1</sup> The termination *-e* is found even in the acc. sing. masc. (*sayame*, VII, 2) and in the particle [*e*] (= Skt. *yat*, XIII, 5). While in the nom. sing. masc. we often have *-e* for *-o* (see above, p. lxxxvi), the *-e* of the nom. sing. neut. is replaced by *-o* in *kaṭavo* and three other gerundives (see below, p. xc), and the nom. sing. neut. of the pronoun *idam* has once the form *īyo* (XII, 2) for *iyam* (VIII, section E). The nom. sing. masc. *so* is used for the nom. sing. neut. (XIII, 2) and for the acc. sing. neut. (passim), and the relative *yo* (X, 21) for the acc. sing. neut. *yat*. Instead of *anudivasam* at Girnār we find *anudivaso* (I, 2), and at XII, 6, the acc. sing. of the masculine *dhrama* is *dhramo*. Finally it must be noted that *ayi* occurs repeatedly instead of *ayam* and *aya* (= Skt. *ayam* and *iyam*).

### III. SANDHI.

Final *m* is preserved before the particle *eva* in [*e*] *vamveva* and *paratri[ka]mveva*, and hiatus is prevented by *m* in *añam-añasa* and *bhaṣam-ayeshu*.

As the length of *ā* is not marked in the Kharōshthī alphabet, the result of *a+a* always appears in writing as short *a*; see *kiṣābhikaro*, *grabhagara*, *tenada* (= Skt. *tēnātra*), *nasti*, *praṇa-rainbho*, *mahābhavaha*, *-vashabhisita*, *supāṭhay[e]*, *dhramanuśasti*, &c. The hiatus remains in [*aṭha*] *vasha-a[bhis]ita[sa]* (XIII, 1).

*a* is elided before *i* in *bramaṇ-ibheshu*; before *u* in *chu* (= *cha+u*) and *paj-upadane*; before *e* in *cheva*; before *o* in *manuś-opakani* and *tat-opayam* (see above, p. lxxii); and *u* before *o* in *paś-opakani*.

*i+a* are contracted into *i* in *i[stidhi]yaksha* (= Skt. *stry-adhyaksha*).

### IV. GROUPS OF CONSONANTS.

As at Girnār (above, p. lix), there is some inconsistency in marking the letter *r* if it is combined with other consonants. 'The order of the symbols does not conform to the actual pronunciation, but to the convenience of the combinations':<sup>2</sup>

(1) *r* is combined with the preceding *akshara*

(a) in *rōh*: *grabhagara* (= *garbhāgāra*).

(b) in *rm*: *dhrama* (i. e. *dharma*) and *dhramma* (i. e. *dharmma*), *krama* (= Skt. *karman*) and *kramma* (i. e. *karmma*).

(c) in *rv*: *pruva* (= Skt. *pūrva*).

(d) in *rś*: *drašana* (i. e. *darśana*), *draṣayitu* (= Skt. *darśayitvā*), *Priyadraśi*.

(e) in *rsh*: *prashamḍa* and *prashaḍa* (from Skt. *pārshada*).

(2) *r* is attached to the next following consonant

(a) in *rg*: *vagra* (i. e. *varga*), *spagra* (= Skt. *svarga*).

(b) in *rī*: *kiṭra* (i. e. *kirīṭa*, = Skt. *kṛita*), *kiṭri* (= Skt. *kṛiti*).

(c) in *rth* and *rṭh*: *athra* and *aṭhra* (= Skt. *artha*).

(d) in *rv*: *savra* (i. e. *sarva*) and *savratra* (i. e. *sarvatra*).

It must be remembered that, wherever the above-mentioned words occur in the text, the transcript shows the imperfect spelling of the inscription, but not the actual pronunciation.

As at the end of words, the Anusvāra is often omitted before consonants; see *atara* and *am̐tara*, *atikrata* (= Skt. *atikrānta*), *Atiyoka* and *Am̐tiyoka*, *anata* and *anam̐ta*, *Alikasudaro* (= Ἀλέξανδρος), *karatam̐* and *karam̐tam̐*, *Kaliga*, *Devanapriya* and *Devanam̐priya*, *prashaḍa* and *prasham̐ḍa*,<sup>3</sup> *badhana* and *sam̐ba[m̐]dha*, *magala* and *man̐gala*, *vikisa* (= Skt. *vikimsā*), *sataṁ* and *sa[m̐]tam̐*, *Sabodhi*, *sayama* and *sa[m̐]yama*, *s[a]yuta* (= *samyukta*), *saṣayika* (= *sāmsayika*),

<sup>1</sup> Cf. above, pp. lxii, lxxiii, and Johansson, part 2, p. 47.

<sup>2</sup> Bühler, ZDMG, 43, 133. Cf. Johansson, § 17, and Michelson, AJP, 30, 289, n. 2.

<sup>3</sup> See above, p. lxxiv, n. 4.



*sastuta* and *saṁstuta*, and the 3. plur. *karo[ti]* (IX, section C), *prapūṇati* (XIII, 6), *bhoti* (XIII, 7), *vasati* (XIII, 4), *nik[r]amatu*, *mañā[tu]*, *aradhetu*, *paṭivedetu*, *rochetu*.

Some groups of consonants are avoided by the development of an auxiliary vowel, which is *a* in *garakati*; *u* before or after a labial in *duv[i]*, *prapūṇati*; and frequently *i*, as the subjoined list of Sanskrit groups and of their equivalents at Shāhbāzgarhī will show. Michelson has proved that some of these correspondences are in reality Māgadhisms and alien to the Shāhbāzgarhī dialect; see his articles in AJP, vols. 30 and 31, and JAOS, vol. 30.

*kt* becomes *t* in *abhisita*, &c.

*ky* becomes *k* in *śako* (= Skt. *śakyam*).

*kr* remains in *atikratam*, &c.

*ksh* remains<sup>1</sup> in *akshati*, [*adhi*] *yaksha*, [*kshaṁ*] *ti*, *kshaṇati*, *kshamanaye*, *kshamitaviya*, *mo[kshaye]*, *saṁkshitenā*, but becomes *kh* in *khudrakena* and [*da*] *khati*.<sup>2</sup>

*kshy* becomes *ksh* in *vraکشانی*.

*khy* becomes *kh* in *mukha* (= Skt. *mukhya*, XIII, 8), *saṁkha[ya]* (= *saṁkhyāya*).

*khl* becomes *kh* in *kho* = Skt. *khalu*; see above, p. lvi and n. 2.

*gr* remains in *agra*, [*a*] *pag[r]atho* (XIII, 5), but the *g* seems to be aspirated in *apaghratho* (XIII, 6).

*chy* becomes *ch* in *vuchati* (= Skt. *uchyatē*).

*jñ* becomes *ñ* in *kiṭṭāṇata* (= Skt. *kṛitajñātā*), *ñati*, *ñatika*, *ñanam*, *raña*, *raño*; *ṇ*, as in literary Prakṛit, in *aṇapayami* and *aṇapemi*, *aṇapeśamti*, *aṇapita*.

*jy* becomes *j* in *joti*- (= Skt. *jyōtis*, IV, 8).

*ñj* becomes *ññ* in *vaññanato* (= Skt. *vyañjanataḥ*).

*dy* becomes *d*, as at Girnār, in *Paṁḍa* (XIII, 9), but *ḍiy*, as at Kālsī, in *Paṁḍiya* (II, 4).

*ny* becomes *ñ* in *puña*, *hiraña*, but *ṇiy* in *anaṇiya* (= Skt. *ānṛiṇya*).

*tp* becomes *p* in *pajupadane*.<sup>3</sup>

*tm* becomes *t* in *ata*- (= Skt. *ātman*).

*ty* becomes *tī* in *ekatia*, but *ch* in *achayika*, *apacha*, *chati*.

*tr* remains in *trayo*, *atra*, *putra*, *savatra*, &c., but becomes *t* in *savata* (V, section N) and *todaśa* (= Skt. *trayōdaśa*, V, 11), and *d* in *tenada* (= Skt. *tēnātra*, VIII, 17).<sup>4</sup>

*tv* remains in *tadatvaye*, but becomes *t* in the absolutes in *-ti* (= Vēdic *-tvī*).

*ts* becomes *s* in *usatena*, *chikisa*.

*tsth* becomes *th* in *uṭhanas[i]* (VI, 15), but *th* in *uṭhanam* (ibid.).<sup>5</sup>

*dy* becomes *j* in *aja*, *paṭipajeyati*; *y* in *nyana* (= Skt. *udyāna*).

*dr* remains in *khudrakena*.

*dv* becomes *duv* in *duv[i]*, but *b* in *badaya(sa)* (cf. *dbādasa* at Girnār), and *d* in *diadha*.

As at Kālsī, *dhy* becomes *jh* in *nijha[i]* and *anunija(jha)peti* (= [*a*] *nu[nijha]paya[ti]* at Mānschrā), but *dhiy* in [*adhi*] *yaksha*.

*dhr* remains in *dhruva* and *Aṁdhra*.

*nm* becomes *m* in *yamatra* (= Skt. *yanmātra*).

*ny* becomes *ññ* or *ñ* in *añña* and *aña*, *mañati* and *meñati*, *mañishu*, *hamñamti[i]*, [*ha*] *mñeyasu*.

*pt* becomes *t* in *guti*, *nijha[i]*, *vuta* (= Skt. *upta*, II, 5), *asamatam*, *saṁkshitenā*, *nataro* (= *naptāraḥ*), *pranatika*, *Turamaye* (= Πτολεμαῖος).

*pn* becomes *pun* in *prapūṇati*.

*pr* remains in *Priyadraśi*, *Devanam̐priya*, *pṛiti* (i. e. *pṛīti*), *prakara[ṇ]e* (XII, 3), *p[r]aja* and *prajava* (V, 13), *praṇa* (i. e. *prāṇa*), *pradeśi[ka]*, *pranatika*, *prapūṇati*, *prabhava*, [*p*] *rayuhotave*, *pra[va]dh[e]śamti*, *pravase*, *pravrajita*, *prasado*, *prasana*, *prasavati*, *aviprahino*, *pratipa[ti]* (XIII, 5), *pratibhagam*, *pratibh[o]gaye*, *prativeśiyena*, *p[r]aṭivīdhane* (VIII, 17), *prāṭivedetavo* (VI, 14), but becomes *p* in *Devanapiasa* (I, 2), [*a*] *pakaraṇasi* (XII, 3), *pajupadane* (IX, 18), *papoira*, *paṭipajeyati*,

<sup>1</sup> For the sign which I have transcribed by *ksh*, see Text, p. 55, note 5.

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. lxxiv, n. 5.

<sup>3</sup> See above, p. lxxv, n. 1.

<sup>4</sup> Mānschrā has *yada* (for \**yadra* = Skt. *yātrā*) in the same section.

<sup>5</sup> Mānschrā has *uṭhana* in both cases.



*paṭipati* (twice), *saṃpaṭipati* (twice), *paṭivīdhana* (V, 13), *paṭivedaka*, *paṭivedana*, *paṭivedetu*, *paṭivedatavo* (VI, 15).

*bdh* becomes *dh* in *ladha*.

*br* remains in *bramaṇa* (= Skt. *brāhmaṇa*).

*bhy* becomes *bh* in *-ibhesu*, *arabhiṣanti* (future passive), but *bhiy* in [*arabhi*] *yis*[*u*] (aorist passive).

*bhr* remains in *bhratuna*.

*my* becomes *mm* (also spelt *mm̐*) in *samma-* and *saṃmma-*.

*mr* becomes *m̐b* in *Tambapaṇṇi*.

*rg* remains in *vagra* (i. e. *varga*; see above, p. lxxxvii) and *spagra* (i. e. *sparga* = Skt. *svarga*).

*rn* becomes *m̐n* in *Tambapaṇṇi*.

*rt* becomes *t* in *anuvatatū*, but *rt* in *kiṭṭi* (i. e. *kīṭṭi* = Skt. *kīṭṭi*), and *t* in *kaṭava*, *anuvataṃti*, *an*[*u*] *vaṭiṣanti*, *nivaṭeti*, *nivaṭeyati*.

*rth* remains in *athra* (i. e. *artha*, IV, 10), but becomes *rth* in *aṭhra* (i. e. *artha*, VI, 14; IX, 19), and *th* in *aṭha* (passim), *nirathiyam̐*.

*rdh* becomes *dh* in *vaḍhiṣati*, *vaḍheti*, *pra*[*va*] *dh*[*e*] *ṣanti*, *vaḍhita*, *diadha*.

*rbh* remains in *grabhagara* (i. e. *garbhāgāra*).

*rm* remains in *krama* (i. e. *karma*) and *kramma* (i. e. *karmma*, III, 6), *dhrama* (i. e. *dharma*) and *dhramma* (i. e. *dharmma*).<sup>1</sup>

*ry* becomes *y* in *-ayeshu* (= Skt. *āryēṣu*), but *riy* in *anantariyena*, *madhuriyaye*, *sama*[*cha*]-*riyam̐*.

*rv* remains in *pruva* (i. e. *purva* = Skt. *pūrva*), *savra* (i. e. *sarva*), but becomes *v* in *sava*, *nivaṭeti*, *nivaṭeyati*, *nivuta*, *nivuti*.

*rs* remains in *draṣana* (i. e. *darśana*), *draṣayitu* (= Skt. *darśayitvā*), *Priyadraṣi* (= °*darśin*), but becomes *ś* in *daṣana* (VIII, 17).

*rsh* remains in *prashaṃḍa* (i. e. \**pārshaṃḍa*)<sup>2</sup> and *prashaḍa*, but becomes *sh* in *vasha*, *pashaṃḍa* (XII, 3) and *pashaḍa* (XII, 9).

*rshy* becomes *sh* in *kasham̐*, *kashati*, *kashanti*.

*rh* becomes *rah* in *garahati*: *r* in *garana* (= Skt. *garhaṇā*).<sup>3</sup>

*lp* becomes *p* in *apa*, *kapa*.

*ly* becomes *l* in *kalana* (= Skt. *kalyāṇa*).

*vy* becomes *v* in *vamūana*, *vapaṭa* (twice), *apa-vayata*, *vasana*, *divani*, *prasavati*, *kaṭava*, *paṭivedatavo*, [*p*] *rayuhotave*, *vatavo*, but *vi* in *viḷetav*[*i*] *a*, and *viy* in *viyapaṭa* and *viyapuṭa* (V, 13), *kshamitaviya*, *puḷetaviya*.

*vr* remains in [*ti* *vre*], *pravrajita*, *vrachanti*, *v*[*r*] *acheyam̐*, *vrakshanti*, *vrachaspi* and *vrachabhūmika* (also at Mānsehrā).

*sch* becomes *ch* in *kachi* (= Skt. *kaśchit*), *pacha* (= *paśchāt*).

*śy* becomes *śiy* in *prativeśiyena*.

*śr* remains in *śramaṇa*, *śravaka*, *suśrusa*, *suśrusatu*, *suśrusheyyu*, *śruta*, *śrutu*, but becomes *ś* in *śamaṇa* (IX, 19), *niśite*, and *sr* in [*ś*] *reṭha* (= Skt. *śrēṣṭha*).

*shk* becomes *k* in *dukaṭam̐*, *dukara*.

*shkr* becomes *kr* in *nikramaṇam̐*, *nik*[*r*] *amatu*, *nikrami*, *nikramishu*.

*shṭ* becomes *th* in [*aṭha*] = Skt. *asṭa* (XIII, 1).

*shṭr* becomes *th* in *Rathikanam̐*.

*shth* becomes *th* in *tiṭhiti*, [*ś*] *reṭham̐*; *th* in *-adhithana*.

*shy* becomes *ś* (i. e. *śś*) in *manuśa* and in the futures in *-iṣati* and *-eṣati*.

As at Kālsī, *sk* becomes *k* in *joti-kam̐dhani*.

*st* remains in *asti*, *nasti*, [*a*] *stina* (= Skt. *hastina*), *saṃstava*, *saṃstuta*, *vistriṣena*, *-anuśasti*.

It occurs also in the Ancient Persian word *nipista*.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> At Mānsehrā we find twice (IV, 13 and 16) the defective spelling *dhama* beside the usual form *dhrama*.

<sup>2</sup> This form is a variant of Skt. *pārshada* (for *pārishada*) and the origin of Skt. *pashaṇḍa*; cf. Johansson, §§ 37, 64.

<sup>3</sup> See Johansson, § 56, c, and cf. Pāli *rassa* = Skt. *hrasva* (Geiger, § 49). At Mānsehrā the reading is *garaha* (= Skt. *garhā*).

<sup>4</sup> See above, p. xlii.



- str* remains in *i[stri]*, *striyaka*.  
*sth* becomes *th* in *grahatha*, *chira-thitika*.  
*su* becomes *sin* in *[si][ne\*]ho* (XIII, 5).<sup>1</sup>  
*sm* becomes *sp* or *s* in the locatives singular in *-aspi* and *-asi*.  
*sy* becomes *siy* in *rabhasiye*, *siya*, *siyati*, *siyasu*, but *s* in *asu* and in the genitives singular in *-asa* and *-isa*.  
*sr* remains in *parisrave*, *sahasra*, but becomes *s* in *sahasani* (I, 2).  
*sv* becomes *sp* in *spa[ka]*, *spagra* (= Skt. *svarga*), *spamikena*, *spasa(su)na* (= *svasṛiṇām*).  
*hm* becomes *m* in *bramaṇa*.

## B.—DECLENSION

I. BASES IN *-a*.(1) Masculines and neuters in *-a*.

Singular.	Plural.
Nom. masc. <i>jano</i> , &c.; neut. <i>danam</i> , &c.	Masc. <i>putra</i> , &c.; neut. <i>[o]sha[dha]ni</i> , &c.
Acc. masc. <i>dhramam</i> , &c.; neut. <i>maṅgalam</i> , &c.	Masc. <i>yutani</i> , &c.; neut. <i>divani</i> , <i>rupani</i> .
Instr. <i>putrena</i> , <i>danena</i> , &c.	<i>śatehi</i> .
Dat. <i>aṭhaye</i> , &c.	
Abl. <i>karaṇa</i> (= Skt. <i>kāraṇāt</i> , III, 6), <i>pacha</i> .	
Gen. <i>janasa</i> , &c.	<i>praṇanam</i> , &c.
Loc. (a) <i>orodhanaspi</i> , &c.; (b) <i>dhrame</i> , &c.	<i>vasheshu</i> , &c.

Nom. sing. masc.—The original termination *-s* is dropped in *jana* (XIV, 13), *ghosha* (IV, 8), *pradeśi[ka]* (III, 6), *vadha* (XIII, 3), *samba[m]dha* (XI, 23), *sayama* (VII, 4). *Maka* (XIII, 9). The Māgadha termination *-e* is frequent; see *jane* (X, 21), *vivade* (VI, 14, 15), *Turamaye* (XIII, 9), *Devanapriye* (X, 21), &c. In *Āmtikini* (XIII, 9) we have *-i* instead of *-e*.

Nom. sing. neut.—The Anusvāra is omitted in *dana*, *a[cha]yika* (VI, 14), *anusochana* (XIII, 2), *[du]kara* (VI, 16), *draṣana* and *daṣana* (VIII, 17), *puṇa* (XI, 24), *maṅgala* (IX, sections D and F), *maha-phala* (IX, F). As in the nom. sing. masc., Māgadha forms in *-e* are frequent; see *dane* (VII, 4), *draṣane* (VIII, 17), *likhite* (XIV, 13), *vijite* (XIV, 13), &c. In a few gerundives we have *-o* instead of *-am* or *-e*: *kaṭavo* (IX, 18, 19; XI, 24), *praṭivedetavo* (VI, 14) and *paṭivedetavo* (VI, 15), *vatavo* (IX, 19; XI, 24; XII, 8), *śako* (XIII, 7). The Sanskrit masculine *bhāga* is used as neuter in *sahasra-bhagam* (XIII, 7).

Acc. sing. masc.—In *aṭh[r]a* (VI, section E), *dosha* and *ba[hu]ka* (I, 1), the Anusvāra is omitted. There are two irregular forms: *dhramo* (XII, 6) and *sayame* (VII, 2).

Acc. sing. neut.—The Anusvāra is omitted in *[da]na* (XII, 1), *karaṇa* (XIV, 14), *vasana* (XIII, 5), and in a few other instances.

Loc. sing.—The group *sp* of the termination *-spi* is assimilated in *[a]pakaraṇasi* (XII, 3), *uṭhanas[i]* (VI, 15), *[ga]ṇanasi* (III, 7), *mahana[sas]i* (I, 2), *yu[ta]si* (V, 13). The termination *-e* occurs also in *anutape*, *abadhe*, *avahe*, *Kalige*, *prakara[n]e*, *pravase*, *vijay[e]* (XIII, 11), *vijite*, *vivahe*, *śile*.

Nom. plur. masc.—The Sanskrit neuter *apatya* is used as masculine in *[y]e me apacha vrakṣamti* (V, 11).

Nom. plur. neut.—The termination is *-a* instead of *-ani* in *[o]sha[dha]ni* . . . . *harapita cha vuta cha* (II, 5).

The remaining instances of the acc. plur. masc. are *-kaṁdhani*, *Kaliga[ni]*, *-prashamḍani*, *pravrajita[ni]*, *grahathani*.

Gen. plur.—The Anusvāra is omitted in *abhiratana* (XIII, 5), *mahamatrana* (VI, 14), *-bramaṇana* (twice), *-śramaṇana* (IV, 9).

<sup>1</sup> Mānschrā reads *si[ne]he*.



## (2) Feminines in -ā.

Singular.	Plural.
Nom. <i>ichha</i> , &c.	<i>chik[i]sa</i> , <i>[kr]i[ta]</i> , <i>striyaka</i> . <sup>1</sup>
Acc. <i>puja</i> , &c.	
Instr. <i>pujaye</i> , <i>vividhaye</i> .	
Loc. <i>sa[m]tiraṇaye</i> .	

## II. BASES IN -i.

## (1) Masculines in -i.

Nom. plur. *trayo*.  
 Gen. plur. *ñatina[m]*, *ñatina*, *Nabhitina*.

## (2) Feminines in -i and -ī.

Singular.	Plural.
Nom. <i>dipi</i> , &c.	<i>aṭavi</i> .
Acc. <i>Sabodhi</i> , &c.	
Instr. - <i>anusa[stī]ya</i> , <i>bhatiya</i> .	
Dat. - <i>anusaṭṭiye</i> , <i>vaḍhiya</i> .	
Abl. <i>nivuṭṭiya</i> , <i>Ta[m]bapaṇ[m]ṭi</i> ya.	
Loc. <i>ayatiya</i> .	

With the nom. plur *aṭavi* cf. Pāli *rattī*, nom. plur. of *rattī* (= Skt. *rātri*).

## III. BASES IN -u.

The same forms as at Girnār and Kālsī occur, viz. nom. sing. masc., fem., and neut. *sadhu*; nom. and acc. sing. neut. *bahu*; nom. and acc. plur. neut. *bahuni*; instr. plur. *bahukhi*; gen. plur. *guruna*, *garuna*.

## IV. MASCULINES AND FEMININES IN -i.

Nom. plur. *nataro*.  
 Gen. plur. *bhratuna*, *spasa(su)na*.<sup>2</sup>  
 Loc. plur. *pitushu*.

The instr. sing. follows the *u*-declension: *pituna*, *bhratuna*.

## V. BASES IN CONSONANTS.

## (1) Present participles in -at.

As at Kālsī, we have the two nom. sing. masc. *sa[m]taṇ* (*sataṇ*) and *karaṇtaṇ* (*karataṇ*).

## (2) Masculine in -vat.

Nom. sing. *prajava* (= Skt. *prajāvān*).

## (3) Masculines and neuters in -an.

Singular.	Plural.
Nom. masc. <i>raja</i> , <i>raya</i> .	<i>rajano</i> , <i>rajani</i> .
Acc. neut. <i>nama</i> .	
Instr. <i>rañña</i> .	
Gen. <i>rañño</i> .	

The neuter base *karman* follows the *a*-declension: nom. sing. *kramaṇ*, dat. *kraṇmaye*.

<sup>1</sup> The Skt. feminine *strī*, from which this curious diminutive is formed, occurs at XII, 9 in the form *i[stri]*.

<sup>2</sup> At Mānsehrā (V, 24) the reading is *spas[u]na*.



(4) Masculines in *-in*.Nom. sing. *Priyadrasī*.Instr. sing. *Priyadrasīna*.Gen. sing. *Priyadrasīsa*.Acc. plur. [*a*]*stina* (*asti[ne]* at Mānsehrā).The gen. sing. follows the analogy of the *a*-declension.(5) Neuters in *-as*.Acc. Sing. *yaśo*, *bhuy[ē]*.The base *vacha-* (XII, 2) corresponds to Skt. *vachas*.(6) Neuter in *-is*.The base *joti-* (IV, 8) corresponds to Skt. *jyōtis*.(7) Feminine in *-d*.

The base *parishad* follows the *a*-declension: loc. sing. *parishaye*. The nom. sing. *parisha* is preserved at Mānsehrā (III, 11).

## C.—PRONOUNS

## (1) Pronoun of the first person.

Nom. sing. *aham*.Instr. sing. *maya*.Gen. sing. *maa*, *me*.

With the gen. *maa* cf. Prākṛit *maha*, which seems to be derived from the Skt. genitive *mama* under the influence of the dative *mahyam*; see Michelson, JAOS, 30. 85, n. 2.

(2) Base *ta*.

Singular.		Plural.
Nom. masc. <i>so</i>	} neut. <i>taṁ</i> , <i>so</i> .	Masc. <i>te</i> .
Acc. masc. <i>taṁ</i>		
Instr. <i>tena</i> .		
Dat. <i>taye</i> .		
Gen. <i>tasa</i> .		<i>tesha[ṁ]</i> , <i>tesha</i> .
Loc. <i>tasi</i> .		

Nom. sing. fem. *sa*.Acc. plur. fem. *ta* (XIII, 7).

In two places (XIII, section T, and V, section H) we have *sā* for *so* (nom. masc. and acc. neut.).

(3) Base *sha*.

The acc. plur. neut. *sha* (VI, 16) corresponds to *she* (acc. plur. masc.?) at Mānsehrā; cf. Text, p. 59, n. 1.

(4) Base *ṛta*.

Singular.		Plural.
Nom. masc. <i>eshe</i> ; neut. <i>eta</i> , <i>etaṁ</i> , <i>etake</i> , <i>eshe</i>	} Masc. <i>eta</i> (I, 3).	
(X, section E).		
Instr. <i>etakena</i> .		
Dat. <i>etaye</i> , <i>etakaye</i> .		
Gen. <i>etisa</i> (III, 6; XII, 9).		



Nom. sing. fem. *esha* (XIII, 4).

The *i* of the gen. sing. *etisa*, which is found also at Mānsehrā (XII, 8), is perhaps due to the analogy of the Pāli interrogative *kissa* (from base *ki*) = *kassa* (from base *ka*).

(5) Demonstrative *idam*.

Singular.

Nom. masc. *ayaṁ*, *ayi*; neut. *idaṁ*, *ida*, *imaṁ*, *ima*, *iyaṁ*, *iyō*.

Acc. neut. *imaṁ*.

Gen. *imisa* (IV, 10).

Nom. fem. *aya*, *ayi*.

Dat. fem. *imisa* (III, 6).

With the gen. masc. *imisa* cf. *etisa* (from *ṛta*) and the Gīrnār and Pāli instrumental *iminā*.

The dat. fem. *imisa* is an imperfect spelling of Pāli *imissā*. Cf. the feminine bases *imī*, *tī*, *eī*, *jī*, *kī* in Prākṛit (Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 424).

(6) Interrogative pronoun.

The indefinite *kichi* (nom. and acc. sing. neut.) forms the nom. sing. masc. *kachi* (XII, 5). The compound *kīti* is used in the sense of 'that'.

(7) Relative pronoun.

Singular.

Nom. masc. *yo*, *y[ε]*; neut. *yaṁ*, *ye*.  
Acc. neut. *yaṁ*, *yo* (X, 21), *[ε]* (XIII, 5).  
Instr. *ye[na]*.  
Gen. *yasa*.  
Loc.

Plural.

Masc. *ye*.

*yesha* (*yesha[n]* at Mānsehrā).  
*yesu*.

Nom. sing. fem. *ya* (XIII, 12).

Nom. plur. fem. *ya* (XIII, 7).

(8) Base *anya*.

Singular.

Nom. masc. *añe*, *aññi*; neut. *añam*.<sup>1</sup>  
Acc.  
Dat. *añaye*.  
Gen. *añamañasa*.

Plural.

Masc. *aññe* } neut. *añani*.

(9) Base *sarva*.

Singular.

Nom. neut. *sav[r]aṁ*, *savre*.  
Acc. masc. and neut. *savram*, *savaṁ*.  
Loc.

Plural.

Masc. *save*.

*savreshu*, *saveshu*.

(10) Base *ubhaya*.

Gen. plur. *u[bha]y[ε]sa* (*ubhayesaṁ* at Mānsehrā).

(11) Base *ekatara*.

Loc. sing. *ekatare*.

(12) Base *\*ēkatya*.

Nom. sing. masc. *ekatia*.

<sup>1</sup> *añ[ε]* at Mānsehrā, IV, 15.



## D.—NUMERALS

One.

Acc. sing. neut. [*e\**]*kañi*.

Two.

Nom. masc. and fem. *duv*[*i*].

Three.

Nom. masc. *trayo*.

Four.

As in *Ardhamāgadhī* (Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 439), the acc. masc. *chature* (= Skt. *chaturāḥi*) is used in the place of the nom. (XIII, 9).

Five, six.

Loc. *pañchashu*, *shashu*.

Eight, ten, twelve, thirteen.

[*aṭha*], *daśa*, *badaya*(*śa*), *todaśa*.

Hundred.

Acc. plur. *śatani*, instr. *śatehi*, loc. *śateshu*.The ordinal is *śata*; see *śata-bhage*, XIII, 7.

Thousand.

The ordinal is *sahasra* (XIII, 7).

Hundred thousand.

Nom. sing. *śa*[*ta-saha*]*sre*.Nom. plur. *śata-sahasani*.

## E.—CONJUGATION

## I. PRESENT.

## (1) Bases.

First Sanskrit class.

Root *kram*: *parakramati*, *nik*[*r*]*amatu*.Root *garh*: *garahati*.Root *ji*: [*vi*]*jinamano*, *vijinīti*; see above, p. lxxxī and n. 1.Root *trap*: *avatrapeyu*.Root *dṛś*: [*da*]*khati*.Root *nī*: *anuneti*.Root *bhū*: *bhoti*, *hoti*.

Root *labh*: the absolutive *ara*[*bhītu*] and the two passive forms [*arabhi*]*yis*[*u*] and *arabhi-śamīti* presuppose the present \**arabhati*, 'to kill' (= Skt. *ālabhatē*).

Root *vas*: *vasati*.Root *vṛt*: *anuvatatū*, *anuvataṁti*.



Root *vraj*: *vrachamti*. For Prākṛit *vachchā* (for \**vrajyati*?) = Skt. *vrajati* see Hēma-chandra, IV, 225; Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 202 and n. 3.

Root *sthā*. The absolutive *tiṣṭhiti* (IV, 10) presupposes the present \**tiṣṭhati* (= Skt. *tishṭhati*).

Second Sanskrit class.

Root *as*: *asti*.

Root *han*: *upahamti*.

Third Sanskrit class.

Root *hu*. The gerundive [*p*]*rayukhotave* is formed from the Skt. present *jukhōti*.

Fourth Sanskrit class.

Root *pad*: *paṭipajeyati*.

Root *man*: *mañati* and *meñati*.

Fifth Sanskrit class.

Root *āp* follows the ninth class: *prapūṇati*.

Root *śru* follows the *a*-conjugation: *śruṇeyu*.

Sixth Sanskrit class.

Root *ish*: *ichhati*.

Seventh Sanskrit class.

Root *yuj* follows the *a*-conjugation: *yujamtu*.

Eighth Sanskrit class.

Root *kṛi*: *karoti*; but the optative *apakareyati* and the two present participles *karamāni* and *ka[ra]min[o]* presuppose the present \**karati*, \**karate*.

Root *kshaṇ* follows the *a*-conjugation: *kshaṇati*.

Ninth Sanskrit class.

Root *aś* follows the *a*-conjugation: *aśamana* (part. pres. middle).

Tenth Sanskrit class.

(a) With *aya*: *dipayami*, *draṣayitu*, *sukhayami*. The character *aya* is contracted into *e* in *pujēti*, *pujētavīya*, *a[ra]dhēti*, *aradhētu*, *rochetu*, *lo[ch]e[sh]u*, *a-locheti*, *paṭivedetu*, *paṭivedetavo*, *nivaṣēti*, *vaḍheti*.

(b) With *paya*: *aṇapayami* and *aṇapemi*, *aṇapeśamti*, *aṇapita*, *anunija(jha)peti*, *hapeśadi*.

(c) With *āpaya*: *likha[p]eśami*, *likhapitu(ta)*, *khanapita*, *nipesapita*, *harapita*.

(2) Moods.

The terminations of the middle are replaced by those of the active, with the exception of the present participles [*vi*]*jinamana*, *ka[ra]mina*, *aśamana*.

(a) Indicative.

1. sing. *parak[r]amami*, *karomi*, *aṇapayami* and *aṇapemi*.

3. sing. *parakramati*, *garahati*, [*da*]*khati*, *anuneti*, *bhoti* and *hoti*, *asti*, *upahamti*, *mañati* and *meñati*, *ichhati*, *karoti*, *kshaṇati*, *anunija(jha)peti*, *pujēti*, *a[ra]dhēti*, *nivaṣēti*, *vaḍheti*.

3. plur. *anuvaśamti*, *vrachamti*, *ichhamti*. The Anusvāra is missing in *bhoti* (XIII, 7), *vasati*, *prapūṇati*, *karo[ti]* (IX, section C).

(b) Subjunctive.

1. sing. *dipayami* and *sukhayami* (with indicative termination).



## (c) Optative.

1. sing. *v[r]acheyam* (from \**vrachchati* = Skt. *vrajati*).  
 3. sing. *siya* and *siyati* (= Skt. *syāt*), *paṭipajeyati*, *apakareyati* (from Skt. *apakarōti*), *nivāṭeyati*<sup>1</sup> (= Skt. *nirvartayāt*; cf. above, p. lxxxii). The four last forms have the termination of the indicative.  
 3. plur. *avatrapeyu*, *vaseyu*, *śruṇeyu*, *asu* (= Pāli *assu*) and *siyasu*. With the last form cf. the optative passive [*ha*]mñeyasu (below, V).

## (d) Imperative.

3. sing. *bhotu*, *anuvātatu*.  
 3. plur. *parakramāntu*, *yujāntu*. The Anusvāra is missing in *nik[r]amatu*, *mañā[tu]*, *aradhetu*, *rochetu*, *paṭivedetu*.

## (e) Imperfect.

3. sing. *aho* (= Skt. *abhavat*).

## II. AORIST.

## (a) Indicative.

3. sing. *nikrami*.  
 3. plur. *nikramishu*. In *abhuvasu* (VIII, 17) the aorist termination *-su* seems to be affixed to *abhūvan*, the Sanskrit aorist of root *bhū*; cf. Johansson, § 30.

## (b) Subjunctive.

3. plur. *mañishu* (from Skt. *manyatē*), *lo[ch]e[sh]u* (*alochayisu* at Kālsī and Mānsehrā).<sup>2</sup>

## III. PERFECT.

To the Sanskrit perfect *āha*, which has the meaning of the present (see Pāṇini, III, 4, 84), the termination of the 3. sing. indicative present is affixed: *ahati* and *hahati*.<sup>3</sup>

## IV. FUTURE.

1. sing. *kasham* ([*ka*]shami at Mānsehrā), *likha[p]eśami* (while Gīrnār has *likhāpayisam*).  
 3. sing. *kashati*, *vaḍhisati*, *hapeśadi*.  
 3. plur. *kashānti*, *an[u]vaṭisānti*, *vraکشānti* (from root *vraj*), *anusaṭisānti* (from *anu-ṣās*), *anapeśānti*, *pra[vā]ḍh[e]śānti* (*pavaḍhayisānti* at Mānsehrā).

## V. PASSIVE.

3. sing. indicative *vuchati* (= Skt. *uchyatē*), *prasavati* (= *prasāvvyatē*).  
 3. plur. indicative [*a*]nuvidhiyānti (= *anuvidhīyāntē*), *hamñānt[i]* (= *hanyāntē*).  
 3. plur. optative [*ha*]mñeyasu (XIII, 8) with aorist termination; cf. *siyasu* (= Skt. *syuh*, XII, 7), and see Johansson, § 140.  
 3. sing. imperative *anuvī[dhī]yatu*.  
 3. plur. aorist [*arabhi*]yis[u] (from Skt. *ālabhyatē*).  
 3. plur. future *anuvidhiyisām[ti]* (from Skt. *anuvidhīyatē*), *arabhisānti* (for \**ālabhyishyanti* from Skt. *ālabhyatē*).<sup>4</sup>

## VI. DESIDERATIVE.

3. plur. optative *suśrusheyu*.  
 3. sing. imperative *suśrushatu*.

<sup>1</sup> Mānsehrā reads *nivāṭeya*.

<sup>2</sup> See Text, p. 31, n. 7.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Text, p. 52, n. 11.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *ārabhare*, *ārabhisu*, and *ārabhisare* at Gīrnār, where *bh* is also a defective spelling for *bh̥*.



## VII. PARTICIPLES.

## (1) Present participle.

## Active.

Root *as*: *sa[m]tam* (*satan*).

Root *kri*: *karamtam* (*karatan*).

## Middle.

Root *ji*: *[vi]jinamana*; see above, p. lxxxi and n. 1.

Root *kri*: *ka[ra]mina*.

Root *as*: *asamana*.

Other participles in *-mina* or *-mīna* are found in the Māgadha edicts; cf. Bühler, ZDMG, 46. 72, and below, p. cx, and chapters X and XI.

## (2) Past passive participle.

(a) In *-ta*: *mata* and *muta* (= Skt. *mata*, XIII, 8), *muṭa* (= *mṛita*), *kiṭa*, *[kr]i[ta]*, and *kiṭra* (= *kṛita*), *vapaṭa*, *viyapaṭa*, and *viyapuṭa* (= *vyāpṛita*, V, 13), *vistrīṭa* (= *vistrīta*), *usaṭa* (= *utsṛita*), *nisīṭa* (= *\*nīṣṛita*), *nipīṭa* (= Ancient Persian *nīpishṭa*; see above, p. xlii), *nipesīṭa*, *nipesapīṭa*, *likhīṭa*, *likhapīṭu(ta)*, *khanapīṭa*, *harapīṭa*, *aropīṭa*, *aṇapīṭa*, *bhūṭa* (i. e. *bhūta*), *atīkrāṭa* (= *atīkrānta*), *[la]pīṭa*, *nivūṭa* (= *nirvṛita*), *vūṭa* (= *uṭa*), *samāṭa* (= *samāṭa*), *saṃkshīṭa* (= *saṃkshīṭa*), *vudḥa* (= *vṛiddha*), *apavudḥa* (= *apōdḥa*), *ladḥa* (= *labḥa*), &c.

(b) In *-na*: *prasana* (i. e. *prasanna*), *viprahina* (i. e. *°hina*).

## (3) Future passive participle.

(a) In *-tavya*: *kshamitavya*, *pujetavya*, *vijetaṭ[i]a*, *kaṭava*, *vatava*, *[p]rayuhotava*, *paṭive-detava*.

(b) In *-āniya*: *v[e]dāni[ya]*.

(c) In *-ya*: *śaka* (= Skt. *śakya*).

## VIII. ABSOLUTIVE.

(a) In *-tu* (= Skt. *-tvā*): *ara[bhitu]*, *paritijitu* (from root *tyaj* with Samprasāraṇa of *ya*), *śrutu*, *draṣayitu*.

(b) In *-ti* (= Vedic *-tvī*):<sup>1</sup> *tīḥiti* (from the Skt. present *tishṭhati*), *vijīniti* (from the present *vi-jināti*; see above, p. lxxxi and n. 1), *a-locheti*.

(c) In *-ya*: *saṃkḥay[a]* (from *saṃ-khyā*).

The dialect of the Mānsehrā text is nearly identical with the Shāhbāzgarhī one, but contains some more Māgadhisms.<sup>2</sup> It will, therefore, be sufficient to draw attention only to those forms at Mānsehrā which differ from the corresponding ones at Shāhbāzgarhī.

The vowel *e* for *a* in the second syllable of *sayeme* (VII, 33) may be due to the preceding palatal *y*, unless it is a clerical error. For the form *m[un]i[sa]* (II, 8) see above, p. lxx. Instead of the vowel *ri* the Mānsehrā version has (1) *a* in *kaṭa*, *sukaṭa*, *[ma]ṭe*; (2) *u* in *[pa]r[i]puchha*, *vapuṭa* (= Skt. *vyāpṛita*); (3) *e* in *gehatha* (= *grihastha*);<sup>3</sup> (4) *ra* in *viyapṛaṭa* (V, 24);<sup>4</sup> (5) *ar* in *kaṭra* (i. e. *kaṭa* = Skt. *kṛita*), *vadhri* (i. e. *varddhi* = Skt. *vṛiddhi*); (6) *ri* in *mrig[e]*, *mrigaviya* (= *mrigavyā*); (7) *ru* in *vruḍhi* (= *vṛiddhi*);<sup>5</sup> (8) *ur* in *vudhra* (i. e. *vurddha* = Skt. *vṛiddha*). For *ruchha* = Skt. *vriksha* (II, 8) see above, p. lxx f.

The guttural *k* becomes *y* in *[dī]ya[dha]* (XIII, 1). Greek *χ* is represented by *g* in *[A]tiyoge*

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Delbrück's *Altind. Verbum*, § 221; Macdonell's *Vedic Grammar*, p. 412.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Michelson, *AJP*, 30. 285 f.

<sup>3</sup> The Prākṛit form *gēha* is used for *griha* also in Sanskrit. Another instance of this change is the root *ṛdh* = *ṛidh*; see Wackernagel's *Altind. Grammatik*, 1. 39.

<sup>4</sup> The spelling (5) *kaṭra* (for *kaṭa*) suggests that (4) *viyapṛaṭa* is meant for *viyapṛaṭa*.

<sup>5</sup> The spellings (5) *vadhri* and (8) *vudhra* suggest that (7) *vruḍhi* is meant for *vurddhi*.



(II, 6). As at Kālsī, the palatal *ch* has been aspirated in *kechhi* (= Skt. *kaśchit*) and *kichhi* (= \**kid* + *chid*). Dentals are lingualized in *duva[ḍa]śa* (III, 9) = *duva[da]śa* (IV, 18), *tredaśa* (V, 21), and after *ṛi* in *kaṭa*, *sukaṭa*, [*ma*]te, *vapuṭa*, *viyapraṭa*, *vrudhi*. Sanskrit *ṛ* is preserved in *paṇatika* (= *pranaptika*), but is represented by dental *n* in *ti[ni]* (= *triṇi*). In *aṇaniyaṃ* (VI, 31) the first *ṇ* is due to assimilation. The *t* for *dh* in *śuti* (VII, 33) is perhaps a clerical error. The *bh* of the root *bhū* has become *h* in *hoti*, *hotu*, *aho*, [*hu*]veyu, *husu*, *huta-pruve* (twice), but not in *bhuta-pruva* (V, 21) and in the substantive *bhuta* (i. e. *bhūta*). The semivowel *y* is prefixed to *e* in *yeva*, while initial *y* is lost in *e*, *aṃ* (= *yat*), [*a*]diśe (twice), *atra* (twice = *yatra*), *atha* (thrice = *yathā*). In *supadarave* (V, 21) we seem to have *r* for *l* and *v* for *y*; see Text, p. 33, n. 3, and above, p. lvii, n. 2. The first *ś* of *śa[śa]yike* (IX, 7) is due to assimilation. In the aorists *husu*, [*arabhi*]isu, and [*alo*]chay[*i*]su, dental *s* has taken the place of *sh*. In *aa* (VI, 26) = *aha* (i. e. *āha*) and *aam* (VI, 30) = *aham* (VI, 28), *h* is elided between vowels.

Final *as* becomes *o* only in *tato*, *mukhato* (VI, 28), *yaśo*, *Devanapriyo* (VII, 32), *niśito* (V, 25), but generally *e*; see *he[tute]*, *vi[yaṇja]nate*, *natare* (= Skt. *naptārah*), *rajine* (= *rājñah*), *ra[jane]* (= *rājñah*), *Priyadrasine* (gen. sing.), *Devanapriye*, &c. In *vini[k]ramaṇi* (XIII, 5) the *-e* is replaced by *-i*.

The hiatus remains in *dhramayuta-apalibodhaye* (V, 23). *a+e* becomes *e* in *usaṭen-eva* (X, 11), and *ā+u* becomes *o* in *praj-opadaye* (IX, 2).

As at Shāhbāzgarhī, the letter *r* is sometimes attached to the next following consonant. Thus *nirathriya* (IX, 3) is meant for *nirarthiya*, *vadhrite* and *vadhrayisati* (IV, 15) for *vardhite* and *vardhayisati*. Similarly *kaṭra* (= Skt. *kṛita*, V, 24) stands for *kaṭa*,<sup>1</sup> *vadhri* (= *vridhhi*) for *vardhhi*, *vudhra* (= *vridhha*) for *vriddha*. Anusvāra is omitted before consonants in *ata* (II, 5), *aparata* (V, 22), *samata* (II, 6), [*A*]tiyoge, *Adha*, *a[na]taliyena*, *anarabhe*, *anubadha*, *apa-bha[ḍata]*, [*aba*]ka, *asapa[ḍ]ipati*, *Gadharana*, *-chhade*, *para[kra]mate* (3. plur.), *satiraṇa* (VI, 30), *kache* (for *kaṃche*).

*ksh* becomes *chh* in *chhaṇati* and *ruchhani*.

*jñ* becomes *n* in *kiṇanata* (= Skt. *kṛitajñatā*), but *jin* in *rajina* (= *rājñā*) and *rajine* (= *rājñah*).

*ṇy* becomes *ṇ* in *puṇa*, *puṇam*, *apu[ṇe]*.

*tm* becomes *tv* in *atva-* (= Skt. *ātman*).

*ty* becomes *tiy* in *apatiye*, [*eka*]tiya.

*tr* remains in *tredaśa*, but becomes *t* in *ti[ni]* (= Skt. *triṇi*), and *d* in *tenada* and *yada*.<sup>2</sup>

*dr* becomes *d* in *khuda* and *khudakena*.

*dv* becomes *duv* in *duva[ḍa]śa* and *duva[ḍa]śa*.

*dhy* becomes *jh* in *istrija(jha)ksha*.

*ny* becomes *n*, as at Kālsī, in *ana[tra]* (X, 11); *ṇ* in *aṇe*, *aṇatra* (X, 9), *aṇamaṇasa*, *maṇati*, *maṇ[ishu]*.

*pr* remains in *prap[o]tra*, but becomes *p* in *paṇatika*, *pavadhayisanti*, *avipakin[e]*, *paṭibhogaye*, *paṭivetiya*.

*br* becomes *b* in *baṃaṇa* (IV, 15) = *braṃaṇa* (passim).

*bhy* remains in *-ibhyeshu*, but becomes *bhiy* in [*ara*]bh[iyaṇti], and *bh* in [*arabhi*]isu (aorist passive).

*bhr* becomes *bh* in *bhata(tu)na* (V, 24) = *bhratuna* (twice).

*my* remains in *samya-*.

*rg* becomes *g* in *ma[geshu]*.

*rt* becomes *t* in *anuvāṭatu* and *kiṭi* (= Skt. *kṛiti*).

*rth* remains in *nirathriya* (i. e. *nirarthiya*).

*rdh* remains in *vadhrite* (i. e. *vardhite*, IV, 15) and *vadhrayisati* (i. e. *vardha*°), but becomes *dh* in *vadhite* (IV, 12).

*ly* becomes *y* in *kayaṇa* (= Skt. *kalyāṇa*).

*vy* becomes *v* in *vapuṭa*; *viy* in *viyapraṭa*, *vi[yaṇja]nate*, *mrigaviya*, *kaṭaviya*, *pra[johi]taviye*, *vataviye*, *paṭivedetaviye*.

*vr* becomes *v* in [*p*]rava[ji]tani.

*st* becomes *th* in *saṃtha[v]e*.

<sup>1</sup> In *viyapraṭa* (i. e. *viyaparaṭa* = Skt. *vyāpṛita*) the *r* is combined with the preceding *akshara*.  
<sup>2</sup> Cf. above, p. lxxxv, n. 4.



*sth* becomes *th* in *chira-thitika*.

*sr* becomes *s* in *pa[r]isave*.

Masculines in *-a*: abl. sing. *anubadha*; dat. plur. *mahamatrehi*.

Feminines in *-ā*: acc. sing. *puja[ni]*; loc. sing. *prajopadaye*; nom. plur. *janika*.<sup>1</sup>

Masculines in *-i*: loc. plur. *[Na]bhapa[ni]tishu*.

Masculines in *-ri*: nom. plur. *natare*.

Present participle in *-at*.—The gen. sing. *asatasa* follows the *a*-declension.

Masculines and neuters in *-an*: instr. sing. *rajina*; dat. sing. *krama[n]e* (i. e. *karmane*); gen. sing. *rajine*; nom. plur. *ra[jane]*.

Masculines in *-in*: gen. sing. *Priyadrasine*.

Pronoun of the first person: nom. sing. *aam* (VI, 30) = *aham* (VI, 28); instr. sing. *me* (III, 9).

Base *ta*.—The nom. sing. masc. *se* is used also as nom. and acc. sing. neut.; dat. plur. *tehi* (XII, 7); gen. plur. *ta[nam]* (XIII, 5).

Base *ita*: nom. sing. masc. *[esha]* (XIII, 6); gen. sing. *e[ta]sa*; nom. plur. neut. *[e]tani*.

Demonstrative *idam*: nom. sing. neut. *iya* (VIII, 35); gen. sing. *imasa*; nom. plur. masc. *ime*; nom. sing. fem. *iyam*; dat. sing. fem. *imaye*.

Indefinite pronoun: nom. sing. masc. *kechhi*; nom. and acc. sing. neut. *kichhi*.

Base *itara*: nom. sing. neut. *[i]tare*.

Numerals: *[e]k[e]* (nom. sing. masc.), *du[v]e*, *ti[ni]*, *duva[da]sa* and *duva[da]sa*, *treḍaśa*.

Present indicative: 3. plur. *yaṁti* (from root *i* or *yā*).—Subjunctive: 1. plur. *dipayama*; 3. plur. middle: *para[kra]mate*.—Optative: 1. sing. *ye[ham]* and 3. plur. *[hu]veyu*, as in the Kālsī version, which cf. also for the aorist *kusu* (VIII, 34) and the perfect *aha* (i. e. *āha*).

Passive: 3. plur. indicative *[ara]bh[iyaṁti]* (*alabhi[yaṁ]ti* at Kālsī); 3. plur. aorist *[arabh]isu* (*ārabhisu* at Girnār).

Present participle: *asatasa* (gen. sing.) from root *aś*.

Past passive participle: *[aṇapayit]e* (III, 9),<sup>2</sup> *ropapita* (*ropāpita* at Girnār).

Future passive participle: *pra[johi]taviye*; see above, p. lxxxii.

Absolutive in *-ti*: *draśeti*.

## CHAPTER IX. GRAMMAR OF THE DHAULI AND JAUGADA ROCK-EDICTS

### A.—PHONETICS

#### I. VOWELS.

The vowel *a* is converted to *i* through the influence of a neighbouring *y* in *majhima* (= Skt. *madhyama*) and *likhiyis[āmi]\**. It becomes *u* after a labial in *munisa* (= *manushya*), *uchārvucha*, and is assimilated to the vowel of the first syllable in *udupāna* (= *udapāna*).

The *a* in the second syllable of *puṭhavi*, which corresponds to Skt. *i*, was originally an auxiliary vowel; see Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 115. In *su* = Skt. *svid*, *i* has become *u* through the influence of the preceding *v*. For *e* = *i* and *i* in *heta* (= *\*itra*) and *edisa*, *hedisa* (= Skt. *īdrīśa*), see above, p. lxx.

Skt. *u* is represented by *a* in *pana* (= *punak*). In *pulisa* (= *purusha*) the *i* of the second syllable, which corresponds to Skt. *u*, was originally an auxiliary vowel; see Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 124. For the *i* in the second syllable of *munisa* (= Skt. *manushya*), see above, p. lxx and n. 3. In *kho* (= Skt. *khalu*), Skt. *u* is represented by *o*; see above, p. lvi and n. 2.

<sup>1</sup> This is a diminutive of *jani*, 'a wife', which occurs at Kālsī.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. above, p. lxxxiii, n. 3.



Skt. *ṛi* becomes (1) *a* in *ana[n]a* (= *anṛiṇa*), *ānaṃna*, *ānaniya*, and *ānaneya*, *usaṭa*, *kaṭa*, [*ka*]tū and *kaṭu* (= *kṛitvā*), *dakhatha*, *dakhāmi*, [*bha*]taka, *bhaṭi*, *vaḍhī*, *vithaṭa*, *viyāpaṭa*; (2) *i* in *edisa* and *hedisa*, *tādisa*, *ādisa* (= *yādṛisā*), *dhiti*, *p[ī]t[ī]su*, *bhāt[ī]nam*, *m[ā]t[ī]-* (= *mātri-*, Dhau. IV, 4), *mige*, [*miga*]viy[ā]; (3) *u* in *pitu-* (= *pitri-*, Dhau. IV, 4), and after labials in [*a*]nā[v]uti [= *anāvṛitti*], *p[ā]l[ī]puchhā*, *puṭhavi* (= *prithivī*), *vudha* (= *vridha*); (4) *e* in *dekhata*; (5) *ra* in *drakhata* (Jau. I, 2). The syllable *vri* is represented by *lu* in *lukha* (= *vriksha*).

The diphthong *ai* becomes *e* in *niche* (perhaps = Skt. *nichaiḥ*), and *au* becomes *o* in *-opaga* and *-[o]paya*, *osadhāni*, *mokhya* and *mokhiya*, *papotā*, *pālalokika*.

Short *a*, *i*, *u* are lengthened in *atiyāyike* (= Skt. *ātyayikam*), *abhikā[la]*, *chi[la]-thitkā*, [*v*]i[vāka], *anāvūtiya* (Dhau. Sep.) = [*a*]nā[v]ut[ī]ya (Jau. Sep.), *tūlanā[ya]* and *at[ā]t[ā]nā* (for which Jau. Sep. reads *t[ul]āya* and *[atulanā]*), *nīhūliyena*, *y[ū]jeyū* and *yūjevū* (also *yujeyū* and *yujevū*), *bahūhi*, *bahūsu*. Final *a*, *i*, *u* may be lengthened either when they are followed by the particle *ti* (= *iti*) or without it; see *ālā[dha]yisa[th]ā*, *āhā* (passim) = *ā[ha]* (Jau. Sep. II, 1), *chā*, *kechā*, *paṭipādayemā ti*, *ma[m]ā ti*, *vā* (twice = Skt. *ēva*), *savenā* (Jau. Sep. II, 3), *hosāmī*, *aphesū ti*, *ālādhayanitū ti*, [*ka*]tū (Jau. Sep.) = *kaṭu* (Dhau. Sep.), *palakama[n]t[ū]*, *yujamitū*, *s[ā]dh[ū] ti*. Final *a*, *i*, *u*, which stand for original *am*, *is*, *ur*, are treated in the same way; see [*aph*]ākā *ti*, *anusatī ti*, *āl[adh]i*, [*n*]ijhatī, *lipi*, *v[a]dhī*, *sudhī*, *alochayisū*, *ālādhayey[ū]* and *ālādhayevū*, *chaley[ū] ti* and *chalevū*, *nikhamāvū*, *pāpunevū itī*, *yujeyū ti* and *yujevū ti*, *y[ū]jeyū ti* and *yūjevū ti*, *lahey[ū]*, [*va*]sevū *ti*, *huvevū ti* and *hveyū ti*.

The three derivatives *gamu[k]a*, *nagalaka*, and *vachanik[a]* correspond to Skt. *gāmuka*, *nāgaraka*, and *vāchanika*. The *ā* of *mahā-* is shortened in *mahamatā* (Jau. Sep. II, 1). Final *ā* is often shortened; see *atha* and *athā* (= Skt. *yathā*), *ada* and *adā* (= *yadā*), *tatha* and *tathā*, *pita* and *pitā*, *lāja* and *lājā*, *va* and *vā*, *kam[mana]* and *kamana* (= *karmanā*), [*a*]nā[v]ut[ī]ya and *anāvūtiya*, and the nominatives singular feminine *achala*, *ichha*, *likhit[a]*, *soṭaviya*. Long *i* is shortened in *nitiyam* (thrice) = *nīt[ī]yam* (Jau. Sep. I, 7) and in the nom. plur. *nati* (Dhau. IV, 5) = *nat[ī]* (Dhau. and Jau. V, 2).

Initial vowels are dropped in *pi* (= Skt. *apī*), *hakam* (for *ahakam* = *aham*), *tī* (passim) = *itī* (thrice) and *kimti*, *va* and *vā* (= *ēva*). In *hveyū* (Jau. Sep.) = *huveyu* (Kālsī and Mānsehrā), the vowel *u* seems to be elided.

## II. SIMPLE CONSONANTS.

In the separate edicts at Jaugaḍa the guttural *k* is softened in *palalogam*, *hidalog[am]*, *hidalogika*, while Dhauli reads *palaloka[m]*, *hidaloḥa*, *hidalogika*.<sup>1</sup> *k* is represented by *y* in [*ni*]aṭhiyam (Dhau. IX, 2) and *supadālaye* (Dhau. and Jau. V, 3); *g* by *y* in *-[o]paya* (Dhau. VIII, 3) = *-opaga* (Dhau. and Jau. II, 3). In *akhakhasa* (= Skt. *akarkaśa*, Dhau. Sep. I, 22) the aspiration of the first *kh* is perhaps due to the influence of the second *kh*, which is a defective spelling of *kkh*, and which was produced by the assimilation of the group *rk*.<sup>2</sup> Greek *χ* is expressed by *k* in *Amītiyoka*.

The palatal *ch* is aspirated in [*k*]e[*chha*] (Dhau. Sep. I, 7) = *kechā* (Jau. Sep. I, 4), *kimchhi* and *kichhi*. It is softened in [*a*]jalā (Dhau. Sep. II, 7) = *achala* (Jau. Sep. II, 9, 11), while *j* is hardened in *Kambocha* and *vachasi* (= Skt. *vrajē*). The palatal nasal *ñ* occurs only in *paṭimñā* (Dhau. Sep. II, 6), instead of which the Jaugaḍa text reads *paṭimnā*. It is replaced by dental *n* also in *āna-payāmi*, *ā[na]p[ay]is[ā]ti*, *nāṭisn*.

As at Kālsī, lingual *ṇ* is replaced by dental *n*. But *ṇ* is used in four stray instances: [*kha*]ṇas[ī] (Dhau. Sep. II, 10), *ṇijhap[ē]ta[vī]ye* (Jau. Sep. I, 1), *pālaloki[k]e[ṇa]* (Jau. Sep. II, 4), and *savenā* (Jau. Sep. II, 3).

Dentals are lingualized after *ra* in the preposition *paṭi* (also *praṭi* in *praṭivedayanitu*, Jau. VI, 2), and after *ṛi* in *usaṭa*, *kaṭa*, [*ka*]tū and *kaṭu*, *puṭhaviyam*, [*bha*]taka, *bhaṭi*, *vaḍhī*, *vithaṭa*, *viyāpaṭa*, *vudha*. *t* becomes *ch* in [*ch*]i[*th*]itu. In the Jaugaḍa separate edicts, *d* is hardened in the following forms of the root *pad*: *paṭipātayeham*, [*pa*]ṭipātayem[ā], *vipaṭipātayanam*, [*sam*]paṭipā[ta]yam[am], *samṇipātayit[av]e*, while Dhauli reads [*pa*]ṭipātayeham, &c. For [*idha*] (Dhau. IV, 8) and *hida* (passim) see above, p. lxxii. The enclitic particle *nam* (in *huvamti nam*, Dhau. and Jau. VIII, 1)

<sup>1</sup> Both Dhau. and Jau. have *sava-loka-hita* and *pālalokika*.

<sup>2</sup> For other instances of the aspiration of initial *k* see Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 206.



is derived by native grammarians from Skt. *nanu*; but in Pischel's opinion (*Grammatik*, § 150) it goes back to Skt. *nūnam*, which would have lost its first syllable.

The labial *p* is aspirated in *aphal[usa]m* (Jau. Sep. I, 11), as in Prākṛit *pharusa* (= Skt. *parusha*); see Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 208. *bh* becomes *h* in the instrumental and dative plural in *-hi*, in *lahey[ū]* and *lahevu, hoti, hotu, a[h]o, huvaṇti, [h]uveyā, huvevu*, and in the participle *hūta*, while *bhūta* is used as substantive.

The semivowel *y* becomes *j* in *majūla* (= Skt. *mayūra*), and *h* in the optatives *ālabheham, yeham, [pa]ti[pāday]eham* and *paṭipātayeham*. It is replaced by *v* before *u* and *ū* at Dhauli, while it remains at Jaugaḍa; see *-āvutike, asvasevu, ālādhayevū, chalevū, [p]ā[p]unevu* and *pāpunevū, yujevū* and *yūjevū, lahevu, [va]sevū, huvevu* and *huvevū*, instead of which Jaugaḍa reads *-āy[ut]ike, &c.* But both Dhauli and Jaugaḍa have *nikhamāvū* (III, 2). *y* is prefixed to *e* in *yeva*, but is dropped at the beginning of *e, ena, am* (= Skt. *yat*), *ata* (= *yatra*), *athā* and *atha* (= *yathā*), *adā* and *ada* (= *yadā*), *asa* (= *yasya*), *ā* (= *yā*), *āni, ādise, āva* (= *yāvat*). The syllable *ya* becomes *i* in *apa-viy[a]t[ā], palitijit[u], bhaṭi* (= *bhṛityā*). The syllables *aya* and *ayi* are contracted to *e* in *tedasa* (= *\*trayadaśa*), *Ujeni* (= *Ujjayinī*), *nijhap[e]ta[vi]ye, paṭivedetaviye*.

As at Kālsī, *r* becomes *l* throughout.

*v* is prefixed to *u* in *v[u]te* (= *uktam*). The syllable *va* becomes *u* in *t[ul]āya* and *[atulanā]*; *vā* becomes *ū* in *[ka]tū* (= *kṛitvā*), and *u* in *kaṭu, amusāsitu*, and other absolutes. The syllables *ava* and *avi* become *o* in *olodhana, viyovadita[viye\*], -viiyohālaka, hoti, hotu, a[h]o, and hosati* (= *bhavishyati*).

The two sibilants *ś* and *ṣ* are replaced by *s* throughout. Skt. *ś* is represented by *ch* in *chakiye* and *chaghatha*, from root *chak* (= *śak*).

*h* is prefixed in *hida, heta, hedisa, hevaṇ*.

As in other Prākṛits, final consonants are dropped. A preceding short vowel is lengthened in *saṇmyā-* (= Skt. *samyak*), *p[a]līsā* (= *parishat*), *anusathī, ālādhayevū, &c.* (see above, p. c). Conversely, a preceding long vowel is sometimes shortened; see *[siya]* and *siyā* (= *syāt*), *da[khrya]* and *dakh[e]yā, anubandh[a]* (= *anubandhāt*, Dhau. V, 6), and the nom. plur. masc. *anuvigina, &c.* (below, p. civ). Final *as* generally becomes *e*; see *Ujenite, kute, T[a]kha[s]ilāte, duvālate, mukhate, viyaṇjanate, hetute*, the genitives singular *atane, lājine, Piyadasine*, the nom. plur. *lājāne, da[v]iye, [bhuy]e, ne, jane, &c.* It becomes *o* only in *seto, [ya]so, and man[o]-*; *a* in *[saṇpa]ṭipāda* (?), *sa, esa*; <sup>1</sup> *ā* in *e[sā]*. Final *ar* becomes *e* in *ante* = Prākṛit and Pāli *anto* (Skt. *antar*), and *a* in *pana* (= *punar*).

Final *a* and *u* are nasalized in *mamaṇ* (Jau. Sep. II, 7) = *mama* (passim) and *sahasenuṇ* (Dhau.) = *sahasenu* (Jau.), while the Anusvāra of words ending in short nasal vowels is omitted in *hidaloḥa, bahuka, -vachanik[a], -a[m]tik[a], &c.* (below, p. civ), the acc. sing. fem. *Sambodh[i]* and *hini, aphāka* (= Skt. *asmākam*) and *t[u]phāk[a]*. The Anusvāra is dropped and the preceding vowel lengthened in *kiṭi, vadhi, sudhi, kaṭaviyatalā, k[am]matalā, duvālā, [aph]ākā ti*; cf. above, p. c. But the nom. sing. of neuters in *-a* generally follows the analogy of the masculines and ends in *-e*; see below, p. civ.

Long nasalized vowels are generally shortened; see the genitives plural *bhaginīnaṇ, gulūnaṇ, bhāt[i]naṇ, [te]sa[m], pānānaṇ, &c.*, the acc. sing. fem. *yātaṇ, susūsaṇ*, and the loc. sing. fem. *[pa]līsāy[am]* (Jau. VI, 4), *Samāpāyaṇ, Tosaliyaṇ, nitiyaṇ, puṭhaviyaṇ*. The Anusvāra is omitted in *palisāyā* (Dhau. VI, 3); in *tes[a]* and *saṇtilanāya* the long *ā* is shortened at the same time.<sup>2</sup>

### III. SANDHI.

Final *d* is preserved in *[ta]d[o]payā*, and final *m* in *hedisaṇeva*. In *hemeva* (= Skt. *īvam-eva*) the syllable *va* of *īvam* is dropped.<sup>3</sup> The final *m* is doubled in *hevaṇmeva* and *sukhaṇmeva*. Hiatus is prevented by *m* in *bhaṭi[m-ayesu]*.

Hiatus remains in *svag[a]-ālādhi* (Jau. Sep.), *mahā-apāye* (Dhau. Sep.) = *mahāpāy[e]* (Jau.

<sup>1</sup> The two last words, although masculine in form, are used as neuters.

<sup>2</sup> But *palisāyā* and *saṇtilanāya* may as well be genitives used in the sense of the locative.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *emeva* = Skt. *īvam-eva*, Hēmachandra, I, 271, and Jacobi, ZDMG, 47. 579.



Sep.), *duāhale* (Dhau. Sep. and Jau. Sep.), *pasu-opagāni* (Dhau. and Jau.), *man[o]-atileke* (Dhau. Sep. and Jau. Sep.). As a rule, *a* + *ā* are contracted into *ā*; see *-vasābhisita*, *pānālambhe*, &c. But the *ā* is shortened before a group of consonants; see *atata* (= Skt. *yatra yatra*), *āpalantā* (= \**āparāntā*), [*t*]*e*[*na*]*tā* (= *tēnātra*), *nathi* (= *nāstī*), *badhana[ni]tik[a]* (= *bandhanāntikam*), *sūpaṭhāye*. Final *a* preceding *i*, *u*, *e*, *o* is dropped in *bābha[n]-ibhi[yes]u*, *chu* (= *cha + u*), [*pa*]*j-upadāye*, *cheva*, [*ta*]*tēsa*, *munis-opagāni*. In *eve* (Jau. Sep. I, 7) the nasal vowel *am* of *evam* is treated in the same manner before *e* (= *yah*). *a* is elided after *e* in [*e*]*y[am]* for *e + ayaṁ* (= Skt. *yōyam*).

#### IV. GROUPS OF CONSONANTS.

The only Sanskrit groups which occasionally remain unchanged are *khy*, *tr*, *tv*, *ny*, *pr*, *my*, *vy*, *śv* (which becomes *sv*), *sm*, *sy*, *sv*. Moreover the group *rs* is preserved at Jaugaḍa in *drasayitu* (IV, 3) and *Piyadrasine* (I, 3), which are meant for *darsayitu* and *Piyadarsine*; cf. above, p. lxxxvii. All other groups of consonants are either assimilated, or an auxiliary vowel is developed within them.

A long vowel preceding a group is generally shortened; see *atane* (= *ātmanah*), *atānam*, *atīyāyike* (= *ātyayikam*), *anusathi* (= *anustāstī*), *anusathe*, [*ayesu*] (= *āryēshu*), *asvāsanāye*, *asvāsa[n]iyā*, [*a*]*svaseyu*, *asvasevu*, *asamati* (= *asamāpti*), *āladhi* (= \**ārāddhi*), *tadatvāye*, *p[a]lakamāmi*, *palakamena*, *maga* (= *mārga*), *mahamātā* (Jau. Sep. II, 1), *Laṭhika*, *sasvatam*, *isāya* (= *īrshyayā*), *kiṭi* (= *kīrtim*), *puheva* (= *pūrva*).<sup>1</sup> But *ā* remains in *ānapayāmi*, *ā[na]p[ay]is[a]ti*, *mahāmāta* (passim), *sāsvatam* (Jau. Sep. II, 14). In *tinini* (= *trīṇi*) the *i* is shortened and the nasal doubled. Similarly, the short vowels *i* and *u* in *asvāsa[n]iyā*, *da[v]iye*, and [*bhuy*]*e* suggest that these three words are meant for *asvāsaniyyā*, *daviyye*, and *bhuyye*; cf. above, p. lxxiv.

A long nasalized vowel is shortened before consonants in *atikanam*, *apa-bh[am]ḍatā*, *kilaṁte*, *Devānampiya*, *Paṁḍiyā*, *baṁbhana*, while the nasal is dropped and the length retained in *bābhana*. In *chhāṁda* (Jau. Sep. II, 5, 11) = *chhaṁda* (passim), the *am* is lengthened although it is followed by a consonant. Anusvāra is omitted after short vowels in *kichhi* (cf. above, p. lx), *badhana* (= Skt. *bandhana*), *vihisā*; after *e* in *kaleti* (Dhau. and Jau. IX, 2); and before *y* in *anusayānam*, *sayama*, *sayuta* (= *saṁyukta*).

The auxiliary vowel which is developed within some groups is *u* before or after labials in *duve*, *duvāda*, *duvāla*, *puluva*, *suvmāika*, *pāpunāti*; *e* in *ānaneyam* (Jau. Sep.) = *ānaniyam* (Dhau.); and frequently *i*, as the subjoined list of Sanskrit groups and of their equivalents at Dhau and Jaugaḍa will show. I need not quote any examples of the groups *kr*, *gr*, *dr*, *dhr*, *br*, *bhr*, *śr*, *sr*, which have become *k*, *g*, *d*, *dh*, *b*, *bh*, *s*, *s*, respectively.

*kkh* becomes *kh* (i. e. *kkh*) in *dukha[ni]* and *dukhīyati*.

*kt* becomes *t* in *-āy[ut]ike*, *-āvutike*, &c.

*ky* becomes *kiy* in *sakiye* and *chakiye*.

*kl* becomes *kil* in *kilaṁte*, *k[i]lamathena*, *palikilesa*.

*ksh* becomes *kh* in *khana*, *khamitave*, *khamisati*, [*kh*]*ud[am]*, *khudakena*, *T[a]kha[s]ilāte*, *dakhāmi*, &c.,<sup>2</sup> *nakhatena*, *mokhāye*, *lukhāni*.

*kshy* becomes *khin* in *s[a]khina* (= Skt. *ślakṣhṇa*).

*kshy* becomes *gh* in *chaghatha*.

*khy* remains in *mokhya* (Dhau. Sep.), but becomes *khīy* in *mokhiya* (Jau. Sep.).

*khl* becomes *kh* in *kho* = Skt. *khalu*; see above, p. lvi and n. 2.

*gn* becomes *g* in [*a*]*gi*, but *gin* in *anuvigina*.

*jñ* becomes *jīn* in *lājīnā*, *lājine*; *mñ* in *paṭimñā* (Dhau. Sep.); *mñ* or *n* in *paṭimñā* (Jau. Sep.), *ānapayāmi*, *ā[na]p[ay]is[a]ti*, *ānāp[ay]i[ta]*, *nātisu*.

*jy* becomes *j* in the passive forms *yujeyū* and *y[ū]jeyū*.

*dy* becomes *ḍiy* in *Paṁḍiyā*.

*ny* becomes *mñ* in *kilaṁna* and *ānaṁne*, but *niy* in *ānaniyam*, and *ney* in *ānaneyam*.

*tp* becomes *p* in [*pa*]*jupadāye*.

<sup>1</sup> *puluva* presupposes an intermediate form \**purva*, in which the *ū* of *pūrva* was shortened before the group *rv*. The same applies to *atīyāyike*. Cf. above, p. lxxiv, n. 1.

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. lxxiv and n. 5.



*tm* becomes *t* in *atane* and *atānām*.

*ty* becomes *tiy* in *atīyāyike*, *apatiye*, *ekatiyā*.

*tr* remains in *s[a]vatra* (Jau. II, 4), but becomes *t* in *s[a]vata* (passim), *tiṇṇi*, &c.

*tv* remains in *tadatvāye*.

*ts* becomes *s* in *usaṭena* and *chikisā*.

*tsth* becomes *ṭh* in *uṭhāna*, but *th* in *uṭhāy[ā]*; cf. above, p. lxxxviii.

*dḡ* becomes *g* in *uḡa[chha](chhe)*.

*dy* becomes *y* in *uyānasi*; *j* in *aja*, *[pa]ṭipa[ja]ti*, *paṭipajeyā*, *saṃpaṭipajati*, *sa[m]paṭipajam[ī]n[e]*.

*dv* becomes *v* in *anuvigina*, but *duv* in *duve*, *duvādasa*, *duvāla*.

*dhy* becomes *jh* in *[n]ijhati*, *ñijhap[e]ta[vi]ye*, *majham*, *majhime[na]*.

*ny* remains in *[anye]* (Jau. Sep. I, 5), but becomes *inn* in *aṇṇa* (passim) and *maṇṇ[ate]*.

*pt* becomes *t* in *asamati*, *nat[ī]* and *nati* (= Skt. *napṭārāḥ*), *[n]ijhati*.

*pn* becomes *pun* in *pāpunāti*, &c.

*pr* remains in *praṭivedayaṃtu* (Jau. VI, 2), but becomes *p* everywhere else.

*bhy* becomes *bhiy* in *āla[m]bhiyaṃti*, *ālabhiyisu*, *āla[bh]īyisaṃti*, *-ibhi[yes]u*.

*my* remains (with the nasal doubled) in *saṃmyā*.

*rk* becomes *kh* in *akhakhasa* (= Skt. *akarkaśa*).

*rg* becomes *g* in *magesu*, *vaga*, *svaga*.

*rt* becomes *t* in *[anu]vatatu* and *anuvatisaṃti*; *ṭ* in *vaṭitaviya*, *kaṭaviya*, *kiṭi*.

*rth* becomes *th* in *aṭha* (Jau. Sep. II, 2, 12, 14); *ṭh* in *aṭha* (passim) and *[nilaṭhi]yaṃ*.

*rdh* becomes *ḍh* in *vaḍhite*, *vaḍhayis[ā]ti*, *pavaḍhayisaṃti*.

*rbh* becomes *bh* in *gabhāgālasī*.

*rm* becomes *ṇm* or *m* in *a[nu]chātunṇmāsaṃ*, *kaṇma-* (= Skt. *karman*) and *kaṇana* (= *kar-maṇā*), *dhaṇma*.

*ry* becomes *y* in *[ayesu]*, but *liy* in *āṇaṇṭaliyaṃ*, *niṭhūliyena*, *mādhuliyāye*.

*rv* becomes *v* in *pavatasi* and *sava*, but *luv* in *puluva*.

*rs* becomes *s* in *dasana* and *Piyadasi-*, but *rs* in *drasayitu* (i. e. *darsayitu*, Jau. IV, 3) and *Piyadrasine* (i. e. *°darsine*, Jau. I, 3).

*rsh* becomes *s* in *vasa*.

*rshy* becomes *s* in *isāya*.

*lp* becomes *p* in *apa* and *-kaṇaṃ*.

*ly* becomes *y* in *kayāna*.

*vy* remains in *saṃchalitaviye* (Jau. Sep. I, 7), but becomes *y* in *[ichhi]taye* (Jau. Sep. I, 5), and *viy* in *saṃchalitaviy[e]* (Dhau. Sep. I, 13), *ichhitaviye*, and other gerundives, *divi[y]āni*, *[miga]viy[ā]*, *viyaṇjanate*, *viyāpaṭā*, *-viyohālaka*.

*vr* becomes *v* in *vachasi* (= Skt. *vrajē*).

*śch* becomes *chh* in *pachhā*.

*śl* becomes *s* in *s[a]khina* (= Skt. *ślakṣṇa*).

*śv* becomes *sv* in *asvāsanāye*, *asvāsa[n]iyā*, *[a]svaseyu*, *asvasevu*, *sāsvataṃ* and *sasvataṃ*, but *s* in *seto*.

*shk* becomes *k* in *dukaṭaṃ* and *dukala*.

*shkr* becomes *kh* in *nikhamāvū*, *[n]ikhami*, *[n]i[kha]m[i]s[u]*, *nikhamisaṃti*, *nikhāmayisāmi*.

*shṭr* becomes *ṭh* in *Laṭhika*.

*shṭh* becomes *ṭh* in *[ch]i[ṭh]itu*, *niṭhūliyena*, *se[ṭhe]*; *th* in *adhithāna*.

*shp* becomes *ph* in *niphati*.

*shm* becomes *ph* in *tuphe*, &c.

*sky* becomes *s* in *tisa*, *munisa*, *hosati*, *esatha* (Jau. Sep.), and other futures, but *h* in *ekatha* (Dhau. Sep.); cf. *Māhārāshṭri chii* in Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 529, and *chiti* in Pāli.

As at Kālsī, *sk* becomes *k* in *[a]gi-kaṇdhāni*.

*st* becomes *th* in *athi*, *nathi*, *anusathi*, *anusathe*, *vithaṭena*, *saṇṭhuta*, *hathini*; *ṭh* in *aṭhi* (Jau. Sep. I, 4).

*str* becomes *th* in *ithi*.

*sth* becomes *ṭh* in *chila-ṭhitiṭkā*.

*sm* remains in *akasmā*, but becomes *ph* in *aphe*, &c., and *s* in the locative singular in *-asi*.



*sy* remains in [āla]s[y]e[na] (Jau. Sep. I, 6), but becomes *siy* in ālasiyena (Dhau. Sep. I, 11). *siyā* and [siya] (= Skt. *syāt*), and *s* in the genitive singular in -asa.

*sv* remains in *svaga*, but becomes *suv* in *suvāmike*[na].

*hm* becomes *m̐bh* in *bām̐bhana*. In *bābhana* the Anusvāra is omitted, and the long ā of Skt. *brāhmaṇa* is preserved.

## B.—DECLENSION

### I. BASES in -a.

#### (1) Masculines and neuters in -a.

Singular.	Plural.
Nom. masc. <i>jane</i> , &c. ; neut. <i>dāne</i> , &c.	Masc. <i>putā</i> , &c. ; neut. <i>osadhāni</i> , &c.
Acc. masc. <i>dhammam</i> , &c. ; neut. <i>maṅgalam</i> , &c.	Masc. <i>kaṁdhāni</i> , y[u]f[ān]i ; neut. <i>vasāni</i> , &c.
Instr. <i>putena</i> , &c.	<i>jāte</i> [h]i.
Dat. <i>aṭhāye</i> , &c.	<i>mahāmātehi</i> , <i>samanehi</i> .
Abl. <i>anubam̐dh[a]</i> , <i>pachhā</i> .	
Gen. <i>janasa</i> , &c.	<i>pānānam</i> , &c.
Loc. <i>aṭhasi</i> , &c.	<i>vasesu</i> , &c.

Nom. sing. masc.—The original termination -s seems to be dropped in [saṁpa]ṭipāda (Dhau. Sep. I, 14). The termination is -o instead of -e in the colophon of Dhauḷi: *seto* (Text, p. 91).

Nom. sing. neut.—The termination is -am̐ in *jīvam̐* (Dhau. and Jau. I, 1) and *duvālam̐* (Jau. Sep. I, 2) ; -a in -a[m̐]tik[a] (Dhau. Sep. I, 9 ; Jau. Sep. I, 5), *duvāl[a]* (Dhau. Sep. I, 3 ; Jau. Sep. II, 2), *mata* (four times), *v[a]ṭitaviya* (Jau. Sep. I, 7) ; -ā in *kaṭaviyatalā* (Jau. IX, 6), *k[am̐]matalā* (Jau. VI, 5), *duvālā* (Dhau. Sep. II, 2).

Acc. sing. masc.—The Anusvāra is omitted in *hidaloka* (Dhau. Sep. II, 6).

Acc. sing. neut.—The Anusvāra is omitted in *bahuka* (Jau. Sep. I, 4) and -*vachanik[a]* (Jau. Sep. I, 12, II, 1). The form of the nominative is used in *ānam̐ne* (Dhau. Sep. I, 14).

Nom. plur. masc.—The final ā is shortened in *anuvigina* (Dhau. Sep. II, 4 ; Jau. Sep. II, 5), *āya[ta]* (Dhau. Sep. I, 4 ; Jau. Sep. I, 2), *nāgalaka* (Jau. Sep. I, 10), *ma[hā]māta* (Dhau. Sep. I, 1), *vataviya* (Dhau. Sep. I, 2, II, 1), -*viyohālaka* (Jau. Sep. I, 1).

Nom. plur. neut.—The termination is -ā instead of -āni in *lopāpitā* and *hālāpitā* (Dhau. II, sections B and C ; Jau. II, 4). As at Kālsī and Mānsehrā, the two Sanskrit masculines *vriksa* and *prāṇa* are used as neuters : *luhāni* (Dhau. and Jau. II, 4) and *pānāni* (I, 4).

#### (2) Feminines in -ā.

Nom. sing. *pajā*, &c.

Acc. sing. *yātām*, *susūsām*.

Instr. sing. *isāya*, f[u]l[āya], *tūlanā[ya]*.

Loc. sing. *Samāpāyam̐*, *saṁtilanāya*, *pajāye*, [pa]jupādāye.

Nom. sing.—The final ā is shortened in *achala*, *ichha*, *likhit[a]*, *sotaviya*.

### II. BASES IN -i.

#### (1) Masculines and neuters in -i.

Nom. and. acc. plur. neut. *tīm̐ni*.

Loc. plur. *nātisu*.

#### (2) Feminines in -i and -ī.

Nom. sing. *anusathī*, *āladhī*, *lipī*, &c.

Acc. sing. *Sambodh[ī]*, *hīni*.

Instr. sing. *anusathiyā*, *anāvūtiya*.



Dat. sing. *anus[ath]iy[ē]*, [*va*]dhiye.  
 Abl. sing. *niphatiy[ā]*.  
 Loc. sing. *Tosaliyam, nitiyam, puṭhaviyam, ā[ya]tiye*.  
 Nom. plur. *ithī*.<sup>1</sup>  
 Gen. plur. *bhaginīnam*.

Nom. sing.—The final vowel is long in *anusathi*, *āl[adh]i*, [*n*]ijhati, *lipi*, *v[a]dhi* (Dhau. IV, section I), *sudhi* (Dhau. VII, section E).

Acc. sing.—The termination is *-ī* in *kifi*, *vaḍhi* (Dhau. IV, J), *sudhi* (Dhau. and Jau. VII, B).

### III. BASES IN *-u*.

Nom. sing. masc., fem., and neut. *sādhū*, *sādh[ū]*.  
 Nom. and acc. plur. neut. *bahūni*.  
 Instr. plur. *bahūhi*.  
 Gen. plur. *gūlūnam*.  
 Loc. plur. *bahūsū*.

### IV. MASCULINES IN *-ri*.

Nom. Sing. *pitā*, *pita* (Jau. Sep. II, 10).  
 Gen. plur. *bhāt[i]nam*.  
 Loc. plur. *p[i]ṭ[i]sū*.

The instr. sing. follows the *i*-declension: [*p*]itinā, *bhātinā*, likewise the nom. plur. *nat[i]*, *nati*; cf. Prākṛit and Pāli *aggi* (nom. plur. masc.).

### V. BASES IN CONSONANTS.

#### (1) Present participles in *-at*.

Nom. sing. masc. *saṁtām*, *kalaṁtām*,<sup>2</sup> *vipaṭipātayaṁtām*, [*saṁpaṭipā*]ta[*yaṁ*]tām.  
 The base *mahat* follows the *a*-declension: nom. sing. masc. *mahānte*.

#### (2) Masculines and neuters in *-an*.

Singular.	Plural.
Nom. masc. <i>lājā</i> , <i>lāja</i> (Dhau. Sep. II, 4).	<i>lājāne</i> .
Acc. masc. <i>atānam</i> ; neut. <i>nāma</i> .	
Instr. <i>lājinā</i> , <i>kaṁ[mana]</i> , <i>kamana</i> .	
Dat. <i>kaṁmane</i> .	
Gen. <i>atane</i> , <i>lājine</i> .	

The neuter base *karman* may also follow the *a*-declension: nom. sing. *kaṁme*, acc. *kaṁmam*, gen. *kaṁmasa*.

#### (3) Masculines in *-in*.

Nom. sing. *Piyadasī*.  
 Instr. sing. *Piyadasinā*.  
 Gen. sing. *Piyadasine*.  
 Acc. plur. *hathīni* (= [*ha*]thini at Kālsī).

#### (4) Neuters in *-as*.

Acc. sing. [*ya*]so, *da[v]iye*, [*bhuy*]e.

#### (5) Feminine in *-d*.

The base *parishad* follows the *a*-declension: nom. sing. *p[a]lisā*, loc. [*pa*]lisāy[am] and *palisāyā*.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *aṭavi*, above, p. xci.

<sup>2</sup> For these two forms see above, p. lxxvii.



## C.—PRONOUNS

## (1) Pronoun of the first person.

Singular.	Plural.
Nom. <i>hakam</i> .	<i>maye</i> .
Acc.	<i>aphe</i> , <i>a[ph]eni</i> .
Instr. <i>mamayā</i> , <i>mamāye</i> , <i>mamiyāye</i> , <i>me</i> .	
Abl. <i>mamate</i> .	
Gen. <i>mama</i> , <i>mamā</i> , <i>maman</i> , <i>me</i> .	<i>aphāka</i> , <i>[aph]ākā</i> , <i>ne</i> .
Loc.	<i>[aphesu]</i> , <i>aphesū</i> .

For the forms *hakam* and *mamayā* see above, p. lxxviii. With the instr. sing. *mamāye* (Dhau. Sep.), instead of which Jau. Sep. reads *mamiyāye*, cf. *mamāi*, Hēmachandra, III, 109. The ablative *mamate* for Skt. *mattah* is, like the instrumental *mamayā*, due to the influence of the genitive *mama*. The nom. plur. *maye* is derived from Skt. *vayam*, but influenced by the instr. sing. *mayā*, and the acc. *aphe* (Dhau. Sep. II, 7) is formed from the same base as Skt. *asmān*. The acc. *a[ph]eni* (Jau. Sep. II, 10) and the loc. *aphesu* follow the analogy of the masculines in *-a*.

## (2) Pronoun of the second person.

Nom. plur. <i>tuphe</i> , <i>phe</i> .
Acc. plur. <i>tuphe</i> , <i>tupheni</i> .
Instr. plur. <i>tuphehi</i> .
Gen. plur. <i>t[u]phāk[a]</i> .
Loc. plur. <i>tuphesu</i> .

The base *\*tushma*, from which the nom. and acc. plur. *tuphe* (= Prākṛit *tumhe*) is derived, seems to be a compromise between the Skt. base *yushma* and the singular *tvam* (Prākṛit *tumam*).<sup>1</sup> With the form *phe* (Jau. Sep. I, 2) cf. *bhe*, Hēmachandra, III, 91. The three forms *tupheni* (Jau. Sep.), *tuphehi*, and *tuphesu* follow the analogy of the masculines in *-a*.

(3) Base *ta*.

Singular.	Plural.
Nom. masc. <i>se</i> , <i>te</i> (Dhau. Sep. I, 13).	<i>te</i> , <i>se</i> .
Acc. neut. <i>tañ</i> , <i>se</i> , <i>sa</i> .	
Instr. <i>tena</i> .	
Gen. <i>tasa</i> .	<i>[te]sa[m]</i> , <i>tes[a]</i> .
Loc. <i>tasi</i> .	

In Dhau. Sep. II, 7, the nom. plur. neut. *tāni* takes the place of the masc. *te* (Jau. Sep. II, 9).

(4) Base *ēta*.

Singular.	Plural.
Nom. masc. <i>e[sā]</i> (Dhau. VIII, 3); neut. <i>esa</i> .	Masc. <i>ete</i> ; neut. <i>etāni</i> .
Acc. masc. and neut. <i>etan</i> .	
Instr. <i>[ē]takena</i> .	
Dat. <i>etāye</i> , <i>etakāye</i> .	
Gen. <i>etasa</i> .	
Loc. <i>etasi</i> .	

Nom. sing. fem. *etā(ta)kā*.

In Dhau. Sep. I, 11 f., the nom. plur. masc. *ete* [*jātā*] corresponds to the nom. plur. neut. *et[ā]ni* [*jātā[ni]*] in Jau. Sep. I, 6.

<sup>1</sup> With *aphe* and *tuphe* cf. the Singhalese nom. plur. *api* and *topi*.



(5) Demonstrative *idam*.

Singular.	Plural.
Nom. masc. <i>ay[am]</i> , <i>iyam</i> ; neut. <i>iyam</i> .	Masc. <i>ime</i> .
Acc. neut. <i>imam</i> .	
Instr. <i>imena</i> .	<i>imehi</i> .
Dat. <i>[i]m[ā]ye</i> .	
Gen. <i>imasa</i> .	

Nom. sing. fem. *iyam*.  
Dat. sing. fem. *imā[y]e*.

As at Kālsī, the nom. sing. masc. *ayam* occurs only in *[e]y[am]* (= Skt. *yo-yam*, Jau. Sep. I, 6).

(6) Interrogative pronoun.

Nom. sing. neut. *kin*. The acc. sing. neut. *kañ* and the acc. plur. neut. *kāñi* are used as demonstratives. The abl. sing. of the same base is preserved in *akasmā*. The indefinite pronoun is formed with *cha* or *chha* (nom. sing. masc. *kechā*, *[k]e[chha]*), and with *chhi* = Skt. *chid* (neut. sing. *kiñchhi*, *kichhi*); and *kiñti* is used in the sense of 'that'.

(7) Relative pronoun.

Singular.	Plural.
Nom. masc. <i>ye, e</i> ; neut. <i>e</i> .	Masc. <i>ye, e</i> ; neut. <i>āñi</i> .
Acc. neut. <i>añi</i> .	
Instr. <i>ena</i> .	
Gen. <i>asa</i> .	
Nom. sing. fem. <i>yā, ā</i> .	

(8) Base *anya*.

Singular.	Plural.
Nom. masc. <i>[anye]</i> , <i>añne</i> ; neut. <i>añne</i> .	Masc. <i>añne</i> } neut. <i>aññāñi</i> .
Acc.	
Dat. <i>aññāye</i> .	
Loc.	<i>aññesu</i> .

(9) Base *sarva*.

Singular.	Plural.
Nom. neut. <i>savē</i> .	Masc. <i>savē</i> .
Acc. masc. and neut. <i>savañi</i> .	
Instr. <i>savena</i> , <i>savēñā</i> .	
Gen. <i>savasa</i> .	
Loc.	<i>savesu</i> .

(10) Base *\*īkatya*.

Nom. plur. masc. *ekatiyā*.

D.—NUMERALS

One.

Nom. sing. masc. *eke*; instr. sing. *ekena*, *ek[a]k[e]na*.

Two, three, five.

Nom. masc. *duve* (cf. above, p. lxxx); nom. and acc. neut. *tiñni*; loc. *pañchashu*.



## INTRODUCTION

Ten, twelve, thirteen.

*d[a]sa, duvādasa, tedasa.*

Hundred.

Acc. plur. *satāni*; instr. *satehi*.

Thousand.

Loc. plur. *sahasasu, sahasesum* (Dhau. Sep. I, 4).

Literary Prākṛit also uses the termination *-esum* besides *-esu*; see Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 371.

Hundred thousand.

Nom. plur. *sata-sah[a]sāni*.

## E.—CONJUGATION

## I. PRESENT.

## (1) Bases.

## First Sanskrit class.

Root *kamp*: *anukāmpati*.

Root *kram*: *p[a]lakamāmi, nikhamāvū*.

Root *gam*: *gachhema*.

Root *chal*: *chaley[ū]*.

Root *drīś*: *dakhāmi, drakhati, dekhata*.

Root *bhū*: *hoti, huvaṃti* (sixth class).

Roots *rabh* and *labh*: *ālabheham, lahey[ū]*.

Root *vas*: *[va]sevū*.

Root *vṛt*: *[anu]vatatu*.

Root *śvas*: *[a]svaseyu*.

Root *sthā*: *[ch]i[th]itu* (from *\*chitthati*), *uthāy[ā]* (from *\*utthāti*).

## Second Sanskrit class.

Root *as*: *athi, aṭhi* (Jau. Sep. I, 4).

Root *i*: *eti*.

The two roots *yā* and *śās* follow the *a*-conjugation: *yeham, anusāsāmi*.

## Third Sanskrit class.

Root *hu*: *pajohitaviye*; see above, p. lxxx.

## Fourth Sanskrit class.

Root *pad*: *[pa]tipa[ja]ti*.

Root *man*: *man[ate]*.

## Fifth Sanskrit class.

Root *āp* follows the ninth class (*pāpunāti, pāpunātha*) and the *a*-conjugation (*pāpuneyu*).

## Sixth Sanskrit class.

Root *ish*: *ichhati*.

## Seventh Sanskrit class.

Root *yuj* follows the *a*-conjugation: *yujeyū* and *yūjevū, yujamtu, yujisanti*.



## Eighth Sanskrit class.

Root *kṛi*: *kaleti*, *kalāmi*, *kalaṁti*, *kalaṁtam*; see above, p. lxxxix.

## Ninth Sanskrit class.

Root *jñā*: *jānitu* and *jānisaniti* are formed from the present *jānāti*.

## Tenth Sanskrit class.

(a) With *aya*: *atikāmayisati*, *nikhāmayisāmi*, *dasayitu* and *drasayitu* (i.e. *darsayitu*), *paṭipādayemā*, *ālādhayaṁtū*, *likhiyis[āmi]\**, *alochayisū*, *vaḍhayis[a]ti*, *vedayati*, *sukhayāmi*. The character *ayi* is contracted into *e* in *paṭivedetaviye*.

(b) With *paya*: *hāpayisat[i]*. In *ānapayāmi* and *nijhap[ē]ta[vi]ye*<sup>1</sup> the long vowel of the two roots *jñā* and *dhyā* is shortened.<sup>2</sup>

(c) With *āpaya*: *khānāpitāni*, *likhāpitā*, *hālāpita*.

(d) With *pāpaya*: *lopāpita*.

(e) With *īya*: *dukkhīyati* (denominative of Skt. *duḥkha*).

## (2) Moods.

## (a) Indicative.

1. sing. *p[a]lakamāmi*, *dakhāmi*, *anusāsāmi*, *icchāmi*, *kalāmi*, *ānapayāmi*.

3. sing. *anukāṁpati*, *[pā]lakama[t]i*, *drakhati*, *hoti*, *athi* and *aṭhi*, *eti*, *[pā]ṭipa[ja]ti*, *saṁpātipajati*, *pāpunāti*, *icchati*, *kal[e]ti*, *vedayati*, *dukkhīyati*. The only middle form is *manin[ate]* (Dhau. X, 1).

2. plur. *pāpunātha* (from the strong base of the ninth class).

3. plur. *huvānti*, *icchānti*, *kalaṁti* and *kaleti* (Dhau. and Jau. IX, 2).

## (b) Subjunctive.

1. sing. *sukhayāmi* with indicative termination; cf. above, p. xcv.

3. plur. *nikhamāvū* with optative termination; cf. Johansson, *Shāhb.*, part 2, p. 89, n. 2.

## (c) Optative.

1. sing. *ālābheham*, *yeham*, *[pā]ṭi[pāday]eham* and *paṭipātayeham*; see above, p. lxxxii.

3. sing. *uga[chha](chhe)*, *dakh[ē]yā* and *da[kheya]*, *uthāy[ā]* (from the indicative *\*utthāti*=Pāli *utthāti*; cf. Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 483), *[h]uveyā*, *siyā* and *[siya]* (= Skt. *syāt*), *paṭipajeyā*.

1. plur. *gachhema*, *paṭipādayemā* and *[pā]ṭipātayem[ā]*.

3. plur. *chaley[ū]* and *chalevū*, *hveyū*, *huvēvu* and *huvēvū*, *lahey[ū]* and *lakevu*, *[va]sevū*, *[a]svaseyu* and *asvasevu*, *pāpuncyu*, *[p]ā[p]unevu* and *pāpunevū*, *yu[j]ey[ū]*, *yujeyū*, and *yūjevū*, *ālādhayey[ū]* and *ālādhayevū*.

## (d) Imperative.

3. sing. *hotu*, *[anu]vatatu*.

2. plur. *dakhatha* (with indicative termination), *dekhata*.

3. plur. *[pā]lakamaṁtu* and *palakama[m]t[ū]*, *yujamtu*, *ālādhayaṁtu*, *paṭivedayaṁtu*.

## (e) Imperfect.

3. sing. *a[h]o*.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the substantive *nijhati* (= *\*nidhyapti*) in the rock-edict VI, which is formed from *\*nidhyapayati*, as Skt. *ājñāpti* and *viññāpti* from *jñāpayati* = *jñāpayati*.

<sup>2</sup> But in *ānāp[ay]i[ta]* (Dhau. III, 1), the long vowel of the root *jñā* is preserved.



## II. AORIST.

## (a) Indicative.

3. sing. [n]ikhami; 3. plur. [n]i[kha]m[i]s[u].

## (b) Subjunctive.

3. plur. alochayisū; see Text, p. 31, n. 7.

## III. PERFECT.

3. sing. ā[ha] (only Jau. Sep. II, 1) and āhā.

## IV. FUTURE.

1. sing. hosami and hosāmī (= Prākṛit hōssāmi), nikhāmayisāmi, likhiyis[āmi\*].

3. sing. khamisati, hosati, kachhati,<sup>1</sup> atikāmayisati, ā[na]p[ay]is[a]ti, vadhayis[a]ti.

2. plur. esatha and ehatha, chaghatha (from root chak = Skt. śak),<sup>2</sup> ālādhayisatha and ālā[dha]-yisa[th]ā.

3. plur. nikhamisaṃti, anuvatisaṃti, [a]nus[ā]sisam[t]i, yujisaṃti, kachhamti, jānisaṃti, pavadhayisaṃti.

## V. PASSIVE.

3. plur. indicative āla[m]bhiyaṃti.<sup>3</sup>

3. plur. optative yujeyū, y[ū]jeyū, yujevū, y[ū]jevū.

3. plur. aorist ālabhiyisu.

3. plur. future āla[bh]iyisaṃti and āl[am]bhiyisa[m]t[i].

## VI. DESIDERATIVE.

3. sing. imperative susūsatu.

## VII. PARTICIPLES.

## (1) Present participle.

## Active.

Root as: samtaṃ.

Root kṛi: kalaṃtaṃ.

Causative of pad: vipaṭipātayaṃtaṃ and [saṃpaṭipā]ta[yaṃ]taṃ (Jau. Sep.).

## Middle.

Root pad: sa[m]paṭipajam[t]n[e], and causative: [vi]paṭ[i]pādayamīne (Dhau. Sep.).

## (2) Past passive participle.

(a) In -ta: mata, kaṭa (= Skt. kṛita), viyāpaṭa (= vyāpṛita), vithaṭa (= viṣṭṛita), usaṭa (= utsṛita), [n]isita (= \*niśṛita), likhita, likhāpita, khānāpita, hālāpita, ālopita, lopāpita, ānā-

<sup>1</sup> For an explanation of this form see above, p. lxxxiii, n. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. sagghasi in the Suttanipāta, verse 834.

<sup>3</sup> For the probable origin of the nasal within the root, see above, p. lxxxiii, n. 2.



*p[ay]i[ta]*,<sup>1</sup> *hūta*, *atikaṃta*, *kilaṃta*, *āya[ta]* (i. e. *āyatta*), *sayuta* (= *samyukta*), *v[u]ta* (= *ukta*), *vuḍha* (= *vṛiddha*), *anusatha* (from *anu-śās*), &c.

(b) In *-na*: *uvigina* (= *udvigna*).

(3) Future passive participle.

(a) In *-taviya*: *etaviya*, *sotaviya*, *kaṭaviya*, *vataviya*, *pajohitaviya*, *ichhitaviya* and [*ichhi*] *taya* (from the present *ichchhati*), *chalitaviya*, *saṃchalitaviya* and *°taviya*, *vaṭitaviya*, *viyovadita[viya\*]*, *paṭivedetaviya*, *nijhap[e]ta[v]* *ya*.

(b) In *-aniya*: *asvāsa[n]iya*.

(c) In *-ya*: *sakiya* and *chakiya*.

## VIII. INFINITIVE.

*khamitave*, *ālādhayitave*, *samṭaṭipādayitave* and *samṭaṭipādayi[av]e*.

## IX. ABSOLUTE.

*kaṭu* and [*ka*] *tū* (= Skt. *kṛtvā*), *anusāsitu*, *ālabhitu*, *saṃchalitu*, *jānitu* (from *jānāti*), *palitijit[u]* (from root *tyaj*), [*ch*] *i* [*th*] *itu* (from *\*chitṭhati*), *dasayitu* and *drasayitu* (i. e. *darsayitu*), *hāpayitu*. In *veditu*, which corresponds to Skt. *vēdayitvā*, the causative character *ay* is neglected.

A few words may be inserted here on the small **Bombay-Sōpārā** fragment of the eighth rock-edict (Text, p. 118). The preserved forms agree with the Māgadha dialect of Dhauli and Jaugada. But, as at Gīrnār, the semivowel *r* is not changed to *l*; see *hiraṃna* (= Skt. *hiraṇya*, l. 7) and [*ra*] *tī* (l. 9). In the aorist *nikhamiṭha* (l. 5) the lingual is retained, while Kālsī has *nikhamithā* and the pillar-edicts have *huthā* and *vaḍhithā*, with dental *th*.

# CHAPTER X

## GRAMMAR OF THE PILLAR-EDICTS

### A.—PHONETICS

#### I. VOWELS.

THE vowel *a* is replaced by *i* in the second syllable of *gihitha* (see above, p. lxx), in *majhima* (see above, p. xcix), and perhaps in *min[ā]* (Delhi-Mīraṭh) and *mina* (= Skt. *manāk*?). It becomes *u* in the second syllable of *udupāna* (see above, p. xcix), and after *m* in *muta* (= *mata*), *munisa* (= *manushya*). The change of *a* into *e* in *seyaka* (i. e. *sēyyaka*), which is the reading of three versions instead of *sayaka* (= Skt. *śalyaka*) at Delhi-Tōprā, is due to the following palatal *y*.

Skt. *i* is represented by *a* in the first syllable of *kapilikā* (Delhi-Tōprā) = *kipilikā* (Allahabad-Kōsam) and = Skt. *pīpilikā*, and by *u* after original *v* in *dutīya* and *dutiya*, *dupada*, *kinasu* (i. e. *kinassu*) = Skt. *kēnasvit*; see Text, p. 134, n. 1. *e* corresponds to Skt. *i* in *hedisa* (Sārnāth, ll. 6, 7).

*i* corresponds to Skt. *u* in the second syllable of *pulisa* (see above, p. xcix) and of *munisa* (see above, p. lxx). In *kho* (= Skt. *khalu*) Skt. *u* is represented by *o*; see above, p. lvi and n. 2.

*ri* becomes (1) *a* in *anugahinevu*, *apakaṭha* (= Skt. *apakṛishṭa*), *kaṭa*, *kapana* (= *kṛipana*), *dāna*-*[gah]e*<sup>2</sup> (Queen's edict, l. 3), *bhaṭakesu*, *vaḍikā* and *vaḍikyā* (= *\*vṛitikā*), *vaḍhi*, *viyāpaṭa*; (2) *i* in

<sup>1</sup> Cf. p. lxxxiii, n. 3.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *gahatha* (= Skt. *gṛihastha*) at Kālsī.



*gihitha* (= *grihastha*), *nisijitu* (from *nisrijati*), *pit[i]su* (= *pitriśhu*), *simala* (= *śrīmara*), *hedisa* (= *īdriśa*); (3) *e* in *dekhati*, &c.

*i* corresponds to Skt. *e* in *ika* (Sāmāth, ll. 6, 7, 8), i. e. \**ikka* = Prākṛit *ekka* and Skt. *eka*. Cf. Ardhamāgadhī *ikkārāsa* = Skt. *ēkādaśa*; Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 443.

*ai* becomes *e* in *kevaṭa* (= Skt. *kaivarta*), and *au* becomes *o* in *-opagāni*, *Kosaṃbiyaṃ*, *putā-papotike*, *mokhya*.

Initial *a* is lengthened in *ānāvāsasi* (Sāmāth) = *anā[vā]sasi* (Kauśāmbī and Sāmchī). Final *a* is lengthened frequently; see *eva*, *yeva*, *va* and *evā*, *yevā*, *vā* (= Skt. *ēva*), *cha* and *chā*, *na* and *nā* (in *nāsaṃtām*), *hetā*, *āha* and *āhā* or *ahā*, *vaḍhithā*, *huthā*, *vivāsāpayāthā*, [*sa*] *nnamdhāpayiyā*, *nāma* and *nāmā* (in *nāmā ti*), *mama* and *mamā*, *asvasa* and *asvasā*, *gonasa* and *gonasā*, *jānapadasa* and *jānapadasā*, *Devānaṃpiyashā*, *lokasa* and *lokasā*, *usāhena* and *usāhenā*, *bhāyena* and *bhāyenā*, *v[a]chanenā*. Interconsonantal *i* and *u* are sometimes lengthened; see *ganīyati* (Queen's edict, l. 4), *-thitika* and *-thitika* (also *-thitika* and *-thitika*), *tīlita* (thus Allahabad-Kōsam; *tīlita* in the other versions), *devīye* (Queen's edict, l. 2; *devīye*, id., ll. 4, 5), *pavajitānaṃ*, *lājīhi* (instr. plur. of Skt. *rājan*), *anupaṭipajāntāṃ*, *anupaṭipajāntu* (also *anupaṭi°*), *anupaṭipajisati*, *anupaṭipati* (also *anupaṭi°*), *saṃpaṭipati*, *paṭipati*, *paṭibhoga* (also *paṭi°*), *paṭiṣiṭhāṃ* (also *paṭi°*), *paṭi[vedayaṃti\*]*, *niṭhūliye*, *pachūpagamane* (*pachupa°* Allahabad-Kōsam), *bahūsu* (but *gulusu*). Final *i* and *u* may be lengthened before *ti* (= *itī*) or without it; see *anuvidhiyāntī*, *āvahāmi ti*, *kachhati ti*, *khādiyati ti*, *tī*, *ti ti* (Delhi-Tōprā, II, l. 16), [*ha*] *ntaviyāntī*, *anupaṭipajāntū*, *hotū ti*. Final *i* and *u*, which stand for original *is* and *us* or *ur*, are treated in the same way; see [*gut*] *i* and *goti ti*, *lipi* and *lipti*, *bhikhu* and [*bhikh*] *ū*, *Sakyamunī ti*, *sādhu* and *sādhū*, *ālādhayevu* and *ālādhayevū ti*, *upadahevu* and *upadahevū ti*.

Initial *ā* is shortened in *āvahāmi* and *ava*<sup>1</sup> (Delhi-Tōprā) = *āvahāmi* and *āva* or *āvā* (in the other versions). Interconsonantal *ā* is shortened in the Queen's edict in *ālama* (= Skt. *ārāma*) and *mahamata* (= *makāmātra*). Final *ā* is often shortened; see *athā* and *atha* (= Skt. *yathā*), *tathā* and *tatha*, *vā* and *va* (= Skt. *vā*), *apahāṭā* and *apahāṭa*, *lājā* and *lāja*, *atanā* and *atana*, *lājina*, *Piyadasina*, *anusathiyā* and *anusathiya*, and the nom. sing. fem. *esa* (pillar edict I, section D), *apekhā* and *apekha*, &c. Also final *ī* is sometimes shortened; see *Piyadasi* (Allahabad-Kōsam) and *Piyadasi*, *dudī* and *duḷi*, *dhātī* (= Skt. *dhātrī*), *aṭhamī-pakha* (Delhi-Tōprā) and *aṭhamī-pakha*, *chātummāsi-pakha*, *devi-kumālānaṃ*, *bhikkhuni*, *Lummini-gāme*. Interconsonantal *ī* is shortened in *dutiya* = *dutiya*<sup>2</sup> (Queen's edict, l. 5), and *ū* in *anulupāyā*, *thube*, *bhutānaṃ*, *susūsā* (also *susūsā*).

Initial vowels are dropped in *pi* (= Skt. *apī*), *laghānti* (for \**alaghānti* = Skt. *arhanti*), *hakam* (for *ahakam* = *aham*), *ti* (for *itī*) and *kimti*, *posatha* (for *upavasatha*), *va* and *vā* (for *ēva*).

## II. SIMPLE CONSONANTS.

As at Kālsī, palatal *ñ* and lingual *ṇ* are replaced by dental *n* throughout.

The guttural *k* is palatalized in *aḍha-[kos]ikyāni* and *vaḍikyā*;<sup>3</sup> cf. above, p. lxxi. It is represented by *y* in *aṭha-bhāgiye* (Rummindei, l. 5), *ata-patiye* (Delhi-Tōprā, IV, ll. 4, 14), *niṃsi-[dha]yā* (= Skt. \**niślishṭakā*), and perhaps in *gevaṭā*; see Text, p. 120, n. 4. *gh* is preserved in *laghānti* (for \**alaghānti* = Skt. *arhanti*), but has become *h* in *lahu*.

The palatal *ch* is softened in *sāṃkucha*, which is probably connected with Skt. *sāṃkuchi*, 'a skate-fish.' It is aspirated in *kichhi* (Queen's edict, l. 4) = *kichhi* at Kālsī, &c.

Lingual *ḍ* may become *ḷ*; see *edake* and *eḷake*, *edakā* and *eḷakā*, *dudī* and *duḷi*.

Dentals are lingualized after *ri* in *kaṭa*, *bhaṭakesu*, *vaḍhi*, *viyāpaṭa*, *vaḍikā* and *vaḍikyā* (= \**vṛitikā*), in which the *t* (for *t*) is softened, and after *ra* in *nigamṭha* (= Skt. *nirgrantha*) and in the preposition *paṭi*, but not in *pachūpagamana* (= *pratyupagamana*), *patyāsanna* and *patiyāsanna* (= *pratyāsanna*). *t* is elided, *a* lengthened,<sup>4</sup> and *v* developed from *u* in *chāvudāsā* (= Skt. *chaturdaśī*), while *ai* is contracted to *o* in *chodasa* (= *chaturdaśa*). *d* becomes *ḍ* or *ḷ* in *duvāḍasa* and *duvā[sa]-[a]*, *paṃnaḍasā* and *paṃnaḷasā* (= Skt. *pañchadaśī*). The original *dh* of the root \**nadh* (= Skt. *nah*)

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *ava*, *avā*, *avaṃ* at Kālsī. Michelson (IF, 23. 236) compares Avestan *yavaṭ* (= Skt. *yāvaṭ*).

<sup>2</sup> Pischel (*Grammatik*, § 82) derived Prākṛit *dudā*, &c., from a supposed Skt. form \**dvitya*.

<sup>3</sup> In *ambā-vaḍikyā* (Delhi-Tōprā, VII, l. 23) = *ambā-vaḍikā* (Queen's edict, l. 3).

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Pischel's *Grammatik*, §§ 78 and 443.



is preserved in [sa]mnamdhāpayiyā and sanamdhāpayitu.<sup>1</sup> *dh* becomes *h* in *nigoha* (= *nyagrōdha*), *vidahāmi* and *upadahevu* (from *dadhāti*). For *hida* (= *idha* at Gīrnār) see above, p. lxxii.

*p* is softened in *thūpa* (= *stūpa*, Nigālī Sāgar, l. 2) and *libi*<sup>2</sup> (Delhi-Tōprā, VII, ll. 31, 32) = *lipi* (passim). It becomes *k* through dissimilation in *kipilikā* and *kapilikā* = Skt. *pīṭhikā*.<sup>3</sup> *bh* becomes *h* in [a]hiye, *hoti*, *hotu*, *huvāti*, *hosanti*, *hohanti*, *huthā*, *husu*, and in the instr. plur. in *-hi* (for *-bhih*). *m* becomes *p*, and the aspiration changes place, in *kaphaṭa* = Skt. *kamathā*; cf. *aphe* and *tuphe* (= Prākṛit *amhe* and *tumhe*) at Dhauli and Jaugada, and [ta]phā (= Skt. *tasmāt*) at Kālsī.

*y* is represented by *h* in *abhyūnnāmaychaṇ*, and by *v* in *āvuti* (= *\*āyukti*), *vishava* (= Skt. *vishaya*), *sochava* for *sochaya* (= *\*sauchya*), *pāpovā* (= *\*prāpnō + yāt*), *yāvu*, *anugahinevu*, *ālādhayevu*, *upadahevu*, *pavatayevū*. It is prefixed to *e* in *yeva* and *yevā* (also *eva* and *evā*), but is dropped at the beginning of *ata* (= Skt. *yatra*), *athā* and *atha* (= Skt. *yathā*), *āva* (also *yāva*, = Skt. *yāvat*), *āvate*, *e* (also *ye*), *ena* (also *yena*). At the end of *etad-athā* (Delhi-Tōprā, VII, l. 24) the syllable *ya* seems to be dropped; cf. above, p. lvii. It becomes *i* in *nigoha* (= Skt. *nyagrōdha*), *paṭivekhāmi*, *dupaṭivekhe*, and *ayi* becomes *e* in *jhāpetaviye* (also *jhāpayitaviye*).

*r* has become *l* throughout, except in *chaṇ[da]m[a-sū]ri[yi]ke* (Sārnāth, l. 4).

*va* becomes *u* in *anuvekhamāne*; *vā* becomes the same in the absolutes in *-tu* (= Skt. *tvā*); *ava* and *avi* become *o* in *odāta*, *olodhana*, *posatha*, *paliyovadātha*, *paliyovadisanti*, *vijovadisanti*, *vijohāla*, *hoti*, *hotu*, *hosanti*, *hohanti*.

The two sibilants *ś* and *ṣ* have become *s* throughout. But *sh* is used in *vishava* (= Skt. *vishaya*, Sārnāth, l. 10), *Devānampiyashā* and *she* (Queen's edict, ll. 1 and 4). In *chaghatī*, *ś* is represented by *ch*; cf. above, p. ci.

*h* is prefixed in *hida*, *hidata*, *hedisa*, *hevaṇ*. For *hetā* (Queen's edict, l. 2) see above, p. lxx.

Final consonants are dropped. A preceding vowel may be shortened; see *min[ā]* and *mina* (= Skt. *manāk?*), *pāpovā* and *pāpova*, *siyā* and *siya*, *avimanā* and *avimana*, *abhītā* and *abhīta*, &c. (below, p. cxvi). Conversely, a preceding short vowel may be lengthened; see *āva* and *āvā* (= *yāvat*), *lipi* and *lipī*, *sādhū* and *sādhū*, &c. (above, p. cxii). Final *as* generally becomes *e*; see *ite*, *suve* (= *svas*), *bhūye*, *lājāne*, *vijāpaṭāse*, *jāne*, &c. But it becomes *o* in *vayo-*; *a* in *chāmdama-* and *esa* (nom. sing. masc. and neut.); and *ā* in *esā* (nom. sing. neut.).

The vowel *u* is nasalized in *chuṇ* (Sārnāth, l. 3) for *chu* (passim). Final Anusvāra is omitted in *bāḍha* (Delhi-Tōprā, III, l. 21), *heva* (= Skt. *ēvam*,<sup>4</sup> Rāmpurvā, I, l. 1), and in the acc. sing. *vaḍhi* (pillar-edict VI, B). The Anusvāra is dropped, and the preceding vowel is lengthened, in the acc. sing. *anupaṭipati* (Delhi-Tōprā, VII, l. 24) and in the nom. sing. [dā]nā (Delhi-Mīraṭh, II, l. 2). But the nom. sing. of neuters in *-a* generally follows the analogy of the masculine and ends in *-e*; see below, p. cxvi.

Long nasal vowels are generally shortened; see *kiyaṇ* (= Skt. *kiyān*), *Bhagavaṇ* (= *Bhagavān*), the gen. plur. in *-aṇ*, the loc. sing. fem. *tisāyaṇ*, *tisyaṇ*, *Kosaṇbiyaṇ*, *puṇnamāsiyaṇ*, and the acc. sing. *maṇ* (= *mām*), *imaṇ* (= *imām*), *taṇ* (= *tām*, pillar-edict VI, B), *ikaṇ* (= *ikām*), *pajaṇ* (= *prajāṇ*), *dukhīyaṇ*, *chāvudasaṇ*, *paṇnaḍasaṇ*, *paṭipadaṇ*, *hedisaṇ* (acc. sing. fem., Sārnāth, l. 7). But the Anusvāra is omitted in the acc. sing. *p[a]ṭipadā* (Delhi-Mīraṭh, V, l. 6), and the long *ā* is shortened at the same time in *kiya* (Lauriyā-Nandangarh, II, l. 1).

### III. SANDHI.

Final *d* is preserved in *etad-athā* (Delhi-Tōprā, VII, l. 24), and final *m* in *etam-eva* (id., l. 23; Sārnāth, ll. 8, 9), *kayānam-eva* (Allahabad-Kōsam, III, l. 1), *hedisaṇ-eva* (Sārnāth, l. 7). The final *m* is doubled in *iyammana* (= Skt. *idam anyat*), *kayānam-eva*, *hevaṇ-eva*. In *hemeva*, *hemevā*, *hemmeva*, the syllable *va* of Skt. *ēvam* is dropped.

Hiatus remains in *-vasa-abhisita* at Delhi-Tōprā (six times),<sup>5</sup> while the remaining versions (and Delhi-Tōprā, VII, l. 31) read *-vasābhisita*. Other instances of *a + ā = ā* are *dhammānupaṭipati*,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *pilandhati* &c. in E. Müller's *Pāli Grammar*, p. 34.

<sup>2</sup> This Prākṛit form is mentioned already by Pāṇini, III, 2, 21.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Geiger's *Litteratur und Sprache der Singhalesen*, § 29, section 1.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. above, p. lviii, n. 2, and p. lxxxvi, l. 6 from bottom. <sup>5</sup> Also at Delhi-Mīraṭh, V, l. 14.



*dhammānusathi, dhammāpadāna, dhammāpekkhā, apāsinave*. The *ā* which results from the contraction is shortened before a group of consonants in *saṅghaṭṭasi* and *-apadānathāye* (Delhi-Tōprā, VII, ll. 25 and 28). The nasal vowel *am* of *tuphākam* and *upāsakānam* is treated in the same manner before *antikam* in *tuphāk-antikam* and *upāsakān-antikam* (Sārṇāth, ll. 6 and 7). In *ikike* (= Skt. *īkaikah*), *chu* (= *cha + u*), *chveva*, and *chhāy-opagāni*, final *a* and *ā* are elided before the initial *i*, *u*, *e*, and *o* of the next following word.

#### IV. GROUPS OF CONSONANTS.

The only Sanskrit groups which occasionally remain unassimilated are *ky*, *khy*, *ty*, *dhy*, *dhr*, *bhy*, *rshy* (which becomes *sy*), *śv* (which becomes *sv*), *shy* (which becomes *sy*). For the group *ky* see also above, p. cxii and n. 3.

A long vowel preceding a group is generally shortened; see *ata-* (= Skt. *ātman*), *asvatha* (= *āśvasta*), *anusathi* (= *anusāsti*), *āladha* (= *\*ārāddha*), *kinasu* (for *\*kinā + ssu* = Skt. *svid*), *pata* (= *prāpta*), *maga* (= *mārga*), *madava* (= *mārdava*), *mahamata* (= *mahāmātra*, Queen's edict, l. 1), *Sakyamunī*, *isyā* (= *īrshyā*), *-sulyika*<sup>1</sup> (for *\*sūryika*), *dusa* (= *dūshya*), *puṇnamāsiyam*. But the length remains in *ānapayati*, *pāpovā* (from *prāpnōti*), *mahāmāta* (for *\*mātra*), *palikkhā* (for *parikkhā*). While long *ī* is preserved before *n* in *-gāminī* and *bhī[khun]īnam*, it is shortened, and the following nasal is doubled, in *tiṇni* (= *trīṇi*). Similarly, *anusathini* and *devīnam* are perhaps defective spellings for *anusathinī* and *devīnam*. Before *y* and *l* the length is preserved in *anuvīdhīyamti*, *sukkhīyanā*, *kapīlikā*, but it is shortened (and probably the following consonant is doubled) in *anuvīdhīyamti*, *sukkhīyanā*, *bhūye*, *kīpīlikā*; cf. above, p. cii. A short vowel preceding a group is lengthened in *āgācha* (= *āgatya*), *dākhinā* (also *dakhinā*, i.e. *dakkhinā*), *putāpapotike*<sup>2</sup> (for *putrapra*°), *puṇāvasune* (for *puṇarva*°), *kīchhi* (for *\*kid + chid*, Queen's edict, l. 4), *nīlakkhiyati* (for *nirla*°), *nīlakkhitaviye* (also *nīla*° at Rāmpurvā, V, l. 9), *vaḍḍhisati* (also *vaḍhisati*, i.e. *vaḍḍhissati*), *saṃpaṭipajīsati* (also *\*jisati*), *anupaṭipajīsati*, *anūp[a]ṭipamne* (for *anuprat*°).

A long nasal vowel is shortened before consonants in *ambā-* (= Skt. *āmra*), *atikamtaṃ*, *Kosambiyam* (= *Kauśāmbiyam*), *Devānāpiya*,<sup>3</sup> while the nasal is dropped, and the length is retained, in *bābhana* (= *bāmhana* at Gīrnār). Anusvāra is lost after a short vowel in *thabha* (Rummindēi, l. 3) = *thambha* (Delhi-Tōprā), in *sayame* and *savibhāge* (also *saṃyame* and *saṃvibhāge*), in *vihisāye* (but not in *avihimsāye*), and in *satavisati*. The nasal vowel *im* is replaced by a length in *visati*, *paṇṇa-vīsati*, and *saḍvīsati*. Similarly, *am* seems to be replaced by *ā* in *bh[ā]khati* (= Skt. *bhaṅkshyati*). In *visvaṃsayitave* (Sārṇāth, ll. 8, 9) the nasal vowel *am* corresponds to Skt. *ā*.

The auxiliary vowel which is developed within some groups is *u* before *v* in *duvehi*, *duvādasa*, *saḍvīsati*, *suve*; *a* in *dusaṃpaṭipādaye*, *laghamti* (for *\*alaghamti*), *sochaye* and *sochave*; and frequently *i*, as will appear from the subjoined list of Sanskrit groups and of their equivalents in the pillar-edicts. It is unnecessary to quote examples of the groups *kr*, *gr*, *tr*, *pr*, *br*, *śr*, *sr*, which have become *k*, *g*, *t*, *p*, *b*, *s*, *s*, respectively.

*khk* becomes *kh* (i.e. *kkh*) in *dukkhīyanam*.

*kt* becomes *t* in *abhisita*, *yuta*, *vataviya*, *viyata*.

*ky* remains in *Sakyamunī* (Rummindēi, l. 2).

*ksh* becomes *jh* in *jhāpayitaviye*,<sup>4</sup> but *kh* everywhere else.

*kshy* becomes *khiy* in *nīlakkhiyati*; *kh* in *dupaṭivekke* and *bh[ā]khati*; *gh* in *chaghati*.

*khy* is preserved in *mukhya* and *mokhya*, but is assimilated in *mukhā* (Delhi-Tōprā, VII, l. 27).

<sup>1</sup> This word presupposes an intermediate form with short *u*: *\*suryika*; cf. above, p. cii, n. 1. In the Māgadha dialect the affix *-ika* does not, as in Sanskrit, necessarily involve Vṛddhi of the first syllable; see *putāpapotika* and *hidatika*, but *ānugahika*. In *antika*, *aḍha[kos]ika*, *chāṇḍamasulyika* we cannot say whether the *a* preceding the group of consonants in the first syllable was originally long and subsequently shortened. The same applies to the first *a* of *chāṇḍiya*, which was formed from Skt. *chāṇḍa* with the affix *-ya*. In *nīṭhūliya* and *puṇnamāsiyam* the first vowel has remained unchanged, while the corresponding Skt. forms are *naishṭhurya* and *puṇnamāsiyam*, with Vṛddhi of the first vowel.

<sup>2</sup> The Sārṇāth pillar (section C) has *putāpapotike*.

<sup>3</sup> The Anusvāra is omitted in *Devāna[pi]yena* (Rummindēi, l. 1).

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 326.



*khl* becomes *kh* in *kho* = Skt. *khalu*; see above, p. lvi and n. 2.

*chy* becomes *chay* or *chav* in *sochaye* and *sochave*.<sup>1</sup>

*jñ* becomes *jin* in *lājina*; *ñn* in *chhaindanñāni* and *vinñapayitaviye*; *n* in *ānapayati*, *ānapita*, *nālikā*, *nātisū*.

*ñch* becomes *ñn* in *pañnavīsati*, *pañnaḍasā* and *pañnaḥasā*, but remains in *[pa]ñcha[dasā]* (Allahabad-Kōsam).

*ḍy* becomes *ḍiy* in *chamḍiye*.

*ḍv* becomes *ḍuv* in *saḍuvīsati*.

*ṇm* becomes *ñm* in *āsañmāsike*.

*tk* becomes *k* in *ukasā*.

*tm* becomes *t* in *ata-* (= Skt. *ātman*).

*ty* remains in *patyāsana*, but becomes *tiy* in *patiyāsana* (Delhi-Tōprā), and *ch* in *āgācha*, *pachupagamane*, *sache*.

*tśr* becomes *s* in *usapāpīte*.

*ts* becomes *s* in *usāka*.

*tsy* becomes *chh* in *machhe*.

*db* becomes *b* in *ubalike*.

*ḍy* becomes *j* in *anupaṭipajantū*, &c.; *diy* in *khādiyati*; *day* in *dusaṃpaṭipādaye*.

*dr* becomes *d* in *chamdama-*.

*dv* becomes *d* in *dupada*, *duṭṭya* and *dutiya*, but *duv* in *duveli*, *duvāḍasa*.

*dhy* remains in *avadhya*, but becomes *dhiy* in *avadhiya*, and *jh* in *majhimā*, *nijhatiyā*, *nijhapayitave*, *nijhapayitā*, *nijhapayisaṃti*.

*dhr* remains in *dh[r]uvāye* (Delhi-Miraṭh), but becomes *dh* in *dhuvāye* and *vadhi* (pillar-edict V, D).

*ny* becomes *ñn* or *n* in *añna* (passim) and *ana* (pillar-edict III, H).

*pt* becomes *t* in *[gut]i*, *gotī* (= Skt. *\*gōptī*), *nikkhitā*, *nijhatiyā*, *pata* (= *prāpta*), *sata* (= *ṣapta*, Delhi-Tōprā, VII, l. 31).

*pn* becomes *p* in *pāpovā*.

*bhy* remains in *abhyuññāmayehaṃ* and *abhyuññamisati*, but becomes *hiy* in *[a]hiye*.

*bhr* becomes *bh* in *palibhasayisaṃ*.

*mb* becomes *mm* in *Lummini-* (Rummindēi, l. 4).

*mr* becomes *m̐* (for *m̐r*) in *am̐bā-* (= Skt. *āmra*).

*yy* becomes *yyi* in *āvāsaviye* and *[sa]ñnañdhāpayiyā*.

*rg* becomes *g* in *maḡesu* and *visaga*.

*rgr* becomes *g* in *nigam̐thesu*.

*rg̐h* becomes *lag̐h* in *lag̐ham̐ti* (for *\*alag̐ham̐ti*).

*rñ* becomes *ñn* in *pañna* (pillar-edict V, B) and *puñnamāsiyaṃ*.

*rt* becomes *t* in *pavatajevū*, but *t̐* in *kaṭaviya*, *kevaṭa*, *palikaṭave*, *apakaṭā*.

*rth* becomes *th* in *atha* (Delhi-Tōprā, VII, W and OO), but *ṭh* in *aṭha* (passim).

*rd* becomes *d* in *chakhudāne*, *chodasa*, *chāvudasa*, *madave*.

*rdh* becomes *ḍh* in *vaḍhati*, *vaḍheyā*, *vaḍhithā*, *vaḍhisati*, *vaḍhita*.

*rbh* becomes *bh* in *gabhinī*.

*rm* becomes *mm* in *kam̐māni*, *chātum̐māsi*, *dham̐ma* (spelt *dhama* at Lauṛiyā-Ararāj, II, l. 3).

*ry* becomes *liy* in *nīṭhūliye*, *palīyovadātha* and *palīyovadisam̐ti*, *-suliyike* (Delhi-Tōprā, VII, l. 31), but *riy* in *-[sū]rī[yi]ke* (Sāmchī, l. 4).

*rī* becomes *l* in *nīlakhiyati* and *nīlakhitaviye*.

*rv* becomes *v* in *puñāvasune* and *sava*.

*rś* becomes *s* in *Piyadasi*.

*rsh* becomes *s* in *ukasā* and *vasa*.

*rshy* becomes *sy* in *isyā*.

*lp* becomes *p* in *apa* (pillar-edict II, C).

*ly* becomes *y* in *kayāna*, *sayaka* and *seyaka* (= Skt. *śalyaka*).

<sup>1</sup> Three versions of the pillar-edict II, C, read *socheye*, which Michelson (IF, 23. 241) identifies with Pāli *socheyya* (= Skt. *\*śauchēya*).



*vy* becomes *viy* in *viyaṁjanena*, *viyata*, *viyāpaṭa*, *viyovadisanti*, *viyohāla*, and in the gerundives in *-taviya*.

*vr* becomes *v* in *pavajītānaṁ*.

*śy* becomes *s* in *palibhasayisaṁ* (future of the causative of Skt. *bhraśyati*).

*śl* becomes *śis* in *nimśi[dha]yā* (= Skt. *\*niśliṣṭakā*); cf. Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 74.

*śv* becomes *sv* in *asva*, *asvatha* (= Skt. *āśvasta*), *visvaṁsayitave* (infinitive of *viśvāsayati*); *su* in *suve* (= *śvaḥ*); *s* in *seta*.

*shṭ* becomes *th* in *vaḍhithā* and *huthā*; *ṭh* in *aṭha-bhāgiye*, *aṭhami*, *apakaṭhesu*, *tuphāyatan[ā]ni*, *paṭivisiṭhaṁ*; *ḍh* in *aḍha-[koṣ]ikyāni* and *nimśi[dha]yā*.

*shṭh* becomes *ṭh* in *nīṭhūliye*.

*shp* becomes *p* in *chatupada*.

*shpr* becomes *p* in *dupaṭivekhe*.

*shy* becomes *sy* in *tisyam*; *siy* in *tisiyam*; *s* in *tisāyam* and *tisāye*, *dusāni*, *pusitaviya* (from Skt. *pushyati*), *munisa* (= *manushya*), *hosanti* and other futures; *h* in *hohanti*.

*st* becomes *th* in *athi*, *anusathi*, *asvatha* (= Skt. *āśvasta*), *thambhāni*, *thuba* (= *stūpa*), *pavitha-lisanti*.

*sth* becomes *th* in *gihitha* (= Skt. *grihastha*) and *-thitika* or *-thitika*; <sup>1</sup> *ṭh* in *anathika* and *-ṭhitika* or *-ṭhitika*.<sup>2</sup>

*sn* becomes *sin* in *āsinava* (from *ā-snu*).

*sm* becomes *s* in the locative singular in *-asi*.

*sy* becomes *siy* in *siyā* (= Skt. *syāt*); *s* in the genitive singular in *-asa*; *h* in *dāhamti*.

*hṇ* becomes *hin* in *anugahinevu*.

*hm* becomes *bh* in *bābhana*.

## B.—DECLENSION

### I. BASES IN *-a*.

#### (1) Masculines and neuters in *-a*.

Singular.	Plural.
Nom. masc. <i>jane</i> , &c.; neut. <i>dāne</i> , &c.	Masc. <i>pulisā</i> , &c. } neut. <i>sāvanāni</i> , &c.
Acc. masc. <i>janam</i> , &c.; neut. <i>dānam</i> , &c.	Masc. <i>pulisāni</i> }
Instr. <i>dhammena</i> , &c.	<i>ākālehi</i> , <i>pulimehi</i> . <sup>3</sup>
Dat. <i>aṭhāye</i> , &c.	
Gen. <i>janasa</i> , &c.	<i>pānānam</i> , &c.
Loc. <i>janasi</i> , &c.	<i>aṭhesu</i> , &c.

Nom. sing. neut.—In *[dā]nā* (Delhi-Mīraṭh, II, l. 2) the termination is *-ā*.

Instr. sing.—The final *a* is lengthened in *usāhenā*, *bhayenā*, *v[a]chanenā*.

Gen. sing.—The final *a* is lengthened in *asvasā*, *gonasā*, *jānapadasā*, *Devānaṁpiyashā*, *lokasā*.

Nom. plur. masc.—The final *ā* is shortened in *abhīta*, *asvatha*, *āyata*, *kaṭa*, *pūjita*, *maḥam[ā]ta* (Kauśāmbī edict, l. 1), *laṭṭuka*. The Vedic termination *-āsaḥ* is preserved in *viyāpaṭāse* (Delhi-Tōprā, VII, ll. 25, 27).

Nom. plur. neut.—The final *i* is lengthened in *[ha]ntaviyāni* (Delhi-Mīraṭh, V, l. 8). The following Sanskrit masculines have the termination of the neuter: *thambhāni*, *nikāyāni*, *nigohāni*, *niyamāni*, *mokhāni*, *tiṁni divasāni* and *etāni divasāni* (acc.).

<sup>1</sup> With the compound *chilam-thitika* or *chilam-thitika* cf. Skt. *chiramjīvin* and *chirantana*.

<sup>2</sup> In *chila-thitike* (Delhi-Tōprā, VII, l. 32) and *chila-thitika* (Allahabad-Kōsam, II, l. 3).

<sup>3</sup> From *pulima* = Pāli *purima*.



## (2) Feminines in -ā.

Singular.	Plural.
Nom. <i>icchā</i> , &c.	<i>vaḍikyā</i> , &c.
Acc. <i>paṇāṃ</i> , &c.	
Instr. <i>pūjāyā</i> and <i>pūjāya</i> , &c.	
Dat. <i>vihiṣāye</i> , <i>avihiṃsāye</i> .	
Abl. <i>dakḥināye</i> , <i>dākhināye</i> .	
Gen. <i>dutiyāye</i> , <i>dutiyāye</i> .	
Loc. <i>tisāyaṃ</i> , <i>tisāye</i> , <i>chāvudāsāye</i> , <i>paṇṇaḍāsāye</i> , <i>paṭipadāy[e]</i> . <sup>1</sup>	<i>disāsu</i> .

Nom. sing.—The final *ā* is shortened in *apekha*, *avadhya*, *isya*, *kapilika*, *kālāpita*, *jatūka*, *daya*, *pālana*, *likhāpita*, *vaḍhita*, *viyata*, *sālaka*, *sukhīyana*.

Acc. sing.—The termination is -ā in *p[a]ṭipadā* (Delhi-Mīraṭh, V, l. 6).

Instr. sing.—The termination is -āyā in *agāyā*, *anulupāyā*, -kāmātāyā, *palikhāyā*, *vividhāyā*, *sukhāyanāyā*, *susūsāyā*, while the final *ā* is shortened, as at Gīrnār, Dhāuli, and Jaugaḍa, in *agāya*, -kāmātāya, *palikhāya*, *vividhāya*, *susūsāya*.

## II. BASES IN -ī.

## (1) Masculines and neuters in -ī.

Nom. sing. masc. *vidhi*, *Sakyamunī*; acc. plur. neut. *tiṇī*; loc. plur. *nātisu*.

The feminine base *anusathī* forms the nom. and acc. plur. *anusathini* with the termination of the neuter.

## (2) Feminines in -ī and -ī.

Singular.	Plural.
Nom. <i>vaḍhi</i> , <i>dhāti</i> , &c.	
Acc. <i>lipiṃ</i> , <i>vaḍhi</i> (pillar-edict VI, B), <i>anupaṭipatī</i> .	
Instr. <i>vaḍhiyā</i> , <i>anupaṭipatiyā</i> , &c.	
Dat. <i>anupaṭipatiye</i> , <i>dhātiye</i> , <i>deviye</i> .	
Gen. <i>Kāluvākiye</i> , <i>deviye</i> and <i>deviye</i> .	<i>bhi[khun]īnaṃ</i> , <i>devinaṃ</i> .
Loc. <i>tisyaṃ</i> , <i>tisiyaṃ</i> , <i>Kosaṃbiyaṃ</i> , <i>puṇṇamāsīyaṃ</i> , <i>chātumṃāsīye</i> .	<i>chātumṃāsīsu</i> , <i>tisu</i> . <sup>2</sup>

Nom. sing.—The final vowel is long in *gabhinī*, *sūkālī*, *duḍī* (also *duḍi*), *lipī* (also *lipi*).

Instr. sing.—The final *ā* is shortened in *anusathiya* (also *anusathiyā*).

## III. MASCULINES AND NEUTERS IN -u.

Singular.	Plural.
Nom. masc. <i>bhikku</i> and <i>[bhikkh]ū</i> , <i>sādhū</i> and <i>sādhū</i> , <i>lahu</i> ; neut. <i>bahu</i> .	Neut. <i>bahūni</i> .
Gen.	<i>[bhi*]khūna[m]</i> .
Loc. <i>puṇāvāsune</i> , <i>bakune</i> .	<i>gulusu</i> , <i>bahūsū</i> .

The loc. sing. is formed from a base in -na.

## IV. MASCULINES AND FEMININES IN -ī.

Nom. sing. *apahaṭā* and *apahaṭa*, *nijhapayitā*.  
Gen. sing. *mātu*.  
Loc. plur. *pitisu*.

<sup>1</sup> As in Pāli, the Skt. feminine *pratipad* has assumed the form *paṭipadā*. Cf. Hēmachandra, I, 15.

<sup>2</sup> In Sanskrit the corresponding form is *tisṛishu*.



## V. BASES IN CONSONANTS.

(1) Present participles in *-at*.

Nom. sing. masc. *saṁtām*, *anupaṭipajāntām*; cf. above, p. cx.

(2) Masculines in *-yat* and *-vat*.

Nom. sing. masc. *kiyaṁ* and *kiya* (Lauriyā-Nandangaṛh), *Bhagavaṁ*. The base *yāvat* follows the *a*-declension: nom. sing. masc. *āvate* (Sārṇāth, l. 9).

(3) Masculines and neuters in *-an*.

Singular.	Plural.
Nom. masc. <i>lājā</i> , <i>lāja</i> .	<i>lājāne</i> .
Acc. neut. <i>nāma</i> .	<i>kaṁmāni</i> .
Instr. <i>atanā</i> , <i>atana</i> , <i>lājina</i> .	<i>lājīhi</i> .
The instr. plur. follows the <i>i</i> -declension.	

(4) Masculines and neuters in *-in*.

Nom. sing. masc. *Piyadasi*; instr. sing. *Piyadasina*; nom. plur. neut. *-gāmīni*.

The final *i* of the nom. sing. masc. is preserved only in the Allahabad-Kōsam version, while all others read *Piyadasi*.

(5) Masculines and neuters in *-as*.

Acc. sing. neut. *bhuye*.

The masculine *chāṇḍama-* (= Skt. *chandramas*) and the neuter *vayo-* occur as first members of compounds. The base *avimanas* follows the *a*-declension: nom. plur. masc. *avimanā* and (with shortening of the final *ā*) *avimana*.

## C.—PRONOUNS

## (1) Pronoun of the first person.

Nom. sing. *hakam*.

Acc. sing. *maṁ*.

Instr. sing. *mamayā* and *mamiyā*, *mama* and *mamā*, *me*.

Gen. sing. *mama*, *me*.

## (2) Pronoun of the second person.

Nom. plur. *tuphe*; gen. plur. *tuphākam*.

(3) Base *ta*.

Singular.	Plural.
Nom. masc. and neut. <i>se</i> . <sup>1</sup>	Masc. <i>te</i> .
Acc. neut. <i>taṁ</i> , <i>se</i> .	Neut. <i>tāni</i> .
Instr. <i>tena</i> .	
Gen.	<i>tesam</i> , <i>tānam</i> .
Loc.	<i>tesu</i> .
	Acc. sing. fem. <i>taṁ</i> .
	Dat. sing. fem. <i>tāye</i> .

(4) Base *na*.

Nom. plur. neut. *nāni*; see Text, p. 127, n. 10.

<sup>1</sup> Moreover, the nom. sing. neut. *she* occurs in the Queen's edict, l. 4.



(5) Base *eta*.

Singular.	Plural.
Nom. masc. <i>esa</i> ; neut. <i>esa</i> , <i>esā</i> .	Masc. <i>ete</i> .
Acc. neut. <i>etañ</i> .	Neut. <i>etāni</i> .
Instr. <i>etena</i> .	
Dat. <i>etāye</i> .	
Loc.	<i>etesu</i> .
Nom. sing. fem. <i>esa</i> .	

(6) Demonstrative *idam*.

Nom. sing. neut. *iyañ* ; nom. plur. masc. *ime*, neut. *imāni* ; nom. sing. fem. *iyañ*, acc. *imañ*.

## (7) Interrogative pronoun.

The base *ki* forms the acc. sing. neut. *kiñ* (in *kiñtī*), *kiṃañ* or *kiṃmañ* (see Text, p. 129, n. 5) and the instrumental *\*kinā*<sup>1</sup> (in *kinasu*, i. e. *\*kinassu* = Pāli *kenassu* and Skt. *kēnasvit*). The base *ka* is used as demonstrative: nom. plur. neut. *kāni* (in *potake cha kāni* ; see Text, p. 127, n. 10) and acc. plur. masc. *kāni* (four times). The indefinite pronoun is formed with *pi* (= Skt. *api*) or *chi* (= Skt. *chid*) : instr. sing. *kenapi* ; nom. plur. neut. [*k*]ānichī.

## (8) Relative pronoun.

Singular.	Plural.
Nom. masc. and neut. <i>ye</i> , <i>e</i> .	Masc. <i>ye</i> ; neut. <i>yāni</i> .
Instr. <i>yena</i> , <i>ena</i> .	
Nom. sing. fem. <i>yā</i> .	

(9) Base *anya*.

Singular.	Plural.
Nom. masc. <i>añne</i> ; neut. [ <i>a</i> ]ñne, <i>ana</i> .	Masc. <i>añne</i> ; neut. <i>añnāni</i> .
Gen.	<i>añnānam</i> .
Loc.	<i>añnesu</i> .

The gen. plur. *añnānam* follows the analogy of the nouns in *-a* (above, p. cxvi) ; cf. *tānañ* for *tesañ* (above, pp. lxxviii and cxviii), *ta[nañ]* at Mānshrā, and the dat. sing. fem. *tāye* (above, p. cxviii), *ānāya* and *imā[y]*e at Gīrnār, Kālsī, and Dhaurī, *imaye* at Mānshrā.

(10) Base *sarva*.

Singular.	Plural.
Nom. masc. <i>sarve</i> .	
Loc. <i>savasi</i> .	<i>savesu</i> .

## D.—NUMERALS

## One.

Nom. sing. masc. *ikike* (= Skt. *ikaikah*), fem. *ikā* ; acc. sing. fem. *ikañ*.

## Two.

Instr. masc. *divehi* (from the base *dva*). The base *dvi* appears as *du* in the ordinal *dutiya* or *dutiya*, and in the compound *dupada*.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *kinā*, Hēmachandra, III, 69, and Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 428.



Three, four, six.

Acc. neut. *tinini*; loc. fem. *tisu*. The bases *chatur* and *shash* form part of the compounds *chatupada* and *āsaṁmāsika*.

Twelve, fourteen, fifteen.

*duvādasa* and *duvā[la]s[a]*; *chodasa*. The ordinals *chāvundasā* and [*pa*]*nicha[daśā]* (Allahabad-Kōsam), *paṁnaḍasā*, *paṁnaḷasā* correspond to Skt. *chaturdaśi* and *pañchadaśi*.

Twenty, &c.

*visati*, *paṁnavīsati*, *saduvīsati*, *satavisati*.

Hundred thousand.

Loc. plur. *sata-sahasasu*.

## E.—CONJUGATION

### I. PRESENT.

#### (1) Bases.

First Sanskrit class.

Root *\*argh* (= Skt. *arh*): *laghamti* for *\*alaghamti*; cf. Skt. *argha* and Pāli *agghati*, and see Lüders, SPAW, 1913. 993.

Root *iksh*: *paṭivekhāmi*, *anuvekhamāne*.

Root *ḍṛiś*: *dekhati*.

Root *bhū*: *hoti*, *huvāti* (sixth class).

Root *vad*: *paṭiyovadātha*.

Root *vah*: *āvahāmi*.

Root *vridh*: *vadhati*.

Second Sanskrit class.

Root *as*: *athi*.

Root *i*: *eti*.

Root *yā*: *yāti*.

Root *sās*: *anus[ā]sāmi* (subjunctive).

Third Sanskrit class.

Root *dhā*: *vidahāmi*, *upadahevu* (which follows the *a*-conjugation).

Fourth Sanskrit class.

Root *pad*: *anupaṭipajāntu*, &c.

Root *push*. The gerundive *pusitaviya* is formed from the Sanskrit present *pushyati*.

Fifth Sanskrit class.

Root *āp*: *pāpovā*.

Sixth Sanskrit class.

Root *ish*. The aorist *ichhisu* and the gerundive *ichhitaviye* are formed from the Sanskrit present *ichchhati*.

Root *kship*: *nikhipātha*.

Root *srij*: absolutive *nisijitu* (from the Sanskrit present *nisrijati*).



## Ninth Sanskrit class.

Root *grah* follows the *a*-conjugation : *anugahinevu*.

Root *jñā*. The future *jānīsaṃti* and the infinitive *ājānītave* are formed from the present *jānāti*.

## Tenth Sanskrit class.

(a) With *aya* : *abhyunnāmayehaṃ*, *saṃpaṭipādayaṃti*, *pāyamīnā* (from *pāyati* = *pāyeti*; see Childers, *Pāli Dictionary*, s.v. *pivati*), *palibhasayisaṃ* (future of the causative of Pāli *bhassati* = Skt. *bhrāsyati*; see Michelson, IF, 23. 263), *ālādhayevu*, *āvāsayaṃti*, *vivāsayātha*, *paṭi[vedayaṃti\*]*, *pavatayevū*, *visvaṃsayitave*.

(b) With *paya* : *jhāpayitaviye* and *jhāpetaviye* (from root *kshai*). The long vowel of the roots *jñā*, *dā*, *dhyai* is shortened in *ānapayati*, *vināpayitaviye*, *saṃādapayitave*, *nijhapayisaṃti*, *nijhapayitā*, *nijhapayitave*.

(c) With *āpaya* : *kālāpita*, *[sa]ṃnamdhāpayiyā* and *saṃnamdhāpayitu* (from root *\*nadh* = Skt. *nah*), *likhāpita*, *vā[sā]petaviy[e]*, *vivāśāpayāthā*, *sāvāpayāmi*.

(d) With *pāpaya* : *lopāpita*, *usapāpita*; cf. *Ardhamāgadhī ūsaviya* (= *\*uchchhrapita*) in Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 64, and Skt. *uchchhrāpayati*. Similar forms are *viññāpāpeti* in E. Müller's *Pāli Grammar*, p. 122, *ṭhapāpeti* in Geiger's *Pāli*, § 182, and *davāvei* in Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 552.

(e) With *āpāpaya* : *khānāpāpitāni*, *likhāpāpitā*.

(f) Denominatives : *tīlita* and *tīlita* (from Skt. *tīrayati*), *sukhayite*, *sukhāyanā*, *sukkhīyanā*, *dukkhīyanā*, *mahīyite*.

## (2) Moods.

## (a) Indicative.

1. sing. *paṭivekkhāmi*, *vidahāmi*.
3. sing. *dekkhati*, *hoti*, *vaḍhati*, *athi*, *eti*, *yāti*, *ānapayati*.
3. plur. *laghaṃti*, *dekkhaṃti*, *saṃpaṭipādayaṃti*, *paṭi[vedayaṃti\*]*.

## (b) Subjunctive.

1. sing. *āvahāmi*, *anus[ā]sāmi*, *sāvāpayāmi*.
3. sing. *huvāti* (Sārnāth, l. 6).
2. plur. *nikhipātha*, *palivovadātha*, *vivāsayātha*, *vivāśāpayāthā*.

## (c) Optative.

1. sing. *abhyunnāmayehaṃ*; cf. above, pp. lxxxii, cix.
3. sing. *siyā* and *siya*, *anu[pa]ṭipajeyā*, *pāpovā* and *pāpova* (from the strong base *prāpnō-*), *vaḍheyā*.
3. plur. *yāvu*, *upadahevū*, *anugahinevū*, *ālādhayevū*, *pavatayevū*.

## (d) Imperative.

3. sing. *hotu*; 3. plur. *anupaṭipajāntu*.

## II. AORIST.

3. sing. middle : *huthā*, *vaḍhithā*.
3. plur. active : *husu*, *ichhisu*.

## III. PERFECT.

3. sing. *āha*, *āhā*, *ahā*, the last of which is unreduplicated; see Michelson, IF, 23. 244.



## IV. FUTURE.

1. sing. *palibhasayisam*. Cf. *likhāpayisam* at Girmār.  
 3. sing. *abhyūñnamisati*, *vādhisati* and *vādhīsati*, *anupaṭipajisati* (from the present \**pajjati* = Skt. *padyatē*), *saṃpaṭipajisati* and \**pajisati*, *chaghati* (from root *chak* = Skt. *śak*), *bh[ā]khati* (= Skt. *bhaṅkshyati*), *kachhati* (see above, p. lxxxiii, n. 1).  
 3. plur. *paṭichalisanti*, *vādhisanti*, *hosanti* and *hohanti*, *patiyovadisanti*, *viyovadisanti*, *pavithalisanti* (from root *strī*), *dāhanti*, *chaghamti*, *kachhamti*, *jānisanti* (from the present *jānāti*), *nijhapayisanti*.

## V. PASSIVE.

3. sing. indicative *khādiyati*, *nīlakhiyati*, *ganīyati* (Queen's edict, l. 4).  
 3. plur. indicative *anuvidhīyanti* and \**dhiyanti*.

## VI. PARTICIPLES.

## (1) Present participle.

Active: *saṃtām*, *anupaṭipajamām*.  
 Middle: *anuvekhamāne*, *pāyamīnā*.

## (2) Past passive participle.

(a) In *-ta*: *mata* (Delhi-Tōprā) and *muta* (= Skt. *mata*), *kaṭa*, *viyāpaṭa*, *tilita* and *tilita*, *mahīyita*, *sukhayita*,<sup>1</sup> *ānapita*, *kālāpita*, *sāvāpita*, *lopāpita*, *khānāpāpita*, *likhāpita*, *likhāpāpita*, *atikamta*, *āyata* (i. e. *āyatta*), *nikhita* (= *nikshipta*), *viyata* (= *vyakta*), *yuta* (= *yukta*), *badha* (i. e. *baddha*), *nīludha* (= *niruddha*), *ālādha* (= \**ārāddha*), *pata* (= *prāpta*), *apakāṭha* (= *apakṛishṭa*), *asvatha* (= *āsvasta*), &c.

(b) In *-na*: *anūp[a]ṭipamna*, *patyāsamna* and *patiyāsamna*, *dimna* (for \**didna*; see Pischel's *Grammatik*, p. 386).

## (3) Future passive participle.

(a) In *-tavya*: *hamtaviya*, *viketaviya*, *vataviya*, *kaṭaviya*, *ichhitaviya* (from the present *ichchhati*), *pusitaviya* (from *pushyati*), *vinnapayitaviya*, *jhāpayitaviya* and *jhāpetaviya* (from the causative of *kshaṭ*), *vā[sā]petaviya*. In *nīlakhitaviya* (= \**nīrlakshayitavya*) the causative character *aya* is neglected.

(b) In *-ya*: *dekhiya* (from the present *dekhati*), *l[a]hiya* (from root *labh*), *avadhya* and *avadhiya*, *dupaṭivekha*, *dusampaṭipādaya*, *āvāsaviya* (for \**āvāsavya*).<sup>2</sup>

## VII. INFINITIVE.

*bhetave* (from root *bhid*), *palihatave*, *paṭichalitave*, *ājāmitave*, *ālādhayitave*, *visvanisayitave*, *samādapayitave*, *nijhapayitave*.

## VIII. ABSOLUTE.

- (a) In *-tvā*: *sutu* (= Skt. *śrutvā*), *nīsijitu* (from the present *nīsrijati*), *sanamdhāpayitu*.  
 (b) In *-ya*: *āgācha* (= *āgatya*), *[sa]nnamdhāpayiyā*.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In this form the causative character *aya* of the present *sukhayati* is retained, as in *ānapayite* at Kālsī, *[anapayit]e* at Mānsehrā, and *ānāp[ay]i[ta]* at Dhauli.

<sup>2</sup> The correct Sanskrit form would be *āvāsya*; cf. the preceding note.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. the two last notes and Pāṇini, VI, 4, 57, who allows both *prāpayya* and *prāpya* to be formed from *prāpayati*.



## CHAPTER XI

### GRAMMAR OF THE MINOR ROCK-INSCRIPTIONS

THE language of most of these inscriptions strongly resembles the Māgadha dialect of the pillar-edicts and of the Dhauli and Jaugaḍa rock-edicts. But, for practical reasons, it appears more convenient to treat the grammar of the minor rock-inscriptions in a separate chapter. The three Mysore edicts (Brahmagiri, Śiddāpura, and Jaṭiṅga-Rāmēśvara) exhibit a number of dialectical peculiarities and are therefore considered in a special sub-division.

#### I. THE FIVE ROCK-INSCRIPTIONS AT RUPNATH, ETC., AND THE THREE BARABAR HILL CAVE-INSCRIPTIONS

##### A.—PHONETICS

###### (1) VOWELS.

The vowel *a* becomes *u* after *m* in *munisā*, and *i* after *y* in the future *vaḍhisiti* (Rūpnāth and Maski) = *vaḍhisati* (Sahasrām and Bairāt); cf. Śaurasēnī *bhavissidi*, &c., in Hēmachandra, IV, 275, and in the southern manuscripts of Indian dramas. For the *e* of *hetā* (Sahasrām) and for the *i* of *munisā* see above, p. lxx. The abstract *gālava* (= Prākṛit and Pāli *gāraḥa*) presupposes the adjective *galu* (= Skt. *guru*), in which *a* corresponds to Skt. *u*; see above, p. lvi. For *o* = Skt. *u* in *kho*, see *ibid.* and n. 2. The diphthong *au* becomes *o* in *moneya*.

*ri* becomes (1) *a* in *kaṭā*, *dakḥitaviye*, *vaḍhi*; (2) *u* in *musā* (= Skt. *mṛishā*), *sun[e]yu*; (3) *i* in *adhigichya* (= Skt. *adhikṛitya*), *diseyā* (optative of *driśyatē*). In *aḍhati[y]a* (= Pāli *aḍḍhatiya* and Skt. *ardhatṛitiya*) the syllable *tri* is lost, as in Ardhamāgadhi *aḍḍhāijja*; see Geiger's *Pāli*, § 65, 2, and cf. Pāli *aḍḍhuddha* = Skt. *ardhachaturtha*.

Interconsonantal *a* and *i* are lengthened in *-[a]thāta* (?) and *chila-ṭhitike*. Final *a* is lengthened in *evā* and *vā* (= Skt. *ēva*), *chā*, *hetā*, *āhā*, *[likhāpa]yāthā*, *h[a]mā*, *etenī(nā)*, *apaladhiyenā*, &c. (below, p. cxxvi). Final *i* and *u* are lengthened before *iti* in *saṅghasī ti*, *hosatī ti*, *jānamitū ti*, and final *u* which stands for *ur* in *upadhāl[a]yeyū*.

Initial *ā* is shortened in *ahāle* (Rūpnāth); interconsonantal *i* and *ū* in *misibhūtā* (Maski), *Jambudīpasi* (= *°dīpasi* at Sahasrām), *pa[ka]mam[i]menā* (cf. *palakamamīnenā* at Sahasrām), *ekunavisati* (Barābar); final *ā* and *i* in *lāja* (Barābar) = *lājā* (Calcutta-Bairāt), *sata* (Rūpnāth) = *satā* (Sahasrām), *Pr[i]yadas[i]* (Calcutta-Bairāt) = *Piyadasī* (Barābar).

Initial vowels are dropped in *pi* (= Skt. *api*), *sumi* (for *\*smi* = Skt. *asmi*), *hakam* (for *ahakam* = *aham*), *ti* (= *iti*), *kiṁti* and *kiti*, *dāni* (= *idānim*), *va* and *vā* (= *ēva*).

###### (2) SIMPLE CONSONANTS.

Intervocalic *k* is softened in *adhigichya* (Skt. = *adhikṛitya*) and appears to have become *y* in *diyadhiya* (= *\*dvikārdhya*).<sup>1</sup> *gh* is preserved in *Lāghula* (= *Rāhula*) and suggests that this name of Buddha's son is derived from the ancient hero *Raghu*. In *kubhā* (Barābar) = Skt. *guhā*, 'a cave', *k* and *bh* at first sight appear to correspond to Skt. *g* and *h*. But each of the two words may have a distinct origin. While *guhā* is connected with the root *guh*, 'to hide', *kubhā* may be related to *kumbha*, 'a pot' (originally 'a cavity'), and Greek *κύβη*, 'a (hollow) boat'.<sup>2</sup>

Lingual *ṣ* is replaced by dental *n* throughout, but is improperly used at Calcutta-Bairāt in *Aliya-vasāṇi* (= Skt. *Ārya-vamśāḥ*).

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *diyadha* and *diadha*, above, pp. lxxi and lxxxv.

<sup>2</sup> The same root has assumed the slightly different meaning of 'a round projection' in Ancien Persian *kaufa*, 'a mountain', Avestan *kaofa*, 'a mountain, the hump of a camel', and Skt. *kakubh*, 'a peak'; cf. *kakud*, 'a peak, a hump'.



Dentals are lingualized in *uḍāla* (= Pāli *uḷāra* and Skt. *udāra*), *duvāḍasa*, and after *ṛi* in *kaḷā, vadhi*. *t* is palatalized in *adhigichya* (= Skt. *adhikṛitya*). *dh* seems to be preserved in *ha(hi)dha* (= *idha* at Girnār?), but has become *h* in [*nigoha*] (= Skt. *nyagrōdha*).

Intervocalic *p* becomes *v* in *pāv[a]t[a]ve* (Sahasrām), the infinitive of \**prāpati* (= Skt. *prāpnōti*). *bh* becomes *h* in *hotu, hosatī, husu, devchi, [ā]vi[kehi]*.

*y* is dropped at the beginning of *āvatake* (from Skt. *yāvat*), *aṃ* and *e* (= *yat*). The syllable *ya* becomes *i* in [*nigoha*] (= *nyagrōdha*). *aya* and *ayi* become *e* in *lekhāpetā, lā(li)khāpetavaya, ārodheve* (read *ārādhētave*) and [*ā*]lādheta[*v*]e, *abhivāde[tū]naṃ*.

As in the Māgadha dialect, *r* becomes *l*; but it is preserved at Rūpnāth in *ārodheve* (read *ārādhētave*), *chira-ṭhitike, chha(sa)vachhare, sāti[ra]kekāni* (read *sātirekāni*), and at Maski in *pure, [sā]ire[ke]*.

*v* becomes *p* in *apaladhiyenā* (Rūpnāth) = *aval[a]dhiyenā* (Sahasrām). It is developed out of *u* in *vivutha* (Sahasrām) = *vy[u]tha* (Rūpnāth). *ava* and *avi* become *o* in *-ovāde, hotu, hosatī*.

*ś* and *sh* have generally become *s*. But *ś* is preserved at Maski in *Śake* (= Skt. *Śākyah*) and is improperly used at Bairāt in *svage* (= *svage* at Rūpnāth); *sh* is preserved at Maski in *vashā[ni]*. In [*cha*]kye and *chakiye*, *ś* is represented by *ch*; cf. above, pp. ci and cxiii.

*h* is prefixed in *ha(hi)dha* (?), *hetā, hevaṃ*.

Final consonants are dropped. *ā* (for *ās*) is shortened in *saṃta* and *-deva* (Sahasrām, l. 2 f.). *as* becomes *e*; see *pure*<sup>1</sup> (= Skt. *puras*), *ve* (= *vas*), *bhikhuniye* (nom. plur.), *aṭhe*, &c. It is represented by *ā* in *esā* (nom. sing. neut.), and by *a* in *-[a]thāta* (?), *esa* (nom. sing. neut.), *yāvataka* and *vālata* (Rūpnāth).

Final *a* is nasalized in *chaṃ* (Calcutta-Bairāt, l. 2), while final Anusvāra is omitted in *ima, iya, tupaka* (for *tuphākāni*), *diyāḍhiya* (Rūpnāth), *prakāsa, [bā]dha, vadhi* (acc.), *vipula, sagh[a]* (acc.). The nom. sing. of neuters in *-a* generally follows the analogy of the masculine and ends in *-e*; see *phale*, &c. The termination *-aṃ* is replaced by *-i* in *bāḍhi* (Rūpnāth, ll. 1, 2); cf. *ayi* for *ayaṃ* at Shāhbāzgarhi.<sup>2</sup> The long nasal vowel *āṃ* is shortened in the termination (*-aṃ*) of the acc. sing. of feminines in *-ā* (below, p. cxxvi), and *im* becomes *i* in *dāni* (= Skt. *idānim*).

### (3) SANDHI.

Final *m* is preserved and doubled in *hevaṃmevā* (Calcutta-Bairāt, l. 8).

*a + ā* becomes *ā* in *-vasābhisita, sātīleke, sādhi[ke], ap[ā]bādhatam, ja[lagh]o[sāgama]* (?). The *ā* which results from the contraction is shortened before a group of consonants in *-[āgama]thāta* (?), *apaladhiyenā* and *aval[a]dhiyenā, diyāḍhiyam*, but the length is preserved in *diyāḍhiyam* (Sahasrām). Final *ā* is elided before *u, e, o* in *chu* (= *cha + u*), *ekunavīsati, ma[ha]tanseva, Lāghul-ovāde*.

### (4) GROUPS OF CONSONANTS.

The only groups which occasionally remain unassimilated are *ky, ty* (which becomes *chy*), *pr, rv, vy, sv*.

A long vowel preceding a group is shortened in *aliya* (= Skt. *ārya*), *pa[la]kamamtu* (= *parākra*<sup>o</sup>), *palakamamīnenā, [palaka]m[te]*, *mahata-* (= *mahātman*), *Śake* and [*Sa*]k[te] (= *Śākyah*), *abhikhinam* (= *abhikshyam*). But the length remains in *p[a]l[a]kame* (Sahasrām), *p[ā]potave* (from *prāpnōti*), *lāti* (= *rātri*), *sūte* (= *sūtram*). A short vowel preceding a group is lengthened in *v[ā]tave* (infinitive of *vach*).

The long nasal vowel *āṃ* is shortened before consonants in [*palaka*]m[te]<sup>3</sup> and *Devānāmpiya* (Rūpnāth and Maski), but remains in *Devānāmpiya* (Sahasrām and Bairāt). In *bhaṃte*, a Buddhist term of address which stands perhaps for *bhaddaṃte*<sup>4</sup> = Skt. *bhadraṃ te*, 'happiness to you', the syllable *dda* is elided. The nasal vowel *iṃ* is replaced by a length in *ekunavīsati*. Anusvāra is sometimes omitted after *a*; see the infinitive *adhigatave* (Maski), *atā* (Rūpnāth) = *amitā* (Sahasrām and

<sup>1</sup> The same form is used in Ardhamāgadhi and Pāli. Cf. also [*p*]ule at Kālsī, I, l. 3.

<sup>2</sup> Also Pāli *saddhiṃ* = Skt. *sārdham*, &c.; see Geiger's *Pāli*, § 22.

<sup>3</sup> The Anusvāra is omitted at the same time in *pakate* (= Skt. *prākṛāntah*).

<sup>4</sup> See Childers, *Pāli Dictionary*, s. v. *bhadanto*. According to Hēmachandra, IV, 287, *bhaṃte* is the Māgadhi voc. sing. of *bhadanta*.



Bairāt), *th[abh]e* (but *tha[m]bhasi* and *tham[bh]ā*), *pakamatu* (3. plur.), *[pala]kamatu* (Bairāt) = *pa[la]kamanitu* (Sahasrām), *vayajanenā* (= Skt. *vyāñjanēna*), *Aliya-vasāni* (= *Ārya-vamśāḥ*), *saghe* (= *saṁghaḥ*), *chha(sa)vachhare* and *sav[a]chhale* (= *saṁvatsaraḥ*). The final *a* of the first member of a compound is nasalized at Sahasrām in *[m]isam-deva* and *animisam-[de]vā* (read *ami*<sup>o</sup>).

The auxiliary vowel which is developed within some groups is *u* before labials in *duve*, *duvāḍasa*, *s[u]ag[ē]*, *sumi*; *a* in *alahāmi*, *lā(li)khāpetavaya*, *vayajanenā*; and frequently *i*, as will appear from the subjoined list of Sanskrit groups and of their equivalents in the rock-inscriptions at Rūpnāth, &c.

*kt* becomes *t* in *abhisita*, &c.

*ky* remains in *[cha]kye* (Bairāt), but becomes *kiy* in *chakiye*, *sakiye*, and *k* in *sake* (= Skt. *śakyah*), *Śake* and *[Sa]k[ē]* (= *Śākyah*).

*kr* becomes *k* in *pakamasi*, *pa[la]kamanitu*, &c.

*ksh* becomes *kh* in *khudaka*, *bhikhu*, *bhikhuniye*, *dakhitaviye*.<sup>1</sup>

*kshṇ* becomes *khin* in *abhikhinam*.

*khl* becomes *kh* in *kho* = Skt. *khalu*; see above, p. lvi and n. 2.

*gr* becomes *g* in *[nigoha]* (= Skt. *nyagrōdha*).

*jñ* becomes *jin* in *lājinā*.

*ñch* becomes *ñin* in *sapañnā* = Skt. *śatpañchāśat*; cf. *pañnaḍasā*, &c., in the pillar-edict V.

*ṭp* becomes *p* in *sapañnā*.

*tk* becomes *k* in *samukase*.

*tm* becomes *t* in *mahata-* (= Skt. *mahātman*).

*ty* becomes *chy* in *adhigichya* (= Skt. *adhikṛitya*).

*tr* becomes *t* in *tata*, *lāti*, *sūte*, *hetā*.

*tv* becomes *t* in *mahatatā* (= Skt. *mahātmatvāt*).

*ts* becomes *chh* in *chha(sa)vachhare* and *sav[a]chhal*.

*tsth* becomes *th* in *[uṣṭhānam]*.<sup>2</sup>

*ḍr* becomes *d* in *khudaka*, *bha[dak]e*.

*dv* becomes *duv* in *duve*, *duvāḍasa*; *d* in *Jambudīpasi*, *diyadhiyam*.

*pn* becomes *p* in *p[ā]potave* (from Skt. *prāpnōti*).

*pr* remains in *prakāsa* (Rūpnāth) and in *abhipretam*, *prasāde*, *Pr[i]yadas[i]* (Calcutta-Bairāt), but becomes *p* in *Piyadasī*, &c., and perhaps *ph* in *phāsu* = Vedic *prāsu* (?); see Geiger's *Pāli*, § 62, 1.

*rg* becomes *g* in *svage*.

*rth* becomes *th* in *aṭha*, and perhaps *th* in *-[a]thāta* (?).

*rdh* becomes *dh* in *aḍhati[y]āni*, *vaḍhisati* and *vaḍhisiti*.

*rdhy* becomes *dhiy* in *apaladhiyenā* and *aval[a]dhiyenā*; *dhiy* in *diyadhiyam*.

*rm* becomes *m* in *dhamma* (spelt *dhama* at Maski, l. 5).

*ry* becomes *liy* in *aliya* (= Skt. *ārya*) and *paliyāya*.

*rv* remains in *sarve* (Calcutta-Bairāt, l. 3), but becomes *v* in *pavata* and *pavatis[u]*.

*rs* becomes *s* in *Piyadasī*.

*rsh* becomes *sh* in *vashā[ni]* (Maski, l. 2); *s* in *vasa* and *samukase*.

*rh* becomes *lah* in *alahāmi*.

*lp* becomes *p* in *ap[ā]bādhataṁ*.

*vy* remains in *vy[u]thenā*, but becomes *viy* in *dakhitaviye*, *vataviyā*, *vivasetavā(vi)[ya]*, and *vay* in *lā(li)khāpetavaya* and *vayajanenā*.

*śn* becomes *sin* in *pasine* (= Skt. *praśnah*).

*śy* becomes *s* in the optative passive *diseyā*.

*śr* becomes *s* in *misa* and *sāvane*.

*shṭ* becomes *th* in *vy[u]tha* (Rūpnāth); *th* in *vivutha* (Sahasrām).

*shm* becomes *ph* in *tupaka* (read perhaps *tuphākam*, as at Sārnāth).

*shy* becomes *s* in *Upatisa*, *munisā*, *vaḍhisati* and *vaḍhisiti*, *hosati*.

*st* becomes *th* in *athi* and *tham[bh]a* (Sahasrām); *th* in *tha[m]bha* (Rūpnāth).

*sth* becomes *th* in *chira-thitike* and *chila-thitike*.

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. lxxiv, n. 5.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. above, p. ciii.



*sm* becomes *sum* in *sumi* (= Skt. *asmī*); *s* in the loc. sing. in *-asi*.

*sy* becomes *siy* in *siyā* (= Skt. *syāt*); *s* in the gen. sing. in *-asa*.

*sv* remains in *svage* (spelt *svage* at Bairāt), but becomes *su* in *s[u]ag[ε]* (Sahasrām).

## B.—DECLENSION

### (1) Masculines and neuters in *-a*.

Singular.	Plural.
Nom. masc. <i>athe</i> , &c.; neut. <i>phale</i> , &c.	Masc. <i>devā</i> , &c.; neut. <i>bhayāni</i> , &c.
Acc. masc. <i>saṃghaṃ</i> , &c.; neut. <i>vipulaṃ</i> , &c.	<i>devehi</i> .
Instr. <i>Budhena</i> , &c.	[ <i>ājīvi</i> ] <i>kehi</i> .
Dat. <i>kālāya</i> , <i>aṭhāya</i> , <i>aṭh[ā]ye</i> .	
Abl. <i>mahatatā</i> .	
Gen. <i>Asok[a]sa</i> , <i>Dev[ā]na[m]piyasa</i> .	
Loc. <i>Budhasi</i> , &c.	<i>pavatesu</i> .

In the nom. sing. masc. *yāvataka* and the nom. sing. neut. *lā(lī)khāpetavaya*, *vīvasetavā(vi)[ya]* at Rūpnāth, *-a* is perhaps only a clerical error for *-e*.

In the acc. sing. masc. *sagk[a]* (for *saṃghaṃ*) and the acc. sing. neut. *vipula* at Rūpnāth, the final Anusvāra is omitted.

The final *a* of the instr. sing. is lengthened in *apaladhiyenā*, *aval[a]dhiyenā*, *-abhisitenā*, *pa[ka]mam[i]nenā*, *palakamamīnenā*, *vayajanenā*, *vy[u]thenā*.

At Barābar we seem to have a loc. sing. in *-e*: *su[p]i[y]e*.

The final *ā* of the nom. plur. masc. is shortened in *-deva* (Sahasrām, l. 3).

The Sanskrit masculines *pariyāya*, *vaṃśa*, *saṃvatsara* form the nom. and acc. plur. *pariyāyāni*, *vaṃśāni*, [*savachhalāni*], with the termination of the neuter. The nom. plur. neut. has the ending *-ā* at Sahasrām (l. 6 f.) in *lāti-satā vivuthā*; at Rūpnāth (l. 5 f.) we have *sata* instead of *satā*.

### (2) Feminines in *-ā*.

Nom. sing. *kubhā*, *dinā*; acc. sing. *ap[ā]bādhatam*, *phāsu-vihālatam*; nom. plur. *upāsikā*, *gāthā*.

### (3) Feminines in *-i* and *-ī*.

Acc. sing. *vaḍhi*; nom. plur. *bhikhuniye*; loc. plur. *pavatis[u]*.<sup>1</sup>

### (4) Masculines in *-at*.

Nom. sing. *kalamtam*; instr. sing. *bhagavatā*; nom. plur. *saṃta* (for either *saṃtā* or *saṃte*).

### (5) Masculines in *-an*.

Nom. sing. *lājā*, *lāja*; instr. sing. *lājinā*, *ma[ha]tan[ā]*.

### (6) Masculine in *-in*.

Nom. sing. *Piyadasī*, *Pr[i]yadas[i]*; instr. sing. *Piyadasinā*.

## C.—PRONOUNS

### (1) Pronoun of the first person.

Nom. sing. *hakam*.

Instr. sing. *mamayā*, *hamiyāye*, [*me*].

Gen. sing. *h[a]mā*, *me*.

<sup>1</sup> The feminine *parvati* (= *parvata*) occurs in the *Taittiriya-Saṃhitā*; see Böhtlingk's *Wörterbuch*, s. v.



The genitive *h[a]mā* is a compromise between the usual form *mama* or *mamā* and the nom. \**ham* (for Skt. *aham*). With the instr. *hamiyāye* cf. *mamiyāye* at Jaugaḍa.

(2) Pronoun of the second person.

Dat. plur. *ve* (= Skt. *vah*), which is used for the nom. at Maski (l. 7); gen. plur. *tupaka* (Rūpnāth), which is probably a clerical error for *tuphākam* (Sārṇāth).

(3) Base *ta*.

Nom. sing. masc. and neut. *se*; acc. sing. neut. *ta[m̐]*, *se*; nom. plur. masc. *te*.

(4) Base *ita*.

Nom. sing. neut. *esa*, *esā*, *e[s]e*; instr. sing. [*etena*], *eteni(nā)*, *etinā*; dat. sing. *etāye*, *etiya*; acc. plur. neut. *etāni*.

With the forms *etinā* and *etiya* at Rūpnāth cf. the gen. sing. *etisa* in the two Kharōshthī versions of the rock-edicts, and *etishā* at Kālsī.

(5) Demonstrative *idam*.

Singular.	Plural.
Nom. masc. <i>iya[m̐]</i> , <i>iya</i> ; neut. <i>iyam̐</i> .	Neut. <i>imāni</i> .
Acc. masc. <i>ima</i> ; neut. <i>imam̐</i> .	
Dat. [ <i>i</i> ]māyā.	

Nom. sing. fem. *iyam̐*.

(6) Interrogative pronoun.

The base *ki* forms part of the conjunction *kiṃti* or *kiti*, and the base *ka* of the indefinite *kechi* (nom. sing. neut.).

(7) Relative pronoun.

Nom. sing. masc. and neut. *e*; acc. sing. neut. *ya*, *am̐*; nom. plur. masc. *yā*, which follows the analogy of the nouns in *-a*, and [*ye*].

(8) Base *sarva*.

Nom. sing. neut. *sarve*.

## D.—NUMERALS

Two: nom. neut. *duve*.

Twelve: *duvāḍasa*.

Nineteen: *ekunavīsati*.

Fifty-six: *sapaṃnā*. For *paṃnā* = Skt. *pañchāṣat*, see Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 445

Hundred: *satā* and *sata* (nom. plur.).

## E.—CONJUGATION

(1) PRESENT.

(a) Indicative.

1. sing. *alahāmi*, *sumi*, *ichhāmi*, *likhā[pa]yāmi*.

3. sing. *athi*.

(b) Subjunctive.

2. plur. [*likhāpa*]yāthā.



(c) Optative.

3. sing. *adhigachh[e]yā, siyā, diseyā* (passive).  
3. plur. *sun[e]yu* (= *shune[y]u* at Kālsī), *upadhāl[a]yeyā*.

(d) Imperative.

3. sing. *hotu*.  
2. plur. *lekhāpeta, [likhāpayatha]*.  
3. plur. *pakamatu* (for °*maintu*), *palakamāntu, jānāntu*.

(2) AORIST: 3. plur. *husu*.

(3) PERFECT: 3. sing. *āhā*.

(4) FUTURE.

3. sing. *hosatī, vadhisatī* and *vadhisitī*.

(5) PARTICIPLES.

(a) Present Participle.

Active: *kalāntam, samta* (nom. plur.).  
Middle: *pa[ka]mam[i]na, palakamamīna*.

(b) Past passive participle.

In *-ta*: *kaṭa, pakata* (= Skt. *prakrānta*), *vy[u]tha* and *vivutha* (from *vi-vas*), &c.  
In *-na*: *dina* (i. e. *dinna*); see above, p. cxvii.

(c) Future passive participle.

In *-tava*: *dakhitaviya, vataviya, lā(li)khāpetavaya, vivasetavā(vi)[ya]*.  
In *-ya*: *sakiya* and *saka, [cha]kya* and *chakiya*.

(6) INFINITIVE.

*adhigatave, v[ā]tave* (from root *vach*), *p[ā]potave* (from Skt. *prāpnōti*), *pāv[a]t[a]ve* (from \**prāpati*; see Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 504), *ārodheve* (read *ārādheta*) and *[ā]lādheta[v]e*.

(7) ABSOLUTE.

*abhivāde[tū]nam*; cf. Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 585.

## II. THE THREE ROCK-INSCRIPTIONS IN THE MYSORE STATE

### A.—PHONETICS

#### (1) VOWELS.

For *vadhisitī* and *munisā*, see above, p. cxviii. Skt. *u* is represented by *a* in *garu* (= *guru*). For *o* = Skt. *u* in *kho*, see above, p. lvi and n. 2. *ṛi* becomes (1) *i* in *pakiti* (= *prakṛitih*), *pitisu* (= *pitṛishu*); (2) *u* in *pitusu*; (3) *ra* in *drahyitavyam* (from *drīhyati*). *au* becomes *o* in *porāṇā*.

Interconsonantal *a* or *i* are lengthened in *aḍhātiya* (= Ardhamāgadhī *aḍḍhāijja*; see above, p. cxviii), *upayita* (= Skt. *upēta*), *chira-ṭhitike, Suvamṇagirite*, and final *i*, which stands for *is*, in *pakiti*. Initial *a* and *i* are lost in *pi, hakaṁ, ti*.



## (2) SIMPLE CONSONANTS.

The three Mysore inscriptions agree with the Gīrnār, Shāhbāzgarhī, and Mānsehrā rock-edicts in retaining the letter *r*, which has become *l* in the Māgadha dialect.

Skt. *ṛ* is preserved in *guṇā*, *paka[m]i* . . . *ṛeṇa* (read *pakamamīṇeṇa*), *porāṇā*, *prāṇesu*, *mahāmātāṇaṃ*, *li[pi]kareṇa*, *Suvāṇṇagīrīte*, *sāvaṇe*, but is replaced by dental *n* in *adhātīyāni*, *khudakena*, *vasāni*. It is used instead of *n* in *Devāṇāmpīya* (Brahmagīri and Jaṭiṅga-Rāmēśvara) = [*Dev*]ā[*na*]m̐piya (Śiddāpura) and corresponds to Skt. *jñ* in *āṇapayati*.<sup>1</sup>

*k* appears to have become *y* in *diyadhīya* (= \**dvikārdhya*). *bh* becomes *h* in *hoti*, *husaṃ*, *devehi*.

*y* is developed out of *i* in *upayīte* and becomes *v* before *u* in *di[gh]āvuse*. *ayi* becomes *e* in *ārādhētave*. *ava* becomes *o* in *hoti*.

*ś* and *sh* have become *s* throughout; but *ś* is improperly used for *s* in [*ā*]char[*i*]yaśa (Jaṭiṅga-Rāmēśvara) and śa[*cha*]m̐ (Śiddāpura). *h* is prefixed in *hevaṃ* and *hemeva*.

Final *as* becomes *e* in *Suvāṇṇagīrīte*, *aṭhe*, &c., but *a* in *esa* (nom. sing. neut.). Final Anusvāra is omitted in *iya* and *bādha*.

## (3) SANDHI.

Final *m* is preserved, and the syllable *va* is dropped, in *hemeva* (= Skt. *īvamśēva*). Final *a* is elided before *u* in *chu* (= *cha + u*), and before *e* in *mahātpenśeva*. *i + i* become *ī* in *hīyaṃ* (Brahmagīri, l. 4).

## (4) GROUPS OF CONSONANTS.

The only groups which occasionally remain unassimilated are *ky*, *tm* (which becomes *tp*), *dr*, *pr*, *vy*, *sv*, *hy*.

A long vowel preceding a group is shortened in *ayaputasa*, *āchariya*, *avaradhiyā*, *diyadhīyaṃ*, *e[ī]āyathāya*, but the length remains in *āṇapayati*, *di[gh]āvuse*, *pāpotave* (from Skt. *prāpnōti*), *mahāmāta*, *yathārahaṃ*. A short vowel preceding a group is lengthened in *vyūthēna*.

The long nasal vowel *ām̐* is shortened before consonants in [*Dev*]ā[*na*]m̐piye, *prakam̐te* and *pakam̐te*. Anusvāra is omitted after *a* in *atā* and *savachharaṃ*.

*kt* becomes *t* in *vataviya*.

*ky* remains in *sakye* (Brahmagīri), but becomes *k* in *sake* (Śiddāpura).

*kr* becomes *k* in *pakama*, *prakam̐te* and *pakam̐te*.

*ksh* becomes *kh* in *khudaka*.

*khl* becomes *kh* in *kho* = Skt. *khalu*; see above, p. lvi and n. 2.

*gy* becomes *giy* in *ārogiyaṃ*.

*jñ* becomes *ñ* in *ñātika*; *ṛ* in *āṇapayati*.

As in *ātpa-* (= Skt. *ātman*) at Gīrnār, *tm* becomes *tp* in *mahātpa* (= *mahātman*).

*ty* becomes *ch* in *sacham̐*.

*tr* becomes *t* in *ayaputasa*, *mahāmāta*.

*ts* becomes *chk* in *samvachhara*.

*dr* remains in *drakhyitavyaṃ*, but becomes *d* in *khudaka*.

*dv* becomes *d* in *Jambudīpasi* and *diyadhīyaṃ*.

*pn* becomes *p* in *pāpotave* (from Skt. *prāpnōti*).

*pr* remains in *prakam̐te* (Brahmagīri, l. 2), but becomes *p* in *pakam̐te*, &c.

*rg* becomes *g* in *svage*.

*rg̐h* becomes *gh* in *di[gh]āvuse*.

*rñ* becomes *ññ* in *Suvāṇṇagīrīte*.

*rt* becomes *t* in *pavatitaviya*; *ṭ* in *kaṭaviye*.

*rth* becomes *th* in *aṭha*.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Prākṛit *āṇavedi*, and *āṇapemi*, *āṇapita*, &c. at Shāhbāzgarhī and Mānsehrā.



*rdh* becomes *dh* in *adhātiyāni* and *vaḍhisiti*.

*rdhy* becomes *dhiy* in *avaradhiyā*; *dhiy* in *diyaḍhiyaṃ*.

*rm* becomes *nm* in *dhanima*.

*ry* becomes *riy* in *āchariya*; *y* in *ayaputasa*.

*rsh* becomes *s* in *vasāni*.

*rh* becomes *rah* in *yathārahāni*.

*vy* remains in *vyūthēna* and *drahyitavyaṃ*, but becomes *viy* in the remaining gerunds in *-taviya* (= Skt. *-tavya*).

*śr* becomes *s* in *misa*, *sāvaṇe*, *sāvite*, *sāvāpīte*, *susūs[ī]taviye*.

*shṭ* becomes *th* in *vyūthēna*.

*shy* becomes *s* in *munisā* and *vaḍhisiti*.

*sth* becomes *th* in *chira-thittke*.

*sm* becomes *s* in the loc. sing. in *-asi*.

*sy* becomes *s* in the gen. sing. in *-asa*.

*sv* remains in *svage*.

*hy* remains in *drahyitavyaṃ*.

## B.—DECLENSION

(1) Masculines and neuters in *-a*.

Singular.	Plural.
Nom. masc. <i>aṣṭe</i> , &c.; neut. <i>phale</i> , &c.	Masc. <i>ñātikā</i> , &c.; neut. <i>vasāni</i> , &c.
Acc. masc. <i>ekaṃ</i> , <i>savachharaṃ</i> ; neut. <i>ārogiyaṃ</i> , &c.	
Instr. <i>kālena</i> , &c.	<i>devehi</i> .
Dat. <i>aṣṭāya</i> .	
Abl. <i>avaradhiyā</i> .	
Gen. <i>ayaputasa</i> , <i>pakamasa</i> .	<i>mahāmātānaṃ</i> .
Loc. <i>Isilasi</i> , <i>Jambudīpasi</i> .	<i>ñātikesu</i> , <i>prāṇesu</i> .

The termination of the nom. sing. neut. is *-aṃ* in [*likhita*]*ni* (Jaṭiṅga-Rāmēśvara) = *likhite* (Brahmagiri), *vataṭvīyaṃ*, *sachāṃ*.

(2) Feminine in *-ā*: nom. sing. *porāṇā*.

(3) Feminine in *-ī*: nom. sing. *pakīṭī*.

(4) Masculine in *-u*: loc. plur. *garu[su]*.

(5) Masculine in *-ri*: loc. plur. *pīṭisu* (Brahmagiri) and *pītusu* (Jaṭiṅga-Rāmēśvara).

(6) Masculine in *-an*. The Sanskrit base *mahātman* follows the *a*-declension: instr. sing. *mahātman[a]*; nom. plur. *mahātpā*.

(7) Masculine in *-in*: instr. sing. *amtevaśinā*.

## C.—PRONOUNS

(1) Pronoun of the first person.

Nom. sing. *hakam*; instr. *mayā*, *me*; gen. *mai* (read *me*).

(2) Base *ta*.

Acc. sing. neut. *se*; nom. plur. masc. *se*.

(3) Base *ēta*.

Nom. sing. neut. *esa*; dat. sing. *e[ī]āya*; nom. sing. fem. *esā*.



(4) Demonstrative *idam*.

Singular.	Plural.
Nom. masc. <i>iyañ</i> ; neut. <i>iyam, iya</i> .	Masc. <i>imc</i> .
Acc. masc. <i>imam</i> .	
Instr. <i>iminā</i> .	

## (5) Relative pronoun.

Acc. sing. neut. *ya, yam*.

## D.—CONJUGATION

## (1) Present.

- (a) Indicative: 3. sing. *hoti, āṇapayati*.  
 (b) Optative: 3. plur. *pakameyu, jāneyu* (which follows the *a*-conjugation).

(2) Aorist: 1. sing. *husam*.

(3) Perfect: 3. sing. *āha*.

(4) Future: 3. sing. *vaḍhisiti*.

## (5) Participles.

- (a) Present middle participle: *paka[m]i . . ṇa* (read *pakamamīṇa*), *samāna* (from root *as*).  
 (b) Past passive participle: *upayīta* (from *upa-i*), *prakamta* and *pakamta* (= Skt. *prakrānta*), *vyūtha* (from *vi-vas*), &c.  
 (c) Future passive participle: *vataviya, kaṭaviya, drahyitavya* (from the present *dṛihyati*), *apachāyitaviya, pavatitaviya, susūs[i]taviya* (from the desiderative of *śru*).

## (6) Infinitive.

*pāpotave* (from Skt. *prāpuṇōti*), *ārādhetave*.







# TEXTS AND TRANSLATIONS

## FIRST PART: THE ROCK-EDICTS

### I. THE GIRNAR ROCK

#### FIRST ROCK-EDICT: GIRNAR

- 1 (A) इयं धंमलिपी देवानंप्रियेन
- 2 प्रियदसिना राजा लेखापिता (B) इध न किं-
- 3 चि जीवं आरभित्पा प्रजूहितव्यं
- 4 (C) न च समाजो कतव्यो (D) बहुकं हि दोसं
- 5 समाजमिह पसति देवानंप्रियो प्रियदसि राजा
- 6 (E) अस्ति पि तु एकचा समाजा साधुमता देवानं-
- 7 प्रियस प्रियदसिनो राजो (F) पुरा महानसमिह
- 8 देवानंप्रियस प्रियदसिनो राजो अनुदिवसं व-
- 9 हूनि प्राणसतसहस्रानि आरभिसु सूपाथाय
- 10 (G) से अज यदा अयं धंमलिपी लिखिता ती एव प्रा-
- 11 णा आरभरे सूपाथाय हो मोरा एको मगो सो पि
- 12 मगो न ध्रुवो (H) एते पि ची प्राणा पछा न आरभिसरे

- 1 (A) iy[am] dhamma-lipī Devānaṃpriyena
- 2 Priyadasinā rāñā lekh[ā]pitā (B) [i]dha na kiṃ-
- 3 chi jīvaṃ ārabhitpā prajūhitavyaṃ
- 4 (C) na cha samājo katavyo (D) bahukaṃ hi dosaṃ
- 5 samājamhi pasati Devānaṃpriyo Priyadasi rājā<sup>1</sup>
- 6 (E) asti pi tu ekachā samājā sādhu-matā Devānaṃ-
- 7 priyasa Priyadasino rāño (F) purā mahānas[amhi]<sup>2</sup>
- 8 Devānaṃpriyasa Priy[a]dasino rāño anudivasam ba-

<sup>1</sup> Before *rājā* a superfluous *ra* seems to have been struck out by the writer.

<sup>2</sup> The first syllable of *mahānasa*<sup>o</sup> looks almost like *me*, and *sa* like *se*. Originally *mahānase* may have been written, to which *mhi* was added subsequently without correcting the *se* into *sa*. As noted by Bühler (EI, 2. 449, n. 10), a second *mhi* was added at the very end of the line.



- 9 hūni prāṇa-sata-sahasrāni ārabhisu sūpāthāya  
 10 (G) se aja yadā ayaṁ dha[m]ma-lip[i] likhitā tī eva prā-  
 11 ṇā ārabhare sūpāthāya dvo morā eko mago so pi  
 12 mago na dhruvo<sup>1</sup> (H) ete pi trī prāṇā pachhā na ārabhisare

## TRANSLATION

(A) This rescript on morality<sup>2</sup> has been caused to be written by king Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin.

(B) Here<sup>3</sup> no living being must be killed and sacrificed.

(C) And no festival meeting<sup>4</sup> must be held.

(D) For king Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin sees much evil in festival meetings.

(E) But there are also some festival meetings which are considered meritorious by king Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin.<sup>5</sup>

(F) Formerly in the kitchen of king Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin many hundred thousands of animals were killed daily for the sake of curry.<sup>6</sup>

(G) But now, when this rescript on morality is written, only three animals are being killed (daily) for the sake of curry,<sup>7</sup> (viz.) two peacocks (and) one deer, (but) even this deer not regularly.

(H) Even these three animals shall not be killed in future.

## SECOND ROCK-EDICT: GIRNAR

- 1 (A) सर्वत विजितम्हि देवानंप्रियस प्रियदसिनो राज्ञो  
 2 एवमपि प्रचतेसु यथा चोडा पाडा सतियपुतो केतलपुतो आ तंव-  
 3 पंखी अंतियको योनराजा ये वा पि तस अंतियकस सामीपं  
 4 राजानो सर्वत्र देवानंप्रियस प्रियदसिनो राज्ञो वे चिकीछ कता

<sup>1</sup> *dhruvo* Senart and Bühler. There are two distinct strokes at the bottom of the *dh*, one of which is *u*, while the upper one is probably *r*. Cf. the *r* of [A] *śikhra* in the Girnār edict XIII, l. 9, and of *aparakaraṇamhi* in edict XII, l. 3.

<sup>2</sup> The literal meaning of *dhamma-lipi* (or *dhrama-dipi* in the two Kharōṣṭhī versions) is 'a writing on morality'. To retain the sense of 'writing', I use the translation 'rescript on morality' instead of 'religious edict' as the term was rendered by Bühler.

<sup>3</sup> viz. 'in my territory'. Cf. the rock-edict XIII, Q and R, and the Rūpnāth rock-inscription, K.

<sup>4</sup> Bühler (ZDMG, 37. 93 f.), D. R. Bhandarkar (JBBRAS, 21. 395 ff.; IA, 42. 255 ff.), and Thomas (JRAS, 1914. 392 ff.) have shown by quotations that this is the actual meaning of the word *samāja*, which Pischel (GGA, 1881. 1324 f.) had translated by 'battue'.

<sup>5</sup> This remark seems to refer to the representations mentioned in the rock-edict IV, B.

<sup>6</sup> D. R. Bhandarkar (IA, 42. 257) quotes *Mahābhārata*, III, 208, 8-10, where 'we are told that 2,000 animals and 2,000 kine were slain every day in the kitchen (*mahānasa*) of king Rantidēva, and that by doling out meat to his people he attained to incomparable fame.' Cf. also XII, 29, 127 f., and VII, 67, 16-18: 'On the nights which guests spent with Rantidēva, the son of Saṁkṛiti, 21,000 kine were killed. Then the cooks, who wore ear-rings of bright jewels, were shouting: "Eat ye a lot of curry (*sūpa*)! There is not so much meat to-day, as formerly!"'

<sup>7</sup> Evidently on behalf of some members of the royal household who refused to turn strict vegetarians.



- 5 मनुसचिकीछा च पसुचिकीछा च (B) ओसुढानि च यानि मनुसोपगानि च  
 6 पसोपगानि च यत यत नास्ति सर्वचा हारापितानि च रोपापितानि च  
 7 (C) मूलानि च फलानि च यत यच नास्ति सर्वत हारापितानि च रोपापितानि च  
 8 (D) पंथेसू कूपा च खानापिता व्रद्धा च रोपापिता परिभोगाय पसुमनुसानं

- 1 (A) sarvata vijitamhi Devānāmpriyasa Piyadasino<sup>1</sup> rāño  
 2 evamapi prachamtesu yathā Chodā Pādā Satiyaputo Ketalaputo ā Tām-  
 3 paṁṇī Antiyako Yona-rājā ye vā pi tasa Antiy[a]kas[a]<sup>2</sup> sāmip[am]<sup>3</sup>  
 4 rājāno sarvatra Devānāmpriyasa Priyadasino rāño dve chikīchha katā  
 5 manusa - chikīchhā cha pasu - chikīchhā cha (B) osuḍhāni cha yāni  
 m[a]nusopagān[i] cha  
 6 paso[pa]gāni cha yata yata nāsti sarvatrā<sup>4</sup> hārāpitāni cha ropāpitāni cha  
 7 (C) mūlāni cha phalāni cha yata yatra<sup>5</sup> nāsti sarvata<sup>6</sup> hārāpitāni cha  
 rop[ā]pitāni cha  
 8 (D) paṁthesū kūpā cha khānāpitā vrachhā cha ropāpit[ā] paribhogāya pasu-  
 manusānam

## TRANSLATION

(A) Everywhere in the dominions of king Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin, and likewise among (his) borderers, such as the Chōḍas, the Pāṇḍyas, the Satiyaputa,<sup>7</sup> the Kētalaputa,<sup>8</sup> even<sup>9</sup> Tāmraparṇī,<sup>10</sup> the Yōna king Antiyaka,<sup>11</sup> and also the

<sup>1</sup> Priya° Bühler.

<sup>2</sup> Thus Senart and Bühler, EI, 2. 449; *Antiyokasā* Bühler, ZDMG, 37. 95.

<sup>3</sup> Bühler (ZDMG, 37. 95) would read *sāmīnam*, which he considered to be a clerical error for *sāmanītā*, the reading of the other versions of this edict. It is quite possible that *sāmanītā* was the original reading of the rock, and that it was subsequently changed by the writer into *sāmīpam* (or *sāmīpā*?).

<sup>4</sup> *sarvatā* Senart, *sarvatra* Bühler.

<sup>5</sup> *yata* Bühler.

<sup>6</sup> *sarvatra* Bühler.

<sup>7</sup> Bühler (ZDMG, 37. 98 ff.) rejected Kern's identification of this term with the Sātputrā range, and explained it by 'the king of the Satvats', whom he located in Western India. D. R. Bhandarkar (JBBRAS, 21. 398) compares Satiyaputa, for which the Kālsī version reads Sātiyaputa, with Sātputē, a surname current among the present Marāṭhās. Lüders (ZDMG, 58. 693 f.) has shown that the Pāli *putta* (= Skt. *putra*) at the end of compounds frequently means 'belonging to a tribe'. He quotes as examples *Andhakaveṇhuputta*, *Videhaputta*, *Bhojaputta*, *Milāchaputta*, *devaputta* (cf. the feminine *devadhītā*), and Skt. *rājaputra*.

<sup>8</sup> Kētalaputa is perhaps a mistake for the reading of the Mānsehrā version: Kēralaputra, i.e. the king of Kērala or Malabar, the *Κηρόβοθρος* of Ptolemy; see Lassen's *Ind. Alt.*, vol. I (sec. ed.), p. 188, note, and vol. III, p. 193.

<sup>9</sup> The syllable *ā* cannot be the preposition *ā*, 'as far as', because the latter would require after it the ablative *Tāmbapaṁṇiyā*, as at Mānsehrā, XIII, Q. Lüders therefore explains it as an Ardhamāgadhī form of the Skt. relative *yā*; see SPAW, 1914. 831.

<sup>10</sup> Tāmraparṇī (*Tāmbapaṁṇī* in Pāli) is one of the ancient names of the island of Ceylon. It occurs in the *Dīpavaṁsa*, and was known already to Megasthenes in the form *Ταμποβάρη*; see IA, 129 and 348. Besides, Tāmraparṇī is the name of a river in the Tinnevely district, which was known to the author of the *Rāmāyaṇa* (Bombay edition, IV, 41, 17).

<sup>11</sup> Kālsī and Mānsehrā read *Antiyoga*, the remaining versions *Antiyoka*. Antiochus II Theos



kings who are the neighbours<sup>1</sup> of this **Antiyaka**,—everywhere two (kinds of) medical treatment<sup>2</sup> were established by king **Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin**, (viz.) medical treatment for men and medical treatment for cattle.

(B) And wherever there were no herbs that are beneficial to men and beneficial to cattle, everywhere they were caused to be imported and to be planted.

(C) Wherever there were no roots and fruits, everywhere they were caused to be imported and to be planted.

(D) On the roads wells were caused to be dug, and trees were caused to be planted for the use of cattle and men.

### THIRD ROCK-EDICT: GIRNAR

- 1 (A) देवानंपियो पियदसि राजा एवं आह (B) द्वादसवासाभिसितेन मया इदं आजपितं
- 2 (C) सर्वत विजिते मम युता च राजूके च प्रादेसिके च पंचसु पंचसु वासेसु अनुसं-
- 3 यानं नियातु एतायेव अथाय इमाय धंमानुसस्ठिय यथा अजा-
- 4 य पि कंमाय (D) साधु मातरि च पितरि च सुसूसा मित्रसंस्तुतजातीनं बाम्हण-
- 5 समणानं साधु दानं प्राणानं साधु अनारंभो अपव्ययता अपभाडता साधु
- 6 (E) परिसा पि युते आजपयिसति गणनायं हेतुतो च व्यंजनतो च

- 1 (A) Devānāmpiyo<sup>3</sup> Piyadasi r[ā]jā evaṃ āha (B) dbādasa-vāsābhisitena mayā  
idaṃ āñ[a]pitam
- 2 (C) sarvata vijite mama yutā cha rājūke cha prādesike cha pañchasu pañchasu  
vāsesu anusam-
- 3 y[ā]na[m] n[ī]yātu etāyeva athāya imāya dhammānusasthiya yathā añā-
- 4 ya pi kammāy[a] (D) [s]ādhu mātari cha pitari cha susrūsā mitra-saṃstuta-jātinaṃ<sup>4</sup>  
bāhmaṇa-
- 5 samaṇānaṃ sādhu dānaṃ prāṇānaṃ sādhu anāraṃbho apa-vyayatā apa-bhāḍatā<sup>5</sup>  
sādhu
- 6 (E) parisā pi yute āñapayisati gaṇanāyaṃ hetuto cha vyañjanato cha

of Syria (261-246 B.C.) is probably meant; see Lassen's *Ind. Alt.*, vol. II (sec. ed.), p. 255, and Senart, *IA*, 20. 242.

<sup>1</sup> For *sāmañtā*, 'neighbours', and its equivalent *sāmipam*, literally 'neighbourhood', see JBBRAS, 21. 398, *IA*, 34. 245, and *AJP*, 30. 183 ff. The 'neighbours' of Antiochus II were probably the four kings named in the Kālsī edict XIII, Q.

<sup>2</sup> D. R. Bhandarkar (JBBRAS, 21. 398 f.) remarks that *chikitsā* means neither 'hospitals' (Bühler) nor 'remedies' (Senart); he translates it by 'provision or provident arrangement'.

<sup>3</sup> *°priyo* Bühler.

<sup>4</sup> *mitra* looks almost like *mitā*; see *EI*, 2. 450, n. 47.

<sup>5</sup> *apabhīṇḍatā* Senart, *apabhāṇḍatā* Bühler.











## TRANSLATION

(A) King Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin speaks thus.

(B) (When I had been) anointed twelve years, the following was ordered by me.

(C) Everywhere in my dominions the *Yuktas*,<sup>1</sup> the *Rājūka*,<sup>2</sup> and the *Prādēśika*<sup>3</sup> shall set out on a complete tour (throughout their charges)<sup>4</sup> every five years for this very purpose, (viz.) for the following instruction in morality as well as for other business.<sup>5</sup>

(D) 'Meritorious is obedience to mother and father. Liberality to friends, acquaintances, and relatives, to Brāhmaṇas and Śramaṇas is meritorious. Abstention from killing animals is meritorious. Moderation in expenditure (and) moderation in possessions are meritorious.'<sup>6</sup>

(E) The council (of *Mahāmātras*)<sup>7</sup> also shall order the *Yuktas* to register (these rules) both with (the addition of) reasons and according to the letter.<sup>8</sup>

## FOURTH ROCK-EDICT: GIRNAR

- 1 (A) अतिक्रान्तं अंतरं बहूनि वाससतानि वदितो एव प्राणारंभो विहिंसा च भूतानं  
जातीसु
- 2 असंप्रतिपत्ती ब्राह्मणसमणानं असंप्रतिपत्ती (B) त अज देवानंप्रियस प्रियदसिनो  
राजो
- 3 धंमचरणेन भेरीघोसो अहो धंमघोसो विमानदर्शणा च हस्तिदसणा च

<sup>1</sup> For *yuta* = Sanskrit *yukta*, 'an officer', which occurs in the *Kautiliya*, see Thomas in IA, 37. 21, JRAS, 1909. 467, and 1914. 387 ff., and cf. the terms *āyuktaka* and *viniyuktaka* in the Valabhi inscriptions (Fleet's *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 169, notes 4 and 5).

<sup>2</sup> Bühler (ZDMG, 47. 466 ff.) showed that this term means originally 'a field-measurer' (from *rajju*, 'a rope'), and is the designation of a revenue settlement officer. In the *Kautiliya*, the two terms *chōra-rajju* (p. 60) and *chōra-rajjuka* (p. 232) seem to mean something like 'police' and 'police officer', respectively. Cf. I. J. Sorabji, *Notes on the Arthasāstram*, p. 10 f., and Jolly in ZDMG, 71. 228.

<sup>3</sup> Thomas (JRAS, 1914. 383 ff., and 1915. 112) compares this term with *prādēśhtri* in the *Kautiliya*, which is; however, a *nomen agentis* of the verb *pradīśati*, 'to direct', while *prādēśika* is derived from the substantive *pradēśa*. Kern (JRAS, 1880. 393) translated *prādēśika* by 'a provincial governor'. In Kalhana's *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* (IV, 126) *prādēśikēśvara* means 'a provincial chief'. A reference to the first separate edict (Dhauī, Z-CC; Jaugada, AA-DD) suggests that the *Prādēśika* of the third rock-edict may have belonged to the class of the *Mahāmātras*, and that *Prādēśika-mahāmātra* would mean 'a provincial high officer'.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Fleet in JRAS, 1908. 821.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. the Dhauī separate edict I, CC.

<sup>6</sup> This sentence has been successfully explained by Thomas, IA, 37. 20.

<sup>7</sup> Bühler translated *parisā* by 'school', and in edict VI by 'committee'. K. Jayaswal (IA, 42. 283) has drawn attention to the occurrence of the term *mantri-parishad*, 'the council of ministers', in the *Kautiliya*. This meaning fits admirably both here and in the rock-edict VI, F.

<sup>8</sup> I follow Lüders (SPAW, 1914. 839) in the translation of the difficult words *gaṇanāyam hetuto cha vyamjanato cha*. For *vyamjana* cf. my note on the translation of the Sārnāth pillar-edict, section I.



- 4 अगिखंधानि च अजानि च दिव्यानि रूपानि दसयित्वा जनं (C) यारिसे बहूहि  
वाससतेहि
- 5 न भूतपुवे तारिसे अज वढिते देवानंप्रियस प्रियदसिनो राजो धंमानुसस्ति या अनारं-
- 6 भो प्राणानं अविहीसा भूतानं जातीनं संपटिपती ब्रह्मणसमणानं संपटिपती  
मातरि पितरि
- 7 सुसुसा थैरसुसुसा (D) एस अजे च बहुविधे धंमचरणे वढिते (E) वढयिसति चेव  
देवानंप्रियो
- 8 प्रियदसि राजा धंमचरणं इदं (F) पुत्रा च पोत्रा च प्रपोत्रा च देवानंप्रियस  
प्रियदसिनो राजो
- 9 प्रवधयिसंति इदं धंमचरणं आव सवटकपा धंमहि सीलमहि तिस्टंती धंमं  
अनुसासिसंति
- 10 (G) एस हि सेस्ते कंमे य धंमानुसासनं (H) धंमचरणे पि न भवति असीलस  
(I) त इममहि अथमहि
- 11 वधी च अहीनी च साधु (J) एताय अथाय इदं लेखापितं इमस अथस वधि  
युजंतु हीनि च
- 12 नो लोचेतव्या (K) द्वादसवासाभिसितेन देवानंप्रियेन प्रियदसिना राजा इदं  
लेखापितं

- 1 (A) atikātaṃ aṃt[a]raṃ bahūni vāsa-satāni vaḍhito eva prāṇāraṃbho vihiṃsā cha  
bhūtānaṃ ṇātīsu
- 2 a[s]aṃpratipatī brā[m]haṇa-sramaṇānaṃ asaṃpratīpatī<sup>1</sup> (B) ta<sup>2</sup> aja Devānaṃ-  
priyasa Priyadasino<sup>3</sup> rāṇo
- 3 dhamma-charaṇena [bhe]rī-ghoso aho dhamma-ghoso vimāna-darsaṇā<sup>4</sup> cha hasti-  
da[sa]ṇā cha
- 4 agi-kh[a]ṃdhāni cha [a]ṇāni cha divyāni rūpāni dasayitpā janam (C) yārise bahūhi  
v[āsa]-satchi
- 5 na bhūta-puve tārise aja vaḍhite Devānaṃpriyasa Priyadasino rāṇo  
dhammānusastiyā anāraṃ-
- 6 [bh]o prāṇānaṃ avihisā<sup>5</sup> bhūtānaṃ ṇātīnaṃ saṃpaṭipatī brahmaṇa-samaṇānaṃ  
saṃpaṭipatī mātari pitari
- 7 [s]usrusā thairasusrusā (D) esa aṇe cha bahavidhe [dha]mma-charaṇe va[ḍhi]te  
(E) vaḍhayisati cheva Devānaṃpriyo
- 8 [Pri\*]ya[da]si<sup>6</sup> rājā dhamma-[cha]raṇam idaṃ (F) putrā cha [p]otrā cha prapotrā  
cha Devānaṃpriyasa Priyadasino rāṇo

<sup>1</sup> The syllable *pa* was inserted subsequently.

<sup>2</sup> This syllable was inserted subsequently.

<sup>3</sup> The syllable *da* was inserted subsequently.

<sup>4</sup> -*dasana* Senart and Bühler.

<sup>5</sup> The syllable *hi* was inserted subsequently.

<sup>6</sup> The first syllable of lines 8 and 9 (*pri* and *pra*) is invisible on my materials and is taken from the plate facing ASWI, 2. 102.



- 9 [pra\*]vadhayisaṃti<sup>1</sup> idaṃ [dha]ṃma-charaṇaṃ āva savaṭṭa-kapā<sup>2</sup> dhammamhi  
 sīlamhi tiṣṭaṃto [dha]ṃmaṃ anusāsisaṃti  
 10 (G) [e]sa hi seṣṭe kaṃme ya dhammānusāsanaṃ (H) dhamma-charaṇe pi na  
 [bha]vati asīlasi (I) [ta] imamhi athamhi  
 11 [va]dhī cha ahīni cha sādhu (J) e[t]āya athāya<sup>3</sup> ida[m] lekhāpitaṃ imasa atha[sa]  
 v[a]dhi yujaṃtu hīni<sup>4</sup> ch[a]  
 12 [no]<sup>5</sup> lochetavyā (K) dbādasa-vāsābhisitena Devā[a]ṃpriyena Priyadasinā  
 rāñ[ā] idaṃ lekhāpitaṃ

## TRANSLATION

(A) In times past, for many hundreds of years, there had ever been promoted the killing of animals and the hurting of living beings, discourtesy to relatives, (and) discourtesy to Brāhmaṇas and Śramaṇas.

(B) But now, in consequence of the practice of morality on the part of king Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin, the sound of drums has become the sound of morality,<sup>6</sup> showing the people representations of aerial chariots, representations of elephants, masses of fire, and other divine figures.<sup>7</sup>

(C) Such as they had not existed before for many hundreds of years, thus there are now promoted, through the instruction in morality on the part of king Dēvānāmpriya

<sup>1</sup> See note 6 on previous page.

<sup>2</sup> *savvaṭṭa*-Bühler.

<sup>3</sup> Between *thā* and *ya* the rock shows a vacant space which may be due either to a natural fissure or to an erasure.

<sup>4</sup> There is a vacant space between *hi* and *ni*.

<sup>5</sup> Instead of *no* the plate facing EI, 2. 452 shows the syllable *mā*, which seems, however, to be due to retouching. Kern (IA, 5. 261 and 262) preferred to read *nālochetavyā*.

<sup>6</sup> For former translations of these words see my remarks in JRAS, 1911. 785 ff. I now adopt the explanation of D. R. Bhandarkar (IA, 42. 25), who says: 'The sound of a drum invariably precedes either a battle, a public announcement, or the exhibition of a scene to the people. But since Aśoka entered on his career of righteousness, it has ceased to be a summons to fight, but invites people to come and witness certain spectacles; and as those spectacles are of such a character as to generate and develop righteousness, the drum has thus become the proclaimer of righteousness.' Cf. the Girnār edict X, A, and the third note on the translation of it.

<sup>7</sup> D. R. Bhandarkar (p. 26 f.) suggests that the aerial chariots were exhibited in order to induce people to practise morality and thereby to become qualified for such celestial abodes. The elephants (*hathīni* at Dhauli) he explains as representations of Buddha in the shape of a white elephant; but we may also think of the celestial elephants, which are the usual vehicles of the four Mahārājas or Lōkapālas. In the 'masses of fire' Bhandarkar finds an allusion to the fire-pit of the *Khadiraṅgāra-jātaka*. But according to Childers, *Pāli Dictionary*, p. 18, *aggikkhandha* is 'used figuratively of a person of brilliancy and distinction'. To the three quotations which he gives from the commentary on the *Dhammapada* may be added *Mahāvagga*, I, 16-18, where the guardians of the four directions, with Indra and Brahmā, are stated to resemble 'great masses of fire' (*mahantā aggikkhandhā*). Consequently, the expression 'masses of fire' (*agikkhandhāni*) in the fourth edict has perhaps to be taken in the sense of 'radiant beings of another world'. Thomas (JRAS, 1914. 395) would render *agniskandhāḥ* by 'bonfires'; but this meaning is precluded by the subsequent words 'and other divine figures'. In editing edict IV, Prinsep (JASB, 7. 266) quoted *Mahāvamsa*, XII, 34, where Buddha's sermon on the parable of *aggikkhandha* (*Anguttara-nikāya*, ed. Hardy, part IV, p. 128 ff.) is referred to. With *divyāni rūpāni* cf. *devā* in the Rūpnāth edict, E. See also above, p. 2, n. 5.



**Priyadarśin**, abstention from killing animals, abstention from hurting living beings, courtesy to relatives, courtesy to Brāhmaṇas and Śramaṇas, obedience to mother (and) father, (and) obedience to the aged.

(D) In this and many other ways is the practice of morality promoted.

(E) And **king Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin** will ever promote this practice of morality.

(F) And the sons, grandsons, and great-grandsons of **king Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin** will promote this practice of morality until the æon of destruction (of the world),<sup>1</sup> (and) will instruct (people) in morality, abiding by morality (and) by good conduct.

(G) For this is the best work, viz. instruction in morality.

(H) And the practice of morality is not (possible) for (a person) devoid of good conduct.

(I) Therefore promotion and not neglect of this object is meritorious.

(J) For the following purpose has this been caused to be written, (viz. in order that) they<sup>2</sup> should devote themselves to the promotion of this practice, and that the neglect (of it) should not be approved (by them).<sup>3</sup>

(K) This was caused to be written by **king Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin** (when he had been) **anointed twelve years**.

#### FIFTH ROCK-EDICT: GIRNAR

- 1 (A) देवानंप्रियो पियदसि राजा एवं आह (B) कलाणं दुकरं (C) यो आदिकरो कलाणस सो दुकरं करोति
- 2 (D) त मया बहु कलाणं कतं (E) त मम पुता च पोता च परं च तेन य मे अपचं आव संवटकपा अनुवतिसरे तथा
- 3 सो सुकतं कासति (F) यो तु एत देसं पि हापेसति सो दुकतं कासति (G) सुकरं हि पापं (H) अतिकातं अंतरं
- 4 न भूतप्रुवं धंममहामाता नाम (I) त मया चैदसवासाभिसितेन धंममहामाता कता (J) ते सवपासंडेसु व्यापता धामधिस्तानाय
- 5 ..... धंमयुतस च योणकंबोजगंधारानं रिस्ठिकपेतेणिकानं ये वा पि अंजे आपराता (K) भतमयेसु व

<sup>1</sup> See Fleet's remarks in JRAS, 1911. 485, n. 1. Böhtlingk's Abridged Dictionary (vol. VII, addenda) quotes *samvarta-kalpa* from the *Mahāvvyutpatti* (§ 253, No. 62).

<sup>2</sup> Hereby the successors of Aśoka appear to be meant; cf. section F, above.

<sup>3</sup> In the rock-edict XIII, section X, *lochetu* at Kālsī corresponds to *rochetu* (from Skt. *rōchayati*) at Shāhbāzgarhī. Here, however, we find forms of the verb *locheti* in all versions. Probably these are pure Māgadhisms at Gīrnār, Shāhbāzgarhī, and Mānsehrā, where forms of *rocheti* would have to be expected. The same applies to section E of the rock-edict XIV, where [*a*] *lochetpā* at Gīrnār and *alocheti* at Shāhbāzgarhī correspond to *alochayitu* at Kālsī.



- 6 ..... सुखाय धंमयुतानं अपरिगोधाय व्यापता ते (L) बंधनबधस  
पटिविधानाय  
7 ..... प्रजा कताभीकरेसु वा चैरेसु वा व्यापता ते (M) पाटलिपुते  
च बाहिरसु च  
8 ..... ये वा पि मे अजे जातिका सर्वत व्यापता ते (N) यो अयं  
धंमनिस्सितो ति व  
9 ..... ते धंममहामाता (O) एताय अथाय अयं धंमलिपी लिखिता  
10 .....

- 1 (A) D[e]vānaṃpriyo Piyadasi rājā<sup>1</sup> evaṃ āha (B) kalāṇaṃ dukaraṃ (C) y[o  
ādikaro] kalāṇ[a]sa<sup>2</sup> so dukaraṃ karoti  
2 (D) ta mayā bahu kalāṇaṃ kataṃ (E) t[a] mama putā cha potā<sup>3</sup> cha paraṃ cha  
tena y[a] me [a]pachaṃ āva saṃvaṭa-kapā anuvatisare tathā  
3 so sukataṃ kāsati<sup>4</sup> (F) yo tu eta desaṃ pi hāpesati so [du]kataṃ kāsati  
(G) sukaraṃ hi pāpa[m] (H) atikātaṃ aṃtaraṃ  
4 na bhūta - pruvaṃ<sup>5</sup> dhamma - mahāmātā nāma (I) ta m[a]yā traidasa-  
vāsābhi[s]i[tena] dhamm[a]-mahāmātā katā (J) te sava-pāsāṃdesu vyāpatā  
dhāmadhistānāya<sup>6</sup>  
5 ..... [dha]mma-yutasa cha Yona-K[a]mbo[ja]-Gaṃdhārānaṃ<sup>7</sup> Ristika-  
P[e]teṇikānaṃ ye vā pi a[m]n[e ā]parātā<sup>8</sup> (K) bhatamayesu va  
6 ..... [su]khā[ya dhamma] - yutānaṃ apar[i]godhāya vyāpatā te  
(L) ba[m]dhana-badhasa<sup>9</sup> paṭividhānāya  
7 ..... [p]rajā<sup>10</sup> katābhikāresu vā thairesu vā vyāpatā te (M) Pāṭalipute  
cha bāhiraṣu<sup>11</sup> cha  
8 ..... [y]e vā pi me aṇe nātikā sarvata vyāpatā te (N) yo ayaṃ dhamma-  
nisrito ti va  
9 ..... [t]e [dha]mma-mahāmātā (O) etāya<sup>12</sup> athāya ayaṃ dhamma-lipī likhitā  
10 .....

<sup>1</sup> There is a vacant space before and after the syllable *rā*.

<sup>2</sup> *ye a* ..... *kalāṇesa* Senart and Bühler.

<sup>3</sup> *potrā* Bühler.

<sup>4</sup> The Kālsī and Dhauī versions read correctly *se sukataṃ kachhamti*. As Michelson (AJP, 32. 441) suggests, the Gīrnār reading may be a corruption due to the influence of the next sentence.

<sup>5</sup> Read *-purvaṃ*, which is Senart's reading; *-prurvaṃ* Bühler.

<sup>6</sup> The other versions read *dhammādkī*. <sup>7</sup> *Yona*- Bühler.

<sup>8</sup> *aparātā* Bühler.

<sup>9</sup> The *na* of *baṃdhana*- was inserted subsequently.

<sup>10</sup> [p]rajā looks exactly like [p]ājā. Cf. the *r* of *traidasa*- in line 4, and above, p. 4, n. 4.

<sup>11</sup> Read *bāhiresu*, which is Senart's and Bühler's reading.

<sup>12</sup> The syllable *ya* was inserted subsequently.



## TRANSLATION

- (A) King Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin speaks thus.  
 (B) It is difficult to perform virtuous deeds.  
 (C) He who starts performing virtuous deeds accomplishes something difficult.  
 (D) Now, by me many virtuous deeds have been performed.  
 (E) Therefore (among) my sons and grandsons, and (among) my descendants (who shall come) after them until the æon of destruction (of the world), those who will conform to this (duty) will perform good deeds.  
 (F) But he who will neglect even a portion of this (duty) will perform evil deeds.  
 (G) For sin is easily committed.  
 (H) In times past (officers) called *Mahāmātras* of morality (*Dharma-mahāmātra*), did not exist before.  
 (I) But *Mahāmātras* of morality were appointed by me (when I had been) anointed thirteen years.  
 (J) These are occupied with all sects in establishing morality . . . . . of those who are devoted to morality (even) among the Yōnas, Kambōjas, and Gandhāras,<sup>1</sup> the Ristikas and Pētōnikas,<sup>2</sup> and whatever other western borderers<sup>3</sup> (of mine there are).  
 (K) They are occupied with servants and masters<sup>4</sup> . . . . . for the . . . . . happiness of those who are devoted to morality, (and) in freeing (them) from desire (for worldly life).<sup>5</sup>  
 (L) They are occupied in supporting prisoners<sup>6</sup> (with money)<sup>7</sup> . . . . . (if one has) children, or with those who are bewitched (i. e. incurably ill?),<sup>8</sup> or with the aged.

<sup>1</sup> i. e. the Greeks, Kābulis, and north-western Panjābīs; see ASSI, I. 123, n. 1, and, for the Kambōjas, Weber, *Indische Streifen*, 3. 353 f., and JRAS, 1911. 801 f., 1912. 255 ff., 1915. 171.

<sup>2</sup> Bühler (ZDMG, 37. 261) identified the Ristikas with the Rishṭikas of the *Rāmāyaṇa*. But *Risṭika* is probably a clerical mistake for *Rāṣṭika*; see my note on the translation of the Shāhbāzgarhi edict V, J. According to Michelson (IF, 24. 52 ff.), *Petenika* stands for \**Paitrayanika*. Dhauḷi reads *Pitenika*, and the two Kharōṣṭhī versions read *Pitinika*. The same tribe is mentioned in the rock-edict XIII, R; see my note on the translation of the Kālsī version of that passage.

<sup>3</sup> In Senart's and Bühler's translations the word *apara*, 'western', is disregarded; but it is noticed by Senart in IA, 20. 240. For *amta* see the Kālsī edict II, l. 1, and XIII, l. 6; Rūpnāth, Sahasrām, and Bairāt, H; Brahmagiri and Śiddāpura, I; and the second separate edict at Dhauḷi and Jaugaḍa. Later on Aparānta became the designation of a tract of land on the western coast, the capital of which was Sōpārā; cf. EI, II. 220.

<sup>4</sup> The *m* between *bhata* (Sanskrit *bhṛta*) and *aya* (Sanskrit *ārya*) is euphonic; see Franke in GN, 1895. 533 f., and cf. Kuhn's *Pāli-Grammatik*, p. 63 f., and Windisch, *Berichte der Sächs. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften*, 1893. 240 f.

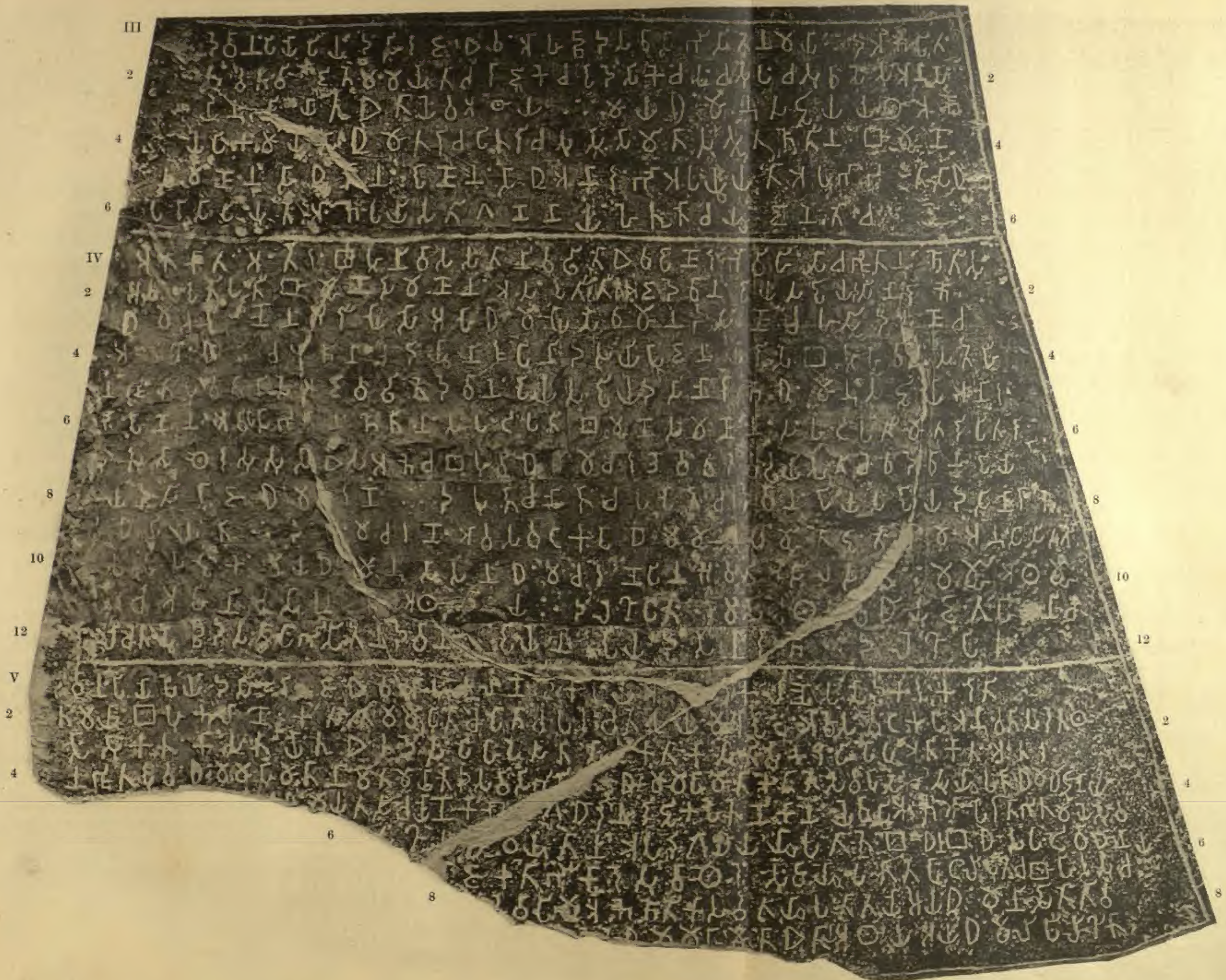
<sup>5</sup> Instead of *aparigodha* other versions read *apalibodha*, for which see my note on the translation of the corresponding passage at Kālsī. Thomas has traced the substantive *paligodha*, 'desire', and the participle *paliguddha* (= *parigiddha*), 'desirous', in Buddhist Sanskrit works; see his valuable article in JRAS, 1915. 99 ff.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. *baṇḍhana-badhānam munisānam* in the Delhi-Tōprā pillar-edict IV, L, which renders Bühler's translation of this passage very improbable.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. *hiraṇya-paṭividhāno* in the Gīrnār edict VIII, E, and Lüders in SPAW, 1914. 840.

<sup>8</sup> With *katābhikāra* Senart compares *abhikṛitvarīḥ*, '(female) demons who are) bewitchers', and *abhinishkārīn*, 'devising (against others)', in the *Atharvavēda*. Bühler (EI, 2. 468) translated 'overwhelmed by misfortune'; cf. his remarks in ZDMG, 48. 55.











(M) They are occupied everywhere, both in Pāṭaliputra and in the outlying  
..... and whatever other relatives of mine (there are).

(N) These *Mahāmātras* of morality ..... whether one is eager for  
morality<sup>1</sup> .....

(O) For the following purpose has this rescript on morality been written .....

## SIXTH ROCK-EDICT: GIRNAR

- 1 (A) देवा ..... सि राजा एवं आह (B) अतिक्रातं अंतरं
- 2 न भूतप्रुव सव .. ल अथकमे व पटिवेदना वा (C) त मया एवं कतं
- 3 (D) सवे काले भुंजमानस मे ओरोधनम्हि गभागारम्हि वचम्हि व
- 4 विनोतम्हि च उयानेसु च सवच पटिवेदका स्तिता अथे मे जनस
- 5 पटिवेदेथ इति (E) सर्वच च जनस अथे करोमि (F) य च किंचि मुखतो
- 6 आजपयामि स्वयं दापकं वा स्रावापकं वा य वा पुन महामात्रेसु
- 7 आचायिके अरोपितं भवति ताय अथाय विवादो निरुती व संतो परिसायं
- 8 आनंतरं पटिवेदेतथ्यं मे सर्वच सर्वे काले (G) एवं मया आजपितं (H) नास्ति हि  
मे तोसो
- 9 उस्टानम्हि अथसंतीरणाय व (I) कतव्यमते हि मे सर्वलोकहितं
- 10 (J) तस च पुन एस मूले उस्टानं च अथसंतीरणा च (K) नास्ति हि कमतरं
- 11 सर्वलोकहितत्पा (L) य च किंचि पराक्रमामि अहं किंति भूतानं आनरणं गछेयं
- 12 इध च नानि सुखापयामि परचा च स्वगं आराधयंतु त (M) एताय अथाय
- 13 अयं धंमलिपी लेखापिता किंति चिरं तिस्टेय इति तथा च मे पुचा पोता च  
प्रपोचा च
- 14 अनुवतरं सबलोकहिताय (N) दुकरं तु इदं अजच अगेन पराक्रमेन

- 1 (A) [Devā] ..... [s]i rājā evaṁ āha (B) atikrāt[a]m am̐tara[m̐]
- 2 na bhūta-pru[v].<sup>2</sup> [s]. [v]... [l].<sup>3</sup> atha-kam̐me va paṭivedanā vā (C) ta mayā  
evaṁ kataṁ
- 3 (D) s[a]ve kāle bhum̐j[a]mānasa me orodhanam̐hi gabhāgāram̐hi vacham̐hi va
- 4 vinītam̐hi cha uyānesu cha savatra paṭivedakā<sup>4</sup> s̐tītā athe me [ja]nasa
- 5 paṭivedetha iti (E) sarvatra cha janasa athe karomi (F) ya cha kiṁchi mukhato
- 6 āñapayāmi svayaṁ dāpakaṁ vā srāvāpakaṁ vā ya vā puna mahāmātresu
- 7 āchāyī[ke]<sup>5</sup> aropitaṁ<sup>6</sup> bhavati tāya athāya vivādo nijhatī v[a s]am̐to parisāyaṁ

<sup>1</sup> *nissito* = Pāli *nissito* and Skt. \**nīśritaḥ* (Senart). For *yo ayaṁ* cf. my note on the translation of section L of the Kālsī version of this edict.

<sup>2</sup> Read *-purva*; *-puva* Senart, *-purva* Bühler.

<sup>3</sup> Restore *save kāle*.

<sup>4</sup> An apparent *u*-mark is attached to the bottom of *ti*.

<sup>5</sup> *āchāyika* Senart and Bühler.

<sup>6</sup> *āropitaṁ* Bühler.



- 8 ānamtaraṃ paṭ[i]vedeta[v]yaṃ me sa[r]vatra sarve kāle (G) evaṃ mayā āñapitaṃ  
(H) nāsti<sup>1</sup> hi me to[s]o  
9 uṣṭānamhi atha-saṃtīraṇāya va (I) katavya-mate hi me sa[rva]-loka-hitaṃ  
10 (J) tasa cha puna esa mūle uṣṭānaṃ cha atha-saṃtīraṇā cha (K) nāsti hi kaṃmataraṃ  
11 sarva-loka-hitatpā (L) ya cha kiṃchi parākramāmi ahaṃ kiṃti bhūtānaṃ ānaṃṇaṃ  
gachheyaṃ  
12 idha cha nāni sukhāpayāmi paratrā cha svagaṃ ārādhayaṃtu ta<sup>2</sup> (M) etāya athāya  
13 ayaṃ dha[m]ma-lipī lekḥāpitā kiṃti chiraṃ tiṣṭeya iti tathā cha me putrā potā cha  
prapotrā cha  
14 anuvataṃ<sup>3</sup> sava-loka-hitāya (N) dukaraṃ [t]u idaṃ aṇatra<sup>4</sup> agena parākramena

## TRANSLATION

- (A) King Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin speaks thus.  
(B) In times past neither the disposal of affairs nor the submission of reports at any time did exist before.  
(C) But I have made the following (arrangement).  
(D) Reporters are posted everywhere, (with instructions) to report to me the affairs of the people at any time, while I am eating, in the harem, in the inner apartment,<sup>5</sup> even at the cowpen,<sup>6</sup> in the palanquin,<sup>7</sup> and in the parks.  
(E) And everywhere I am disposing of the affairs of the people.  
(F) And if in the council (of *Mahāmātras*)<sup>8</sup> a dispute arises,<sup>9</sup> or an amendment is moved,<sup>10</sup> in connexion with any donation or proclamation<sup>11</sup> which I myself am ordering

<sup>1</sup> An ancient fissure of the rock, which extends from l. 8 to l. 11, must have existed already at the time when the inscription was incised. This would account for the spaces which were left vacant by the engraver after *nāsti* in l. 8, *-loka-* in l. 9, *kaṃmata*<sup>2</sup> in l. 10, and *ānaṃṇaṃ* in l. 11.

<sup>2</sup> Read *ti*.

<sup>3</sup> Senart and Bühler correct *anuvataṃ*. Pischel (GGA, 1881. 1331) and Bühler read *anuvataṃ*, which the former considered to be an imperative like *duhrām* in the *Atharvaveda*. Cf. Johansson's *Shāhbāzgarhi*, 2. 89 f. The *ra* certainly resembles *rā*; but the same applies to the *ra* of *pakarane* in the Girnār edict IX, l. 8, and of *samachairam* in XIII, l. 7, where the reading *rā* is impossible.

<sup>4</sup> *aṇata* Senart and Bühler.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Molesworth's *Marāṭhī Dictionary*, s. v. *gābhār*.

<sup>6</sup> The locative *vachamhi* (= *vrachaspi* in the two Kharōṣṭhī versions) is generally rendered by 'in the latrine'. But Skt. *varchas* does not mean 'a latrine', but 'ordure'. As, in the rock-edict XII, M, *vacha* or *vracha* probably corresponds to Skt. *vraja*, 'a cowpen', it may be taken here in the same sense. Establishments for cattle-breeding are kept up by Rajas and their governments even in the present time.

<sup>7</sup> With *vinīta* cf. Skt. *vinītaka* and *vainītaka*; see Bühler, ZDMG, 37. 277.

<sup>8</sup> See above, p. 5, n. 7.

<sup>9</sup> *saṃto* is a nominative singular absolute. Cf. my note on the translation of the Kālsī rock-edict VI, F.

<sup>10</sup> Bühler (ASSI, 1. 123) rendered *nijhatī* by 'fraud'. This translation seems to be due to an oversight; it would suit the former misreading *nikatī*, but not the actual reading *nijhatī*. Lüders (SPAW, 1913. 1019 f.) has shown that the Sanskrit equivalent of this word would be *\*nidhyapti*, 'inducing to meditate', i. e. in the present case, 'moving a repeated consideration'.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. the Delhi-Tōprā pillar-edict VII, K and M.



verbally, or (in connexion with) an emergent matter which has been delegated to the *Mahāmātras*,<sup>1</sup> it must be reported to me immediately, anywhere, (and) at any time.

(G) Thus I have ordered.

(H) For I am never content in exerting myself and in dispatching business.<sup>2</sup>

(I) For I consider it my duty (to promote) the welfare of all men.

(J) But the root of that (is) this, (viz.) exertion and the dispatch of business.

(K) For no duty is more important<sup>3</sup> than (promoting) the welfare of all men.

(L) And whatever effort I am making, (is made) in order that<sup>4</sup> I may discharge the debt (which I owe) to living beings, (that) I may make them<sup>5</sup> happy in this (world), and (that) they may attain heaven in the other (world).

(M) For the following purpose has this rescript on morality been caused to be written, (viz.) that it may last long, and that my sons, grandsons, and great-grandsons may conform to this for the welfare of all men.

(N) But it is difficult to accomplish this without great zeal.

## SEVENTH ROCK-EDICT: GIRNAR

- 1 (A) देवानंपियो पियदसि राजा सर्वत इच्छति सवे पासंडा वसेयु (B) सवे ते समयं च  
2 भावसुधिं च इच्छति (C) जनो तु उचावचछंदो उचावचरागो (D) ते सर्वे व कासंति  
एकदेसं व कसंति  
3 (E) विपुले तु पि दाने यस नास्ति समये भावसुधिता व कतंजता व दढभतिता च  
निचा बाढं

- 1 (A) Devānaṃpiyo Piyadasi rājā sarvata ichhati save pāsaiṇḍā vaseyu (B) save te  
sayamaṃ cha  
2 bhāva-sudhiṃ cha ichhati (C) jano tu uchāvacha-chhaṇḍo uchāvacha-rāgo (D) te  
sarvaṃ va kāsaṃti eka-desam va kasa[m]ti  
3 (E) vip[ul]e tu pi dāne yasa nāsti sayame bhāva-sudhitā va kataṃñatā va daḍha-  
bhati[t]ā cha nichā bāḍham

<sup>1</sup> K. Jayaswal (IA, 42. 283) quotes the *Kaṇṭhīya*, p. 29, l. 12: आत्यधिके कार्ये मन्त्रिषो मन्त्रिपरिषदं चाह्वय ब्रूयात् 'in the case of an emergent matter the ministers and the council of ministers shall be called and told'.

<sup>2</sup> With *atha-saṃtīraṇā* cf. *tilita-damḍa* in the pillar-edict IV, L.

<sup>3</sup> I adopt Bühler's explanation of *kaṃmataram* as a comparative of *karman*.

<sup>4</sup> Franke (GN, 1895. 537) has shown that both in the Aśoka inscriptions and in literary Pāli *kiṃti* means 'that, in order that'. Cf. my note on the translation of the Dhauḷi separate edict I, B, and the rock-edict XIV, D, where *kiṃti* at Gīrnār, Dhauḷi, and Jaugaḍa corresponds to *yena* at Kālsī, Shālbāzgarhī, and Mānsehrā.

<sup>5</sup> The form *nāni* occurs again in the pillar-edict V, C, and in the Queen's edict, l. 4; *nā* in the Kālsī edict XII, C. The pronoun *na* may be derived from Skt. *ēna*, and *sha*, which corresponds to it in the two Kharōṣṭhī versions, from *ēsha*.



## TRANSLATION

- (A) King Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin desires (that) all sects may reside everywhere.  
 (B) (For) all these desire both self-control and purity of mind.  
 (C) But men possess various desires (and) various passions.  
 (D) Either they will fulfil the whole, or they will fulfil (only) a portion (of their duties).  
 (E) But even one who (practises) great liberality, (but) does not possess self-control, purity of mind, gratitude, and firm devotion, is very mean.<sup>1</sup>

## EIGHTH ROCK-EDICT: GIRNAR

- 1 (A) अतिकृतं अंतरं राजानो विहारयातां जयासु (B) एत मगव्या अजानि च एतारिसनि  
 2 अभिरमकानि अहुंसु (C) सो देवानंप्रियो पियदसि राजा दसवर्साभिसितो संतो अयाय संबोधिं  
 3 (D) तेनेसा धंमयाता (E) एतयं होति बाम्हणसमणानं दसणे च दाने च चैरानं दसणे च  
 4 हिरणपटिविधानो च जानपदस च जनस दस्यनं धंमानुसस्ती च धमपरिपुछा च  
 5 तदोपया (F) एसा भुय रति भवति देवानंपियस प्रियदसिनो राजो भागे अंजे

- 1 (A) atikātaṁ am̐taraṁ rājāno vihāra-yātāṁ ṇayāsu (B) eta magavyā añāni cha etārisani<sup>2</sup>  
 2 abhīramakāni ahuṁsu (C) so Devānāmpriyo<sup>3</sup> Piyadasi rājā dasa-varsābhisito<sup>4</sup> saṁto ayāya Saṁbodhiṁ  
 3 (D) tenesā dhamma-yātā (E) etayaṁ hoti bāmhāṇa-samaṇānaṁ dasaṇe cha dāne cha thairānaṁ dasaṇe ch[a]  
 4 hiraṇṇa-paṭivīdhāno cha jānapadasa cha janasa<sup>5</sup> daspanaṁ<sup>6</sup> dhammānus[a]stī cha dhama-paripucchā cha  
 5 tadopayā (F) esā bhuya rati bhavati Devānāmpiyasa Priyadasino rāṇo bhā[g]e am̐ṇe

## TRANSLATION

- (A) In times past kings used to set out on pleasure-tours.<sup>7</sup>  
 (B) On these (tours) hunting and other such pleasures were (enjoyed).

<sup>1</sup> The translation of this section follows Lüders in SPAW, 1914. 844. He identifies *nichā* with the Vedic adverb *nichā*. The variant *niche* at Dhauli and Jaugaḍa may correspond to Skt. *nichaiḥ* or *nichak*.

<sup>2</sup> Read °sāni.

<sup>3</sup> °piyo Bühler.

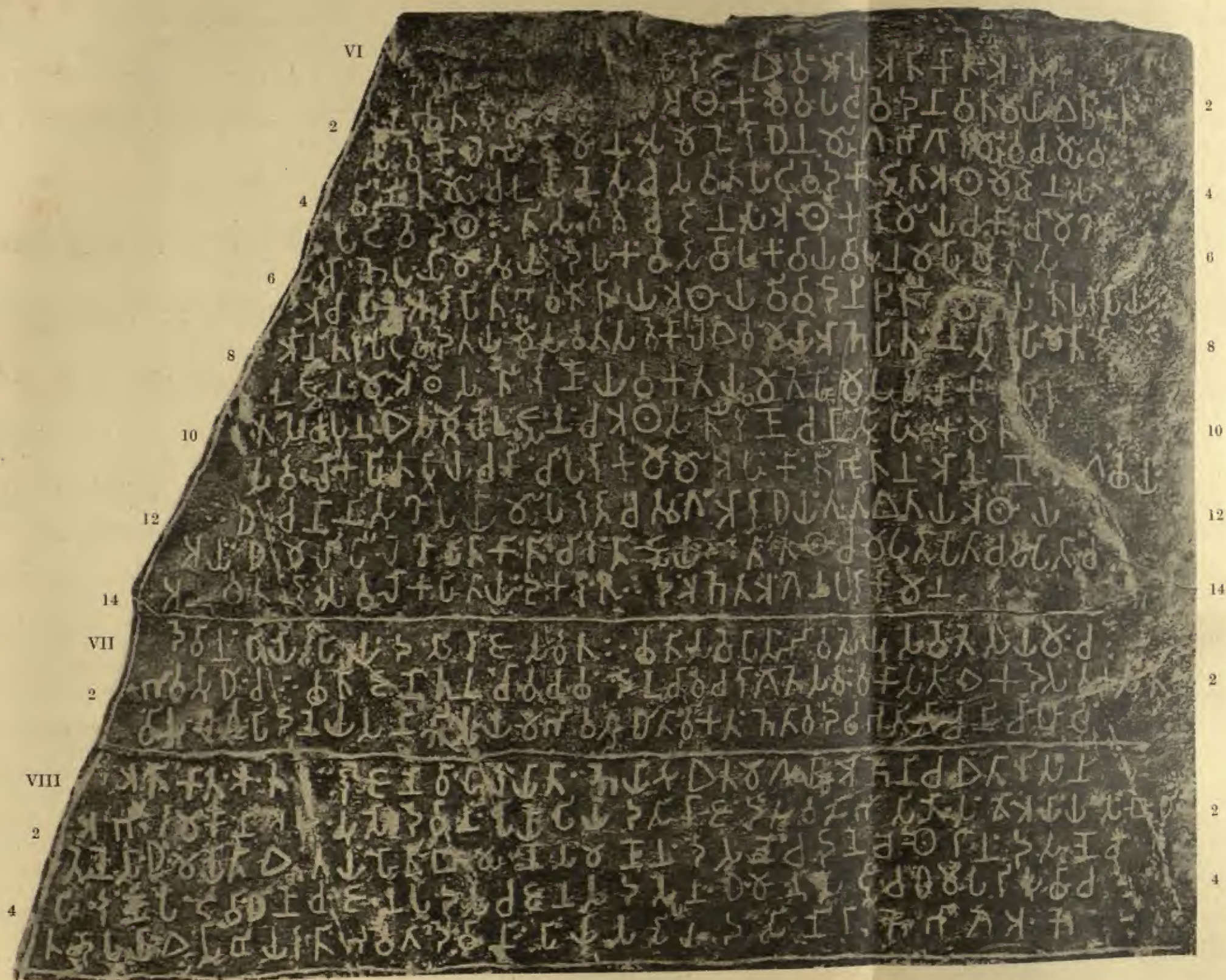
<sup>4</sup> -vasā° Senart and Bühler.

<sup>5</sup> jānasa Bühler.

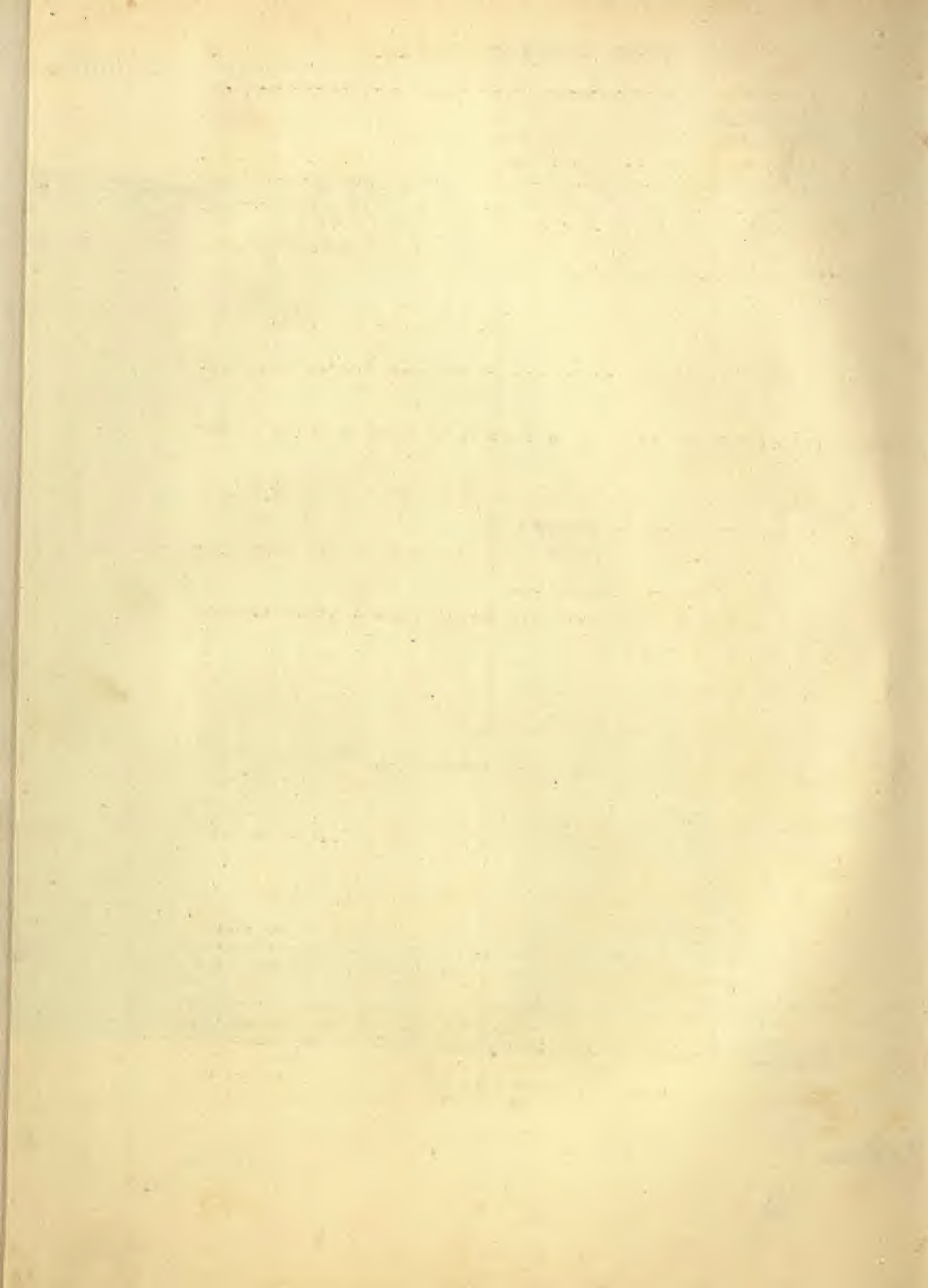
<sup>6</sup> Read *darsanaṁ*, which is Senart's reading; *dasanaṁ* Bühler.

<sup>7</sup> Michelson (JAOS, 31. 245) explains *ṇayāsu* = \**nyayāsuḥ* in the sense of *nirayāsuḥ*. See also Fleet in JRAS, 1908. 488, n. 2.











(C) But when king Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin had been anointed ten years, he went to Sāmbōdhi.<sup>1</sup>

(D) Therefore these tours of morality (were undertaken).<sup>2</sup>

(E) On these (tours) the following<sup>3</sup> takes place, (viz.) visiting Brāhmaṇas and Śramaṇas and making gifts (to them), visiting the aged and supporting (them) with gold,<sup>4</sup> visiting the people of the country, instructing (them) in morality, and questioning (them) about morality, as suitable for this (occasion).<sup>5</sup>

(F) This second period<sup>6</sup> (of the reign) of king Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin becomes a pleasure in a higher degree.<sup>7</sup>

## NINTH ROCK-EDICT: GIRNAR

- 1 (A) देवानंपियो प्रियदसि राजा एव आह (B) अस्ति जनो उचावचं मंगलं करोते  
आवाधेसु वा
- 2 आवाहवीवाहेसु वा पुचलाभेसु वा प्रवासंभि वा एतम्ही च अजम्हि च जनो  
उचावचं मंगलं करोते
- 3 (C) एत तु महिडायो बहुकं च बहुविधं च छुदं च निरथं च मंगलं करोते (D) त  
क्तथमेव तु मंगलं (E) अपफलं तु खो
- 4 एतरिसं मंगलं (F) अयं तु महाफले मंगले य धम्ममंगले (G) ततेत दासभतकम्हि  
सम्यप्रतिपती गुरूनं अपचिति साधु
- 5 पाणेषु सयमो साधु बम्हणसमणानं साधु दानं एत च अज च एतारिसं धम्ममंगलं  
नाम (H) त वतथं पिता व

<sup>1</sup> D. R. Bhandarkar (IA, 42. 160) suggests that this word may refer to the sacred spot (at Bōdh-Gayā, south of Paṭṇā) on which the Buddha attained to perfect knowledge. Aśoka's visit to the bōdhi-tree is described in the *Divyāvadāna* (ed. Cowell and Neil), p. 393. His visit to the Buddha's birth-place is recorded by himself on the Rumindār pillar.

<sup>2</sup> The singular *esā dhammayātā* seems to be used in the sense of the plural, just as *vihāra-yātām* in section A.

<sup>3</sup> Bühler (EI, 2. 457, n. 95) explained *etayam* by *eta iyaṃ*. As *ayam* is used for the neuter *idam* in the Girnār edict IX, F, and XII, N, it may as well stand for *eta ayam*; cf. Michelson in JAOS, 31. 238.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. above, p. 10, n. 7.

<sup>5</sup> With *tadōpaya* Senart compares the Pāli words *tadūpiya* and *opāyika*. Franke (VOJ, 9. 345) connects it with *opaga* in the rock-edict II, B, and in the Delhi-Tōprā pillar-edict VII, R. Previous translators (except Lüders in SPAW, 1914. 845) have construed this word with the next section.

<sup>6</sup> Hitherto the two words *bhāge amñe* and *bhāge amne* at Kālsī and Dhauli have been taken as locatives = Pāli *apara-bhāge*. As Lüders (SPAW, 1913. 990) remarks, this is impossible, because in the eastern dialect the two locatives would end in *-asi*.

<sup>7</sup> The word *bhuya* (= *bhuye* in the remaining versions) is perhaps an adverb, as *bhuye* in the Delhi-Tōprā pillar-edict VII, KK and NN. Lüders (SPAW, 1914. 846) takes *bhuya-rati* to be a Karmadhāraya compound, which he connects with *esā*, and *bhāge amñe* to be locatives. But *esā* need not be a nom. sing. fem., but may be a nom. sing. masc., as in the Girnār edict XIII, I, and may as such be connected with *bhāge amñe*, as *[e]se* at Kālsī and *eshe* in the two Kharōṣṭhī versions.



- 6 पुतेन वा भावा वा स्वामिकेन वा इदं साधु इदं कतथ्य मंगलं आव तस अथस  
निष्ठानाय (I) अस्ति च पि वुतं
- 7 साधु दन इति (J) न तु एतारिसं अस्ता दानं व अनगहो व यारिसं धंमदानं व  
धमनुगहो व (K) त तु खो मिचेन व सुहदयेन वा
- 8 जतिकेन व सहायन व ओवादितथं तम्हि तम्हि पकरणे इदं कचं इदं साध इति  
इमिना सक
- 9 स्वगं आराधेतु इति (L) कि च इमिना कतथ्यतरं यथा स्वगारधी

- 1 (A) Devānāmpīyo Priyadasi rājā eva<sup>1</sup> āha (B) asti jano uchāvacham maṅgalaṁ  
karote ābādhesu vā
- 2 āvāha-vivāhesu vā putra-lābhesu vā pravāsammhi vā etamhi cha añamhi cha jano  
uchāvacham maṅgalaṁ karote
- 3 (C) eta tu mahidāyo bahukaṁ cha bahavidham cha chhudaṁ cha nirath[am] cha  
maṅgalaṁ karote (D) ta katavyameva tu magalaṁ<sup>2</sup> (E) apa-phalaṁ tu kho
- 4 etarisaṁ<sup>3</sup> maṅgalaṁ (F) ayaṁ tu mah[ā]-phale maṅgale ya dhamma-maṅgale  
(G) ta[te]ta<sup>4</sup> dāsa-bhatakamhi samya-pratipatī gurūnaṁ apachiti sādhu
- 5 pānesu sayamo sādhu bamhaṇa-samañānaṁ sādhu dānaṁ et[a] cha añ[a] cha<sup>5</sup>  
etārisaṁ dhamma-maṅgalaṁ nāma (H) ta vatavyaṁ pitā va
- 6 putena vā bhātrā vā svāmikena vā idaṁ sādhu idaṁ katavya<sup>6</sup> maṅgalaṁ āva tasa  
athasa niṣṭānāya (I) asti cha pi vutaṁ
- 7 sādhu dana<sup>7</sup> iti (J) na tu etārisaṁ astā<sup>8</sup> dānaṁ va ana[ga]ho<sup>9</sup> va yārisaṁ dhamma-  
dānaṁ va dhamanugaho<sup>10</sup> va (K) ta tu kho mitrena va suhadayena [v]ā
- 8 ñatikena<sup>11</sup> va sahāyana<sup>12</sup> va ovāditavyaṁ tamhi tamhi pakaraṇe<sup>13</sup> [i]daṁ kachaṁ  
idaṁ sādha<sup>14</sup> iti iminā sak[a]<sup>15</sup>
- 9 svagaṁ ārādhetu iti (L) ki cha iminā katavyataraṁ yathā svagāradhī<sup>16</sup>

## TRANSLATION

(A) King Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin speaks thus.

(B) Men are practising various ceremonies during illness, or at the marriage of a son or a daughter,<sup>16</sup> or at the birth of a son, or when setting out on a journey; on these and other (occasions) men are practising various ceremonies.

(C) But in such (cases) women are practising many and various vulgar and useless ceremonies.

<sup>1</sup> *evam* Bühler.

<sup>2</sup> Read *maṅgalaṁ*, which is the reading of Senart and Bühler.

<sup>3</sup> Read *etārisaṁ*.

<sup>4</sup> *tata* Senart and Bühler; but the *te* can be clearly distinguished on the back of the estampage, and is supported by the other versions.

<sup>5</sup> *katavyaṁ* Bühler.

<sup>6</sup> Read *dānaṁ*; *danaṁ* Bühler.

<sup>7</sup> Read *asti*, which is the reading of Senart and Bühler.

<sup>8</sup> Read *anugaho*.

<sup>9</sup> *dhammānugaho* Bühler.

<sup>10</sup> Read *ñāti*.

<sup>11</sup> Read *ñena*.

<sup>12</sup> The syllable *va* looks almost like *vā*.

<sup>13</sup> Read *sādhu*.

<sup>14</sup> *sakaṁ* Bühler.

<sup>15</sup> *radhi* Bühler.

<sup>16</sup> For *āvāha* and *vivāha* cf. *Jātaka*, Translation, vol. V, p. 145, n. 1.



(D) Now, ceremonies should certainly be practised.

(E) But ceremonies like these bear little fruit indeed.

(F) But the following practice bears much fruit, viz. the practice of morality.

(G) Herein the following (are comprised), (viz.) proper courtesy to slaves and servants, reverence to elders,<sup>1</sup> gentleness to animals, (and) liberality to Brāhmaṇas and Śramaṇas; these and other such (virtues) are called the practice of morality.

(H) Therefore a father, or a son, or a brother, or a master ought to say:—‘This is meritorious. This practice should be observed until the (desired) object is attained.’

(I) And it has been said also: ‘Gifts are meritorious.’

(J) But there is no such gift or benefit as the gift of morality or the benefit of morality.<sup>2</sup>

(K) Therefore a friend, or a well-wisher, or a relative, or a companion should indeed admonish (another) on such and such an occasion:—‘This ought to be done; this is meritorious. By this (practice) it is possible to attain heaven.’

(L) And what is more desirable than this,<sup>3</sup> viz. the attainment of heaven?

## TENTH ROCK-EDICT: GIRNAR

1 (A) देवानंपियो प्रियदसि राजा यसो व कीति व न महाभावहा मज्जते अजत  
तदात्पनो दिघाय च मे जनो

2 धम्मसुसंसा सुसुसता धम्मवुतं च अनुविधियतां (B) एतकाय देवानंपियो प्रियदसि  
राजा यसो व किति व इच्छति

3 (C) यं तु किञ्च परिक्रमते देवानं प्रियदसि राजा त सवं पारचिकाय किंति सकले  
अपपरिस्रवे अस (D) एस तु परिस्रवे य अपुञ्जं

4 (E) दुकरं तु खो एतं छुदकेन व जनेन उसटेन व अज्जच अगेन पराक्रमेन सवं  
परिचजित्पा (F) एत तु खो उसटेन दुकरं

1 (A) Devānaṃpiyo<sup>4</sup> Priyadasi rājā<sup>5</sup> yaso va kīti va na mahābhāvah[ā] mañate<sup>6</sup>  
aññata tadātpano<sup>7</sup> dighāya cha me [ja]no

2 dhamma-susru[m]sā<sup>8</sup> susrusatā<sup>9</sup> dhamma-vutaṃ cha anuvīdhiyatāṃ (B) etakāya  
Devānaṃpiyo Piyadasi rājā yaso va kīti va i[chha]ti

<sup>1</sup> The word *sādhū* after *apachitī*, *sayamo*, and *-samañānaṃ* is missing in the other versions. It seems to have crept into the Girnār text, because the person who drafted the latter had in his mind passages like the rock-edict III, D.

<sup>2</sup> Bühler (ZDMG, 48. 57 f.) has traced the two terms *dhamma-dāna* and *dhammānuggaha* in the *Itivuttaka*.

<sup>3</sup> A number of instances in which a comparative is construed with the instrumental (instead of the ablative) have been collected by Pischel, GGA, 1881. 1332.

<sup>4</sup> *°priyo* Bühler.

<sup>5</sup> An obliterated *de* is visible between the syllables *si* and *rā*, and an obliterated *vā* between *rā* and *jā*.

<sup>6</sup> *maññate* Bühler.

<sup>7</sup> Read, with Kern (*Faartelling*, p. 87), *tadātpane*.

<sup>8</sup> *-susumsā* Senart, *-susrusā* Bühler.

<sup>9</sup> *°satām* Senart and Bühler.



- 3 (C) ya[m] tu kich[i]<sup>1</sup> parik[a]mate<sup>2</sup> **Devānaṃ<sup>3</sup> Priyadasi rājā** ta savam pāratrikāya  
 kimti sakale a[pa]-parisrave<sup>4</sup> asa (D) esa tu parisave<sup>5</sup> ya apumñam  
 4 (E) dukaram tu kho etam chhudakena va janena usaṭena va añatra agena  
 parāk[r]amena<sup>6</sup> savam parichajitpā (F) et[a] t[u] kho usaṭena dukaram

## TRANSLATION

(A) King Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin does not think that either glory or fame<sup>7</sup> conveys much advantage, except (on account of his aim that) in the present time, and in the distant (future),<sup>8</sup> men may (be induced) by him to practise obedience to morality, and that they may conform to the duties of morality.<sup>9</sup>

(B) On this (account) king Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin is desiring glory and fame.

(C) But whatever effort king Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin is making, all that (is) for the sake of (merit) in the other (world), (and) in order that all (men) may run little danger.

(D) But the danger is this, viz. demerit.

(E) But it is indeed difficult either for a lowly person or for a high one to accomplish this without great zeal (and without) laying aside every (other aim).<sup>10</sup>

(F) But among these (two) it is indeed (more) difficult<sup>11</sup> to accomplish for a high (person).

## ELEVENTH ROCK-EDICT: GIRNAR

- 1 (A) देविनंप्रियो पियदसि राजा एवं आह (B) नास्ति एतारिसं दानं यारिसं धंमदानं  
 धंमसंस्तवो वा धंमसंविभागो वा धंमसंबधो व  
 2 (C) तत इदं भवति दासभतकम्हि सम्यप्रतिपती मातरि पितरा साधु सुसुसा मित-  
 सस्तुतजातिकानं वाम्हेणसमणानं साधु दानं  
 3 प्राणानं अनारंभो साधु (D) एत वतथं पिता व पुत्रेण व भाता व मितसस्तुत-  
 जातिकेन व आव पटीवेसियेहि इद साधु इद कतथं  
 4 (E) सो तथा करु इलोकचस आरधो होति परत च अनंतं पुइजं भवति तेन  
 धंमदानेन

<sup>1</sup> *kinchi* Bühler.

<sup>2</sup> Add °*priyo*.

<sup>3</sup> *parisrave* Bühler.

<sup>4</sup> i. e., as shown by Bühler (ZDMG, 37. 575), glory in this life and fame after death.

<sup>5</sup> Instead of *tadātpano(ne) dighāya cha* the Jaugaḍa version has the synonymous expression *tadatvāye āyatiye cha*, which occurs also in the *Kaṇṭhīya*, p. 248, l. 9 (*tadātve cha āyatyān cha*), and p. 240, l. 2. For numerous examples of abstracts formed with the Prākṛit affix *-tvana* or *-ttaṇa*, see Pischel's *Grammatik*, p. 405.

<sup>6</sup> With this passage cf. the Girnār edict IX, E, F, and XI, B, and the Shāhbāzgarhī edict XIII, P: 'And this conquest is considered the principal one by Dēvānāmpriya, viz. the conquest by morality'.

<sup>7</sup> I adopt Fleet's translation of the last words in JRAS, 1909. 1014, n. 4. The usual translation, 'renouncing everything', is improbable because Aśoka nowhere advocates absolute poverty, though he recommends 'moderation in possessions' in the rock-edict III, D.

<sup>8</sup> The Jaugaḍa version reads *dukalatale* for *dukaram*.



- 1 (A) Devināmpriyo<sup>1</sup> Piyadasi rājā ev[a]m āha (B) nāsti etārisaṃ dānaṃ yārisaṃ dhamma-dānaṃ dhamma-saṃstavo vā dhamma-saṃvibhāgo [vā]<sup>2</sup> dhamma-saṃbadho<sup>3</sup> va  
 2 (C) tata idaṃ bhavati dāsa-bhatakamhi samya-p[r]atipatī mātari pitarā<sup>4</sup> sādhu sus[r]usā mita-[sa]stuta-ñātikānaṃ bāmaṇa-s[r]amaṇā[naṃ]<sup>5</sup> sādhu dā[naṃ]  
 3 prāṇānaṃ anāraṃbho sādhu (D) eta vatavyaṃ pitā va putrena va bhāt[ā] va mita-sastut[a]-ñāt[i]k[e]na va āva paṭivesiyehi<sup>6</sup> ida<sup>7</sup> sādhu ida<sup>7</sup> ka[tav]ya[m]  
 4 (E) so t[a]thā karu<sup>8</sup> ilokachasa āradho hoti parata cha aṃnaṃtaṃ<sup>9</sup> puññaṃ<sup>10</sup> bhavati tena dhamma-dānena

## TRANSLATION

- ✓ (A) King Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin speaks thus.  
 (B) There is no such gift as the gift of morality, or acquaintance through morality, or the distribution of morality, or kinship through morality.<sup>11</sup>  
 (C) Herein the following are (comprised), (viz.) proper courtesy to slaves and servants, obedience to mother (and) father, liberality to friends, acquaintances, and relatives, to Brāhmaṇas and Śramaṇas, (and) abstention from killing animals.<sup>12</sup>  
 (D) Concerning this<sup>13</sup> a father, or a son, or a brother, or a friend, an acquaintance, or a relative, (or) even (mere) neighbours, ought to say: 'This is meritorious. This ought to be done.'<sup>14</sup>  
 (E) If one is acting thus,<sup>15</sup> the attainment<sup>16</sup> of (happiness) in this world is (secured), and endless merit is produced in the other (world) by that gift of morality.

<sup>1</sup> Read *Devānaṃ*<sup>o</sup>, which is the reading of Senart and Bühler.

<sup>2</sup> *va* Bühler.

<sup>3</sup> Read *-saṃbadho*.

<sup>4</sup> Read *pitarī*, which is the reading of Senart and Bühler.

<sup>5</sup> *-samaṇānaṃ* Senart and Bühler.

<sup>6</sup> *paṭi*<sup>o</sup> Senart and Bühler.

<sup>7</sup> *idaṃ* Bühler.

<sup>8</sup> Read *karuṃ*, as in the Gīrnār edict XII, F.

<sup>9</sup> Read *anantaṃ*.

<sup>10</sup> *puññaṃ* Senart and Bühler.

<sup>11</sup> The two expressions *dhamma-dāna* and *dhamma-saṃvibhāga* occur in a passage of the *Itivuttaka*; see Bühler, ZDMG, 48. 57 f.

<sup>12</sup> The other versions omit the superfluous word *sādhu* after *pitarā*, *-sramaṇānaṃ*, and *anāraṃbho*; cf. above, p. 17, n. 1.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. the Delhi-Tōprā pillar-edict VII, C, I, and RR.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. the Gīrnār edict IX, H and K.

<sup>15</sup> Senart and Bühler take *karuṃ* as a nominative absolute. According to Michelson (JAOS, 31. 244) it is a participle formed of a stem which is a compromise between *karo-* and *kuru-*.

<sup>16</sup> In the Gīrnār version *āradho* seems to be used as a substantive, just as *āradhī* in the Gīrnār edict IX, L, and *āladhī* in the Dhāuli separate edict I, S, and the Jaugada separate edict I, T. In the other versions of the rock-edict XI the wording is slightly different.



## TWELFTH ROCK-EDICT: GIRNAR

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसि राजा सवपासंडानि च पवजितानि च घरस्तानि च  
पूजयति दानेन च विवाधाय च पूजाय पूजयति ने
- 2 (B) न तु तथा दानं व पूजा व देवानंपियो मंजते यथा किति सारवढी अस  
सवपासंडानं (C) सारवढी तु बहुविधा
- 3 (D) तस तु इदं मूलं य वचिगुती किंति आत्पपासंडपूजा व परपासंडगरहा व नो  
भवे अप्रकरणमिह लहुका व अस
- 4 तमिह तमिह प्रकरणे (E) पूजेतया तु एव परपासंडा तेन तन प्रकरणेन (F) एवं करं  
आत्पपासंडं च वढयति परपासंडस च उपकरोति
- 5 (G) तदंजथा करोतो आत्पपासंडं च छणति परपासंडस च पि अपकरोति (H) यो  
हि कोचि आत्पपासंडं पूजयति परपासंडं व गरहति
- 6 सवं आत्पपासंडभतिया किंति आत्पपासंडं दीपयेम इति सो च पुन तथ करातो  
आत्पपासंडं वाढतरं उपहनाति (I) त समवायो एव साधु
- 7 किंति अजमंजस धंमं सुणारु च सुसुंसेर च (J) एवं हि देवानंपियस इच्छा किंति  
सवपासंडा बहुसुता च असु कलाणागमा च असु
- 8 (K) ये च तच तत प्रसंना तेहि वतथं (L) देवानंपियो नो तथा दानं व पूजां व  
मंजते यथा किंति सारवढी अस सर्वपासंडानं (M) वहका च एताय
- 9 अथा व्यापता धंममहामाता च इथीमुखमहामाता च वचभूमीका च अजे च  
निकाया (N) अयं च एतस फल य आत्पपासंडवढी च होति धंस च  
दीपना

- 1 (A) Devānaṃpiye Piyad[a]si rājā sava-pāsaṃdāni cha [pa]vajitāni cha gharastāni  
cha pūjayati d[ā]nena cha vivādhāya<sup>1</sup> [cha] pūjāya pūjayati ne
- 2 (B) na tu tathā dānaṃ va pū[jā] va D[e]vānaṃpiyo maññate yathā kiti sāra-vaḍhī  
asa sa[va-pā]saṃdānaṃ (C) sār[a]-vaḍhī tu bahuvidhā
- 3 (D) tasa<sup>2</sup> tu idaṃ mūlaṃ ya vachi-gutī kiṃti ātpa-pāsaṃda-pūjā va para-pāsaṃda-  
garahā<sup>3</sup> va no bhava aprakaraṇamhi<sup>4</sup> lahukā va asa
- 4 tamhi tamhi prakaraṇe (E) pūjetayā tu eva para-pāsaṃdā tena tana<sup>5</sup> prakaraṇena  
(F) evaṃ karuṃ ātpa-pāsaṃdaṃ cha vaḍhayati para-pāsaṃdasa cha upakaroti
- 5 (G) tad-aññathā karoto ātpa-pāsaṃdaṃ<sup>6</sup> cha chhaṇati para-pāsaṃdasa cha pi apakaroti  
(H) yo hi kochi ātpa-pāsaṃdaṃ pūjayati para-pāsaṃdaṃ v[a]<sup>7</sup> garahati

<sup>1</sup> Read *vividhāya*, which is the reading of Senart and Bühler.

<sup>2</sup> The writer had originally written *tasa tasa*, but he scored out the first *sa* and the second *ta*.

<sup>3</sup> The syllable *saṃ* of *-pāsaṃda-* was inserted subsequently.

<sup>4</sup> The syllable *pra* looks almost like *ha*; the horizontal stroke attached to *pa* is probably intended for *r*. Cf. *abhipretam* near the end of the Calcutta-Bairāt rock-inscription.

<sup>5</sup> Read *tena*.

<sup>6</sup> *-pāsaṃdaṃ* Bühler.

<sup>7</sup> *vā* Bühler.



- 6 savaṃ ātpa-pāsaṃḍa-bhatiyā<sup>1</sup> kiṃti ātpa-pāsaṃḍaṃ dīpayema iti so cha puna tatha  
karāto<sup>2</sup> ātpa-pāsaṃḍa[m] bāḍhataraṃ upahanāti (I) ta samavāyo eva sādhu
- 7 kiṃti [a]ñamañña<sup>3</sup> dhammaṃ sruṇāru<sup>4</sup> cha susuṃsera<sup>5</sup> cha (J) evaṃ hi  
D[e]vānāmpiyasa ichhā kiṃti<sup>6</sup> sava-pāsaṃḍā bahu-srutā cha asu kal[ā]ṇāgamā  
cha [a]su
- 8 (K) ye cha tatra tata<sup>7</sup> prasaṃnā tehi vatavyaṃ (L) Devānāmpiyo no tathā dānaṃ  
va pūjāṃ<sup>8</sup> va maññate yathā kiṃti sāra-vaḍhī asa sarva-pāsaḍānaṃ (M)  
bahakā<sup>9</sup> cha etāya
- 9 athā vyāpatā dhamma-mahāmātā cha ithijhakha-mahāmātā cha vacha-bhūmikā cha  
aṇe cha nikāyā (N) ayaṃ cha etasa phala ya ātpa-pāsaṃḍa-vaḍhī cha hoti  
dhammasa cha dīp[a]ṇā

## TRANSLATION

✓ (A) King Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin is honouring all sects:<sup>10</sup> both ascetics and householders; both with gifts and with honours of various kinds he is honouring them.

(B) But Dēvānāmpriya does not value either gifts or honours so (highly) as (this), (viz.) that a promotion of the essentials of all sects should take place.

(C) But a promotion of the essentials (is possible) in many ways.

(D) But its root is this, viz. guarding (one's) speech,<sup>11</sup> (i. e.) that neither praising one's own sect nor blaming other sects should take place on improper occasions, or (that) it should be moderate in every case.

(E) But other sects ought to be duly honoured in every case.

(F) If one is acting thus, he is both promoting his own sect and benefiting other sects.

(G) If one is acting otherwise than thus, he is both hurting his own sect and wronging other sects as well.

(H) For whosoever praises his own sect or blames other sects,—all (this)<sup>12</sup> out of devotion to his own sect, (i. e.) with the view of glorifying his own sect,—if he is acting thus, he rather injures his own sect very severely.

(I) Therefore concord alone is meritorious, (i. e.) that they should both hear and obey each other's morals.

(J) For this is the desire of Dēvānāmpriya, (viz.) that all sects should be full of learning, and should be pure in doctrine.

<sup>1</sup> -pāsaḍa- Bühler.

<sup>2</sup> Read *karoto*.

<sup>3</sup> *mañña*° Senart, *añña*° Bühler.

<sup>4</sup> Pischel (GGA, 1881. 1336) proposed to read *sruṇeru*. But the form *sruṇāru* is probably an imperative; see Introduction, chapter VI.

<sup>5</sup> *susuṃserā* Senart, *sususera* Bühler.

<sup>6</sup> The syllable *ti* was inserted subsequently.

<sup>7</sup> *tate* Bühler.

<sup>8</sup> *pūjā* Senart and Bühler.

<sup>9</sup> Read *bahukā*.

<sup>10</sup> The *cha* after *sava-pāsaṃḍāni* is superfluous; see Bühler, EI, 1. 19, n. 42. It is missing in the other versions.

<sup>11</sup> Instead of *vachī-gutī* the other versions read *vacha-gutī*. With *vachī* cf. the Ardhamāgadhī from *vāi* in Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 413.

<sup>12</sup> The readings *shave* at Kālsī and *savre* in the two Kharōshthī versions show that *savaṃ* at Gīrnār is the nom. sing. neut.; see Franke in KZ, 34. 422.



(K) And those who are attached to their respective (sects) ought to be spoken to<sup>1</sup> (as follows).

(L) *Dēvānāmpriya* does not value either gifts or honours so (highly) as (this), (viz.) that a promotion of the essentials of all sects should take place.

(M) And many (officers)<sup>2</sup> are occupied for this purpose,<sup>3</sup> (viz.) the *Mahāmātras* of morality, the *Mahāmātras* controlling women,<sup>4</sup> the inspectors of cowpens,<sup>5</sup> and other classes (of officials).<sup>6</sup>

(N) And this is the fruit of it, (viz.) that both the promotion of one's own sect takes place, and the glorification of morality.

### THIRTEENTH ROCK-EDICT: GIRNAR

- 1 (A) ..... जो कलिंगा वज ..... वढे सतसहस्रमाचं तच्चा  
हतं बहुतावतकं मत (C) तता पछा अधुना लधेसु कलिंगेसु तीवो धंमवायो  
2 ..... सयो देवानंप्रियस वज ..... वधो व मरणं व  
अपवाहो व जनस त वाढं वेदनमत च गुरुमत च देवानंपि .. स  
3 ..... बाह्मणा व समणा व अजे ..... सा माचि पितरि  
मुसुंसा गुरुसुसुंसा मितसंस्ततसहायजातिकेसु दासभ .....  
4 ..... अभिरत्तानं व विनिस्समण (H) येसं वा प .....  
हायजातिका व्यसनं प्राप्नुणति तत सो पि तेस उपघातो हाति (I) पटीभागो  
चेसा सब .....  
5 ..... स्ति इमे निकाया अजच योनेसु ..... म्हि यच नास्ति  
मानुसानं एकतरम्हि पासंडम्हि न नाम प्रसादो (K) यावतको जनो तदा  
6 ..... सभागो व गुरुमतो देवानं ..... न य सक छमितवे  
(M) या च पि अटवियो देवानंपियस पिजिते पाति  
7 ..... चते तेसं देवानंपियस ..... सबभूतानां अछतिं च  
सयमं च समचैरं च मादव च

<sup>1</sup> Bühler (ZDMG, 37. 586) noted other instances of the dative plural in *-chi* at Jaugada (*-sama-nehi*, III, l. 3, and *mahāmātehi*, VI, l. 3), and at Kālsī (*mahāmātehi*, VI, end of l. 18). See also Mānsehrā, VI, l. 28, and XII, l. 7, and *ājīvikehi* in the second and third Barābar Hill cave-inscriptions.

<sup>2</sup> As pointed out by Lüders (SPAW, 1914. 849), the two words *bahukā cha*, which previous translators had connected with section L, are in reality the first words of section M.

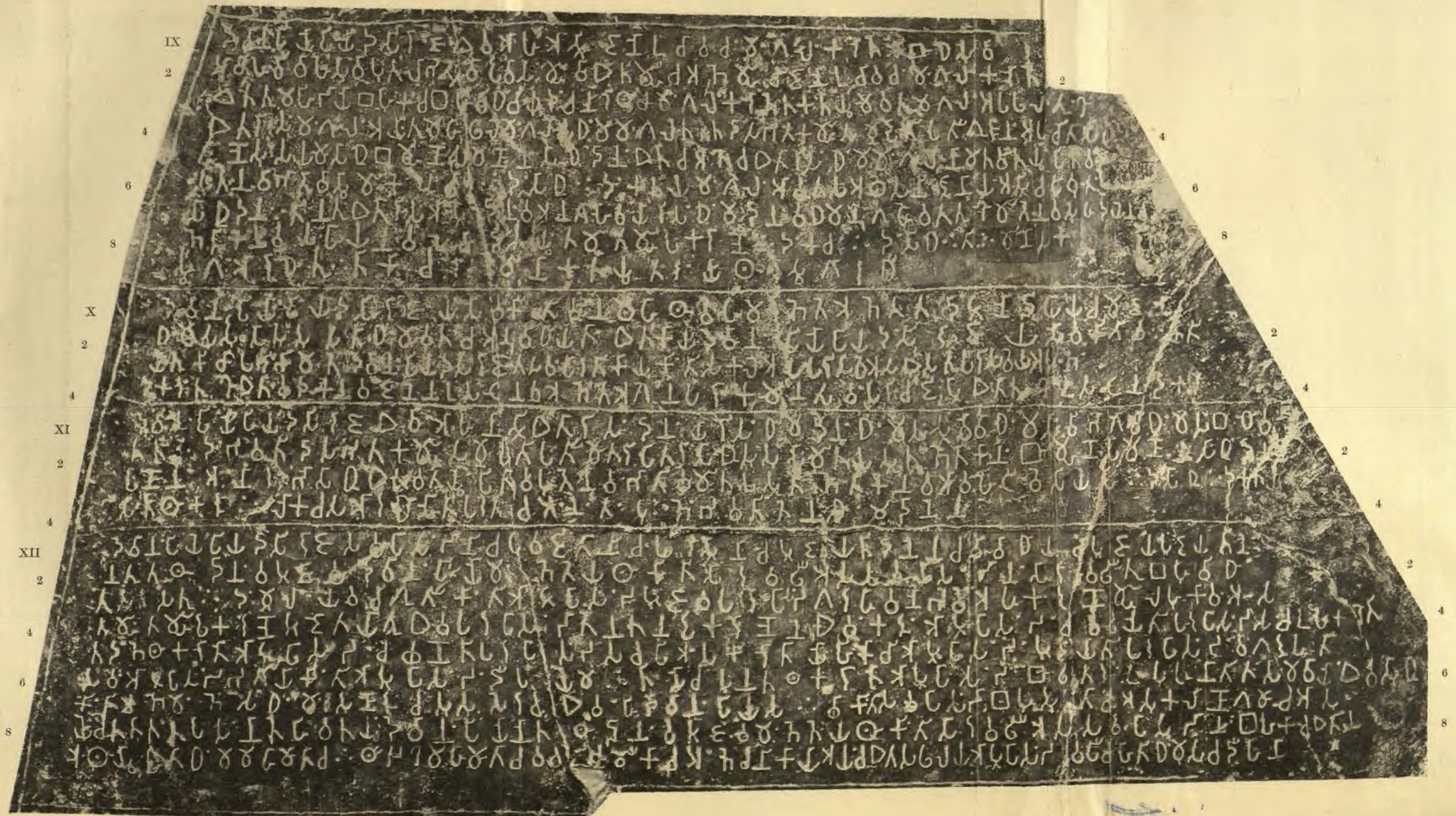
<sup>3</sup> For the dative *athā* (= *athāya*), see the Delhi-Tōprā pillar-edict VII, W, and E. Müller's *Pāli Grammar*, p. 67.

<sup>4</sup> With *itihijhakka* cf. *gaṇikādhyaṣka*, 'the overseer of courtesans', in the *Kautiliya*, II, 27.

<sup>5</sup> Bühler (EI, 2. 470, n. 18) suggested that *vacha* (= *vracha* at Mānsehrā) may be a Prākṛit form of *vraja*, 'a cowpen', and compared *gavādhyaṣka*, 'the overseer of cows', in the *Kāmasūtra*, p. 290, l. 1. Cf. also *gōdhyaksha* in the *Kautiliya*, II, 29. For the hardening of *j* in *vracha* cf. *vrachanti* and *v[r]acheyam* (from Skt. *vrajati*) at Shāhbāzgarhī, XIII, S, and VI, L.

<sup>6</sup> The Delhi-Tōprā pillar-edict VII, Z, mentions officers whose special duty it was to attend to Buddhists, Brāhmanas, Ājivikas, Nirgranthas, and other sects.











- 8 ..... लधो ..... नप्रियस इध सवेसु च ..... योनराज  
परं च तेन चत्पारो राजानो तुरमायो च अंतेकिन च मगा च  
9 ..... इध राजविसयम्हि योनकंबो ..... ध्रपारिदेसु सवत  
देवानंपियस धंमानुसस्तिं अनुवतरे (S) यत पि दूति  
10 ..... नं धमानुसस्तिं च धमं अनुविधियरे ..... विजयो  
सवथा पुन विजयो पीतिरसो सा (U) लधा सा पीती होति धंमवीजयम्हि  
11 ..... प्रियो (X) एताय अथाय अयं धंमल ..... वं विजयं  
मा विजेतय्यं मंजा सरसके एव विजये छाति च  
12 ..... किको च पारलोकिको ..... इल्लोकिका च  
पारलोकिका च

- 1 (A) ..... ño Kalimṅā [v. j.] ..... [v. ḍh]e [sa]ta-sahasra-mātraṁ  
tatrā hataṁ bahu-tāvatakaṁ mata<sup>1</sup> (C) tatā pachhā adh[u]nā<sup>2</sup> ladhesu  
Kalimṅesu ti[v]o dhammavāyo  
2 ..... [sa]yo Devānaṁpriyasa [v. j.] ..... [va]dho va maraṇaṁ va  
apavāho va janasa ta<sup>3</sup> bādhaṁ vedana-mata<sup>4</sup> cha g[u]r[u]-mata<sup>4</sup> cha  
Devā[naṁpi] .. [sa]  
3 ..... bāmhaṇā va samaṇā va aṇe ..... [s]ā mātr[i]<sup>5</sup> pitari susuṁsā  
guru-susuṁsā<sup>6</sup> mita-saṁstata-sahāya-ñātike[su]<sup>7</sup> dāsa-[bha] .....  
4 ..... abhiratānaṁ va vinikhamāṇa (H) yesaṁ vā [p.] ..... [h]āya-  
ñātikā vyasanaṁ prāpuṇati tata<sup>8</sup> so pi tesa<sup>9</sup> [u]paghāto hāti<sup>10</sup> (I) paṭibhā[g]o  
chesā s[ava] .....  
5 ..... sti ime nikāyā aṇatra Yone[su]<sup>11</sup> ..... [mh]i yatra nāsti  
mānusānaṁ<sup>12</sup> ekataramhi pāsaṁḍamhi na nāma prasā[d]o (K) y[ā]vata[k]o  
j[ano ta]d[ā]  
6 ..... sra-bhāgo va garu-mat[o] Devānaṁ ..... na ya saka<sup>13</sup>  
chhamitave (M) yā cha pi aṭaviyo D[e]vānaṁpiya[su]<sup>14</sup> pijite<sup>15</sup> pāti<sup>16</sup>

<sup>1</sup> mataṁ Bühler.<sup>2</sup> adhanā Bühler.<sup>3</sup> taṁ Senart and Bühler.<sup>4</sup> -mataṁ Bühler.<sup>5</sup> mātā- Senart and Bühler; the horizontal stroke on the right of t seems to be intended for r.<sup>6</sup> -susuṁsā Bühler.<sup>7</sup> Read -saṁstuta-, which is Bühler's reading.<sup>8</sup> tatā Senart, tatra Bühler.<sup>9</sup> tesaṁ Senart and Bühler.<sup>10</sup> Read hoti, which is the reading of Senart and Bühler.<sup>11</sup> yo nesa Senart; Mānsehrā reads Yoneshu quite distinctly.<sup>12</sup> manu<sup>o</sup> Bühler.<sup>13</sup> sakaṁ Bühler.<sup>14</sup> Two old fissures of the rock, the first after pi and the second after sa, run on to the next line, where they divide the word samachairam into three parts; <sup>o</sup>priyasa Bühler.<sup>15</sup> Read vijite.<sup>16</sup> Read hoti.



- 7 . . . . . chate te[sa]m **Devānāmpiyasa** . . . . . sava-bhūtānām<sup>1</sup>  
 achhatim<sup>2</sup> cha sayamañ cha samachairam<sup>3</sup> ch[a] mādava<sup>4</sup> cha  
 8 . . . . . [la]dh[o] . . . . . **nañpriyasa** idha [sa]vesu [ch.] . . . . .  
 [Yo]na-rāja<sup>5</sup> param cha tena chatpāro rājāno Turamāyo cha [A]nt[ek]ina<sup>6</sup>  
 cha **Magā** cha  
 9 . . . . . idha rāja-vi[sa]yamhi [Y]o[na]-**Kambo** . . . . . **mdhra-**  
**Pārimdesu**<sup>7</sup> savata **Devānāmpiyasa** dhammānus[a]stīm anuv[a]tare (S) yata  
 pi dūti<sup>8</sup>  
 10 . . . . . [na]m dhamānusastīm cha dhamam anuvadhīyare<sup>9</sup> . . . . .  
 [v]ijayo savathā puna vijayo pīti-raso sā<sup>10</sup> (U) ladhā sā pīti hoti dhamma-  
 vijayamhi  
 11 . . . . . m[p]riyo (X) etā[ya athā]ya ayañ dhamma-[l] . . . . .  
 [va]m vijayañ mā vijetavyañ maññā<sup>11</sup> sarasake eva vijaye chhāti<sup>12</sup> cha  
 12 . . . . . kik[o] ch[a pā]r[alo]ki[ko] . . . . . ilokikā cha pāralokikā<sup>13</sup> cha

## TRANSLATION

- (A) . . . . . the **Kaliṅgas** . . . . .  
 (B) . . . . . one hundred thousand in number were those who were slain  
 there, (and) many times as many those who died.  
 (C) After that, now that (the country of) the **Kaliṅgas** has been taken, a zealous  
 study of morality<sup>14</sup> . . . . .  
 (D) . . . . . [the repentance] of **Dēvānāmpriya** . . . . .  
 (E) . . . . . slaughter, death, and deportation of people, this is considered  
 very painful and deplorable by **Dēvānāmpriya**.  
 (G) . . . . . Brāhmaṇas or Śramaṇas, [or] other . . . . . obedience to  
 mother (and) to father, obedience to elders . . . . . to friends, acquaintances,  
 companions, and relatives, [to] slaves . . . . . or deportation of (their)  
 beloved ones.  
 (H) . . . . . [companions] and relatives are then incurring misfortune,  
 this (misfortune) as well becomes an injury to those (persons).  
 (I) This is shared [by] all . . . . .

<sup>1</sup> -bhūtānām Bühler.

<sup>2</sup> An old fissure of the rock, between *chha* and *tim*, runs on to the two next lines of the edict.

<sup>3</sup> *samacheram* Senart, *samacherām* Bühler.

<sup>4</sup> *mādavam* Bühler.

<sup>5</sup> -rājā Bühler.

<sup>6</sup> *Antakāna* Senart, *Antekinā* Bühler.

<sup>7</sup> The apparent *e*-stroke attached to *dha* is probably meant for *r*; *mdha-P[i]rimdesu* Bühler.

<sup>8</sup> Read *dūtā*.

<sup>9</sup> *dhamā* Senart; *anuv[i]dh[i]yare* Bühler.

<sup>10</sup> *so* Bühler.

<sup>11</sup> *maññā* Bühler.

<sup>12</sup> *chhāti[m]* Bühler.

<sup>13</sup> Between *pāra* and *lo* a rough portion of the rock was left blank by the writer.

<sup>14</sup> Instead of *dhammavāyo* Shāhbāzgarhī seems to read *dhama-silana*, 'the practice, or study, of morality'. Hence Senart is probably correct in explaining *dhammavāyo* by *dharmavāya*.



(J) . . . . . these classes . . . . . except among the **Yōnas**<sup>1</sup> . . . . . where men are not indeed attached to some sect.<sup>2</sup>

(K) As many people as at that time . . . . . part is considered deplorable by **Dēvānāmpriya**].

(L) . . . . . what can be forgiven.

(M) And even the forests which are (included) in the dominions of **Dēvānāmpriya** . . . . .

(N) They are [told] . . . . . of **Dēvānāmpriya** . . . . .

(O) . . . . . towards all beings abstention from hurting, self-control, impartiality, and kindness.

(Q) . . . . . has been won by [**Dēvā**]nāmpriya here and among all . . . . . the **Yōna** king,<sup>3</sup> and beyond him four kings, (viz.) **Turamāya**, **Antekina**, **Magā** . . . . .

(R) . . . . . here in the king's territory, [among] the **Yōnas** and **Kambō[jas]** . . . . . among the [**A**]ndhras and **Pārindas**,—everywhere (people) are conforming to **Dēvānāmpriya**'s instruction in morality.

(S) Even where the envoys . . . . . and the instruction in morality, are conforming to morality . . . . .

(T) . . . . . this conquest,—a conquest (won) in every respect (and) repeatedly,<sup>4</sup>—causes the feeling of satisfaction.

(U) This satisfaction has been obtained (by me) at the conquest by morality.

(W) . . . . . [**Dēvānā**]mpriya.

(X) For the following purpose this [rescript] on morality . . . . . should not think that a [fresh] conquest ought to be made, (that), if a conquest does please them,<sup>5</sup> mercy . . . . .

(Y) . . . . . in the other world.

(AA) . . . . . both in this world and in the other world.

## FOURTEENTH ROCK-EDICT: GIRNAR

- 1 (A) अयं धम्मलिपी देवानंप्रियेन प्रियदसिना राजा लेखापिता अस्ति एव
- 2 संखितेन अस्ति मग्गेन अस्ति विस्तृतं (B) न च सर्वं सर्वत घटितं
- 3 (C) महालके हि विजितं बहु च लिखितं लिखापयिसं चेव (D) अस्ति च एतं कं
- 4 पुन पुन वुत्तं तस तस अयस माधूरताय किंति जनो तथा पटिपजेय
- 5 (E) तच्च एकदा असमातं लिखितं अस देसं व सद्धाय कारणं व
- 6 अलोचेत्त्वा लिपिकरापरधेन व

<sup>1</sup> i. e. the Greeks.

<sup>2</sup> As remarked by Senart, the last negation of this sentence (*na*) is redundant.

<sup>3</sup> For the proper names mentioned in this passage see my notes on the translation of the Kālsī version.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. the Kālsī version, Q.

<sup>5</sup> Bühler divided *sarasake* into *sara-sake*, which he translated by 'possible by arrows'. The various readings of Kālsī (*shayakashi*) and Shāhbāzgarhī (*spa[kaspi]*) induce me to consider it as a Bahuvrīhi of *sva + rasa*.



- 1 (A) ayaṁ dhamma-lipī Devānāmpriyena Priyadasinā r[ā]ññā l[e]khāpitā asti eva  
 2 saṁkhit[e]na asti majhamena asti vistatana<sup>1</sup> (B) na cha sarvaṁ [sa]rvata ghaṭitaṁ  
 3 (C) mahālake hi vijitaṁ bahu cha likhitaṁ likhāpayisaṁ cheva (D) asti cha eta kaṁ  
 4 puna puna vutaṁ tasa tasa athasa<sup>2</sup> mādūrātāya kiṁti jano tathā paṭipajetha  
 5 (E) tatra ekadā asamāt[a]ṁ likhita[m] asa desaṁ vā sachhāya [kā]raṇaṁ vā  
 6 [a]lochetpā lipikarāparadhena va

## TRANSLATION

(A) These rescripts on morality have been caused to be written by king Dēvānāṁ-priya Priyadarśin either in an abridged (form), or of middle (size), or at full length.

(B) And<sup>3</sup> the whole was not suitable everywhere.

(C) For (my) dominions are wide, and much has been written, and I shall cause still (more) to be written.

(D) And some of this<sup>4</sup> has been stated again and again because of the charm of certain topics, (and)<sup>5</sup> in order that men should act accordingly.

(E) In some instances (some) of this may have been written incompletely, either on account of the locality,<sup>6</sup> or because (my) motive was not liked,<sup>7</sup> or by the fault of the writer.

## BELOW THE THIRTEENTH GIRNAR ROCK-EDICT, LEFT SIDE

- 1 ..... तेष .....  
 2 ..... पिपा .....  
 1 ..... , ..... t[esha]<sup>8</sup> .....  
 2 ..... [p]i[p]ā<sup>9</sup> .....

## BELOW THE THIRTEENTH GIRNAR ROCK-EDICT, RIGHT SIDE

..... र्वस्वेतो हस्ति सर्वलोकसुखाहरो नाम  
 ..... rva-sveto<sup>10</sup> hasti sarva-loka-sukhāharo nāma

<sup>1</sup> Read *vistatena*.

<sup>2</sup> The syllable *sa* was inserted subsequently.

<sup>3</sup> The other versions read 'for' instead of 'and'. The Gīrnār reading would suit Senart's translation of *ghaṭitaṁ* by 'put together'.

<sup>4</sup> The other versions suggest that *eta kaṁ* must not be joined into one word, but corresponds to *atra kiṁchit*. Cf. also *ata k[i]chhi* in the Kālsī version, E.

<sup>5</sup> The particle *cha* is inserted at Dhāuli and Jaugaḍa.

<sup>6</sup> Thus the two separate edicts were substituted at Dhāuli and Jaugaḍa for the rock-edicts XI to XIII. Bühler considered *sachhāya* = *saṁkhyāyam*, and connected it with *kāraṇaṁ*; see ZDMG, 40. 142, and 48. 59 f. It seems more natural to take it as a gerund = *saṁkhyāya* or *saṁkhyāya*.

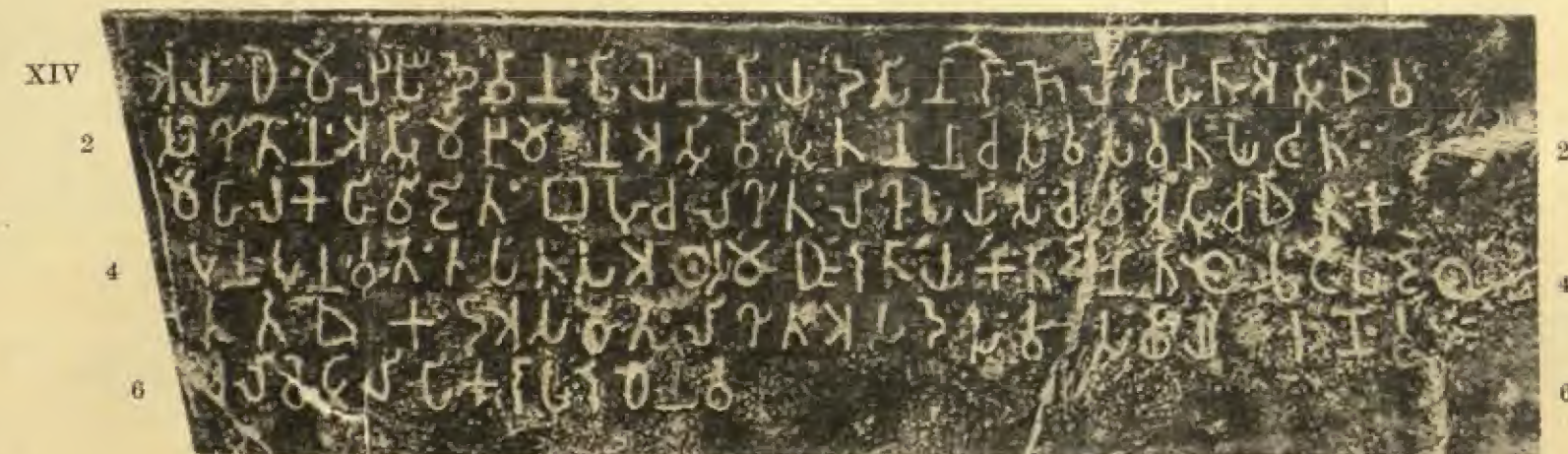
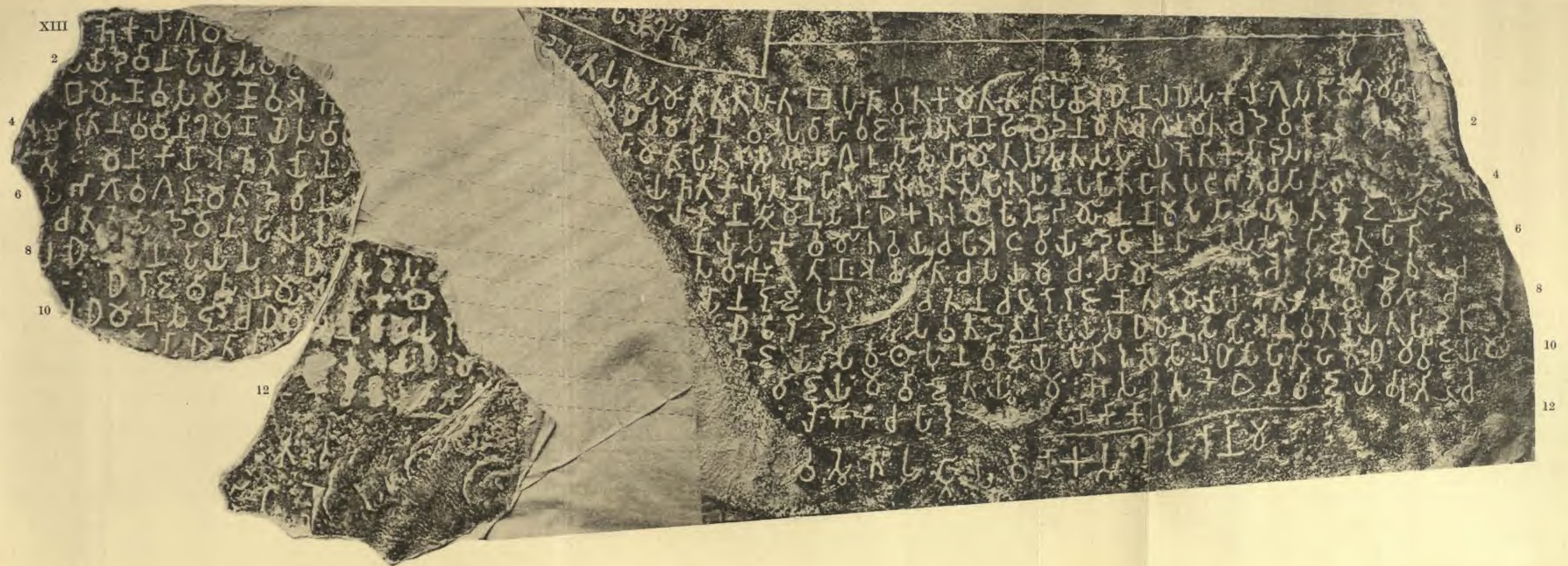
<sup>7</sup> Senart translates: 'perhaps that the sense has been misunderstood'. I take *locheti* = Skt. *rōchayati*; see above, p. 8, n. 3.

<sup>8</sup> This word is perhaps a portion of the well-known Buddhist formula *hītuṁ tēshāṁ Tathāgatō hyavadat | tēshāṁ cha* &c.

<sup>9</sup> Bühler (VOJ, 8. 320) suggested that this line may have contained the name of the writer. I feel tempted to conjecture *lipi[kāraṇa\*]*, which is the last word of the three Mysore edicts.

<sup>10</sup> Restore *sarva-*.











## TRANSLATION

..... the entirely white<sup>1</sup> elephant<sup>2</sup> bringing indeed happiness to the whole world.

## II. THE KALSI ROCK

## FIRST ROCK-EDICT: KALSI

*A.—East Face of Kālsī Rock.*

- 1 (A) इयं धम्मलिपि देवानंपियेना पियदसिना लेखिता (B) हिदा नो किच्छि जिवे आलभितु पजोहितविये
- 2 (C) नो पि चा समाजे कटविये (D) बहुका हि दोसा समाजसा देवानंपिये पियदसी लाजा दखति (E) अथि पि चा एकतिया समाजा साधुमता देवानंपियसा पियदसिसा लाजिने
- 3 (F) पुले महानससि देवानंपियसा पियदसिसा लाजिने अनुदिवसं बहुनि पातसहसानि अलंभियिषु सुपठाये (G) से इदानि यदा इयं धम्मलिपि लेखिता तदा तिनि येवा पानानि अलभियंति
- 4 दुवे मजूला एके मिगे से पि चू मिगे नो ध्रुवे (H) एतानि पि चु तिनि पानानि नो अलभियिसंति

- 1 (A) iyaṃ dhamma-lipi Devānaṃpiyenā Piyadas[i]nā [lekhit]ā (B) [h]idā no<sup>1</sup> kichhi jive ālabhitu pajohitaviye
- 2 (C) no pi ch[ā] samāje kaṭaviye (D) bahuk[ā] hi dosā samājasā Devān[am]piye Pi[ya]dasī lājā dakhati (E) athi pi ch[ā e]katiyā samājā<sup>4</sup> sād[h]u-matā<sup>5</sup> Devānaṃpiyasā Piyadasis[ā] lājine
- 3 (F) [p]ule mahānasasī Devānaṃpiyasā Piyadasisā lājin[ē]<sup>6</sup> anudivasam bahuni pāta-sahasāni<sup>7</sup> alaṃbhiyisu<sup>8</sup> supathāy[e] (G) se i[d]āni ya[dā] iyaṃ dhamma-lipi lekhitā tadā timni yevā pānāni alabhi[ya]m[ti]<sup>9</sup>
- 4 duve majūl[ā]<sup>10</sup> eke mige se pi [chū]<sup>11</sup> mige no dhruve<sup>12</sup> (H) e[t]āni pi ch[u]<sup>13</sup> tini pānā[n]i no alabhi[y]isa[m]ti<sup>14</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *sabbaseto* in Childers's *Pāli Dictionary*, s.v. *sabbo*.

<sup>2</sup> As stated by Kern (*Faartelling*, p. 44), Senart (*Inscriptions*, vol. I, p. 323 f.), and Bühler (ZDMG, 39, 490), the Gīrnār rock must have borne, like the Kālsī and Dhaurī rocks, the figure of an elephant representing the Buddha. This figure was probably destroyed during the construction of a causeway for pilgrims from Junāgarh to Gīrnār, and along with it those adjacent portions of the fifth and thirteenth edicts which are now missing.

<sup>3</sup> *nā* Bühler.

<sup>4</sup> *sa[m]āja* Bühler.

<sup>5</sup> There is a fissure in the rock here.

<sup>6</sup> *lājine* Bühler.

<sup>7</sup> *sata-* Senart, *pāna-* Bühler; read *pāna-sata-*.

<sup>8</sup> *ālabhi* Bühler.

<sup>9</sup> *alābhi* Senart, *ālabhi* Bühler.

<sup>10</sup> *majali* Senart, *majulā* Bühler.

<sup>11</sup> *ye* Senart, *cha* Bühler.

<sup>12</sup> *dhave* Senart, *dhruve* Bühler.

<sup>13</sup> *cha* Bühler.

<sup>14</sup> *ālābhi* Senart, *ālabhi* Bühler.



## TRANSLATION

(A) This rescript on morality has been caused to be written by **Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin**.

(B) Here no living being must be killed and sacrificed.

(C) And also no festival meeting must be held.

(D) For king **Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin** sees much evil in festival meetings.

(E) And there are also some festival meetings which are considered meritorious by king **Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin**.

(F) Formerly in the kitchen of king **Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin** many hundred thousands of animals were killed daily for the sake of curry.

(G) But now, when this rescript on morality is caused to be written, then only three animals are being killed (daily), (viz.) two peacocks (and) one deer, but even this deer not regularly.

(H) But even these three animals shall not be killed (in future).

## SECOND ROCK-EDICT: KALSI

4 (A) सवता विजितसि देवानंपियसा पियदसिसा लाजिने ये च अंता अथा चोडा पंडिया सातियपुतो केललपुतो तंबपंनि

5 अंतियोगे नाम योनलाजा ये चा अंने तसा अंतियोगसा सामंता लाजानो सवता देवानंपियसा पियदसिसा लाजिने दुवे चिकिसका कटा मनुसचिकिसा चा पसुचिकिसा चा (B) ओसधीनि मनुसोपगानि चा पसोपगानि चा अतता नथि

6 सवता हालापिता चा लोपापिता चा (C) एवमेवा मुलानि चा फलानि चा अतता नथि सवता हालापिता चा लोपापिता चा (D) मगेसु लुखानि लोपितानि उदुपानानि चा खानापितानि पटिभोगाये पसुमुनिसानं

4 (A) sav[a]tā vijitasi Devānaṃpiyas[ā] Piyadasis[ā] lājine ye cha aṃtā [a]thā Chodā Paṇḍi[yā] Sātiyaputo Ke[lala]puto Taṃba[pa]ṇṇi

5 Aṃtiyoge [n]āma Yona-lājā ye chā aṃne tas[ā] A]ṃtiyogasā sā[ma]ṃtā lā[j]āno [sa]vatā Devānaṃpiyasā Piyadasisā lājine duve chikisakā kaṭā manusa-chikisā chā pasu-chikisā chā (B) osadhīn[i]<sup>1</sup> manusopagāni chā pasopagāni chā<sup>2</sup> a[ta]tā n[a]th[i]

6 [sa]vatā [h]ālāpitā chā lo[p]āpit[ā] chā (C) [e]vamevā mulāni chā phalāni chā a[ta]t[ā] nathi savatā hālāp[i]tā chā lopāpitā [ch]ā (D) ma[g]e[s]u [lu]khāni<sup>3</sup> lopitāni ud[u]pānā[n]i chā khānāpitāni paṭibhogāye pasu-munis[ā]ṇaṃ

## TRANSLATION

(A) Everywhere in the dominions of king **Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin** and (of those) who (are his) borderers, such as the **Chōḍas**, the **Pāṇḍyas**, the **Sātiyaputa**, the

<sup>1</sup> *osadhāni* Senart and Bühler.

<sup>2</sup> There is a fissure in the rock here.

<sup>3</sup> *cha* Senart and Bühler.



Kēlalaputa,<sup>1</sup> Tāmraparṇī, the Yōna king named Antiyoga, and the other kings who are the neighbours of this Antiyoga,—everywhere two (kinds of) medical men were established by king Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin, (viz.) medical treatment for men and medical treatment for cattle.

(B) Wherever there were no herbs beneficial to men and beneficial to cattle, everywhere they were caused to be imported and to be planted.

(C) Likewise, wherever there were no roots and fruits, everywhere they were caused to be imported and to be planted.

(D) On the roads trees were planted, and wells were caused to be dug for the use of cattle and men.

## THIRD ROCK-EDICT: KALSI

- 6 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसि लाजा हेवं आहा  
 7 (B) दुवादसवसाभिसितेन मे इयं आनपयिते (C) सवता विजितसि मम युता  
 लजूके पादेसिके पंचसु पंचसु वसेसु अनुसंयानं निखमंतु एताये वा अठाये  
 इमाय धंमनुसथिया यथा अनाये पि कंमाये (D) साधु  
 8 मातपितिसु सुसुसा मितसंयुतनातिक्यानं चा वंभनसमनानं चा साधु दाने  
 पानानं अनालंभे साधु अपवियाता अपभंडता साधु (E) पलिसा पि च  
 युतानि गननसि अनपयिसंति हेतुवता चा वियंजनते चा

- 6 (A) De[vā]nāmpiye Piyadasi lājā h[e]vaṃ āhā  
 7 (B) du[v]āḍasa-v[a]sābhisitena me iyaṃ ānapayite (C) savatā vijitasi [mama]  
 yutā laj[ū]k[e]<sup>2</sup> pādesike pa[m]cha[s]u paṃchasu vasesu [a]nusa[m]yānaṃ<sup>3</sup>  
 nikham[am]tu etāye vā a[th]āye imāya<sup>4</sup> dhammanusathiyā yathā am[nāye] pi  
 kaṃmāye (D) sādhu  
 8 mātā-pitisu sususā mita-saṃthuta-nātikyān[am] chā baṃbhana-sama[nā]naṃ [chā]  
 sādhu d[ā]ne pānānaṃ anālaṃbh[e] sādhu [a]pa-v[i]yātā<sup>5</sup> [a]pa-[bha]m[ḍa]t[ā]  
 sādhu (E) palisā pi cha yutāni [ga]ṇanasi anap[a]yisaṃti hetuvatā chā  
 viyaṃjanat[e] chā<sup>6</sup>

## TRANSLATION

- ✓ (A) King Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin speaks thus.  
 (B) (When I had been) anointed twelve years, the following was ordered by me.  
 (C) Everywhere in my dominions the *Yuktas*, the *Lajūka*, (and) the *Prāḍṣika* shall set out on a complete tour (throughout their charges) every five years for this very purpose, (viz.) for the following instruction in morality as well as for other business.

<sup>1</sup> As the Kālsī dialect replaces *r* by *l*, this form is the correct equivalent of *Kēralaputra* at Mānsehrā.

<sup>2</sup> *lajaki* Senart, *lajuke* Bühler.

<sup>3</sup> *anusiyānaṃ* Senart, *anus[a]yānaṃ* Bühler.

<sup>4</sup> *athāye imāy[e]* Bühler.

<sup>5</sup> The other versions read *\*yatā* or *\*yata*. There is a fissure in the rock here.

<sup>6</sup> *cha* Senart and Bühler.



(D) 'Meritorious is obedience to mother and father. Liberality to friends, acquaintances, and relatives, and to Brāhmaṇas and Śramaṇas is meritorious. Abstinence from killing animals is meritorious. Moderation in expenditure (and) moderation in possessions are meritorious.'

(E) And the councils (of *Mahāmātras*) also shall order the *Yuktas*<sup>1</sup> to register (these rules) both with (the addition of) reasons<sup>2</sup> and according to the letter.

#### FOURTH ROCK-EDICT: KALSI

- 9 (A) अतिकंतं अंतलं बहुनि वससतानि वधिते वा पानालंभे विहिंसा चा भुतानं  
नातिना असंपटिपति समनबंभनानं असंपटिपति (B) से अजा देवानंपियसा  
पियदसिने लाजिने धंमचलनेना भेलिघोसे अहो धंमघोसे विमनदसना  
10 हथिनि अगिकंधानि अनानि चा दिव्यानि लुपानि दसयितु जनस (C) आदिसा  
बहुहि वससतेहि ना हुतपुलुवे तादिसे अजा वधिते देवानंपियसा पियदसिने  
लाजिने धंमनुसथिये अनालंभे पानानं अविहिंसा भुतानं नातिनं  
11 संपटिपति बंभनसमनानं संपटिपति मातापितिसु सुसुसा (D) एसे चा अने चा  
बहुविधे धंमचलने वधिते (E) वधियिसति चेवा देवानंपिये पियदसि लाज  
इमं धंमचलनं (F) पुता च कं नताले चा पनातिक्या चा देवानंपियसा  
पियदसिने लाजिने  
12 पवढयिसंति चेव धंमचलनं इमं आवकपं धंसि सीलसि चा चिटितु धंमं  
अनुसासिसंति (G) एसे हि सेठे कंमं अं धंमानुसासनं (H) धंमचलने पि चा  
नो होति असिलसा (I) से इमसा अथसा वधि अहिनि चा साधु (J) एताये  
अथाये इयं लिखिते  
13 इमसा अथसा वधि युजंतु हिनि च मा अलोचयिसु (K) दुवादसवशाभिसितेना  
देवानंपियेना पियदशिना लाजिना लेखिता

- 9 (A) atika[m]ta[m] a[m]ta[la]m bahuni vasa-satāni v[adh]it[e] vā pā[nā]lambhe  
vi[h]isā chā bhutāna[m] nātinā<sup>3</sup> asa[m]pa[ti]p[a]ti samana-b[a]m]bhanāna[m]  
asampaṭipati (B) s[e] ajā Devāna[m]piyasā Piyadasine lājine dhamma[a]-  
chal[an]enā bheli-ghose aho dhamma-ghose vimana-dasan[ā]  
10 [ha]thini agi-kamdh[ā]ni amnāni chā<sup>4</sup> divyāni lupāni dasayitu jana[sa] (C) [ā]disā<sup>5</sup>  
ba[h]u[hi] v[asa]-[sa]tehi nā huta-puluve tādise ajā vadhite Devāna[m]piyasā  
Piyadasine [l]ājine dhammanusathiye a[n]lambhe pānāna[m] avihisā bhutāna[m]  
nāti[nam]<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Lüders (SPAW, 1913, 993 ff.) has been the first to remark that in the eastern dialect the accusative plural of masculines ends in -āni. Cf. *yutāni* in E with *yutā* in C, and *Kaligyāni* in XIII, D, with *Kaligyā* in A; also XII, A, and *pulisāni* in the pillar-edict IV, G.

<sup>2</sup> Bühler (ZDMG, 37, 108) explained *hetuvatā* by *kṛtumatā vākyēna*, i.e. 'by a syllogism'. The other versions read *hetuto* or *hetute*.

<sup>3</sup> *nātinam* Bühler.

<sup>4</sup> There is a fissure in the rock here.

<sup>5</sup> *ādisam* Senart, *ādis[e]* Bühler.

<sup>6</sup> *nātisam* Senart, *nāti[su]* Bühler.



- 11 saṃpaṭipati baṃbha[na-sa]manānaṃ saṃpaṭipati mātā-pitisu sususā (D) ese<sup>1</sup> chā  
amne chā ba[h]uvidhe dhamma-chalane vadh[i]te (E) vadhiyisati chevā  
Devānaṃpiy[e] Piyadasi lāja<sup>2</sup> ima[m] dha[m]ma-chalanaṃ (F) putā cha kaṃ  
natāle chā panātikyā ch[ā] Devānaṃpiyasā Piyadasine lājine
- 12 [pa]v[a]dhayisaṃti[i ch]ev[a] dhamma-chalanaṃ i[maṃ]<sup>3</sup> āva-kapā[m] dhammasi  
s[i]lasi<sup>4</sup> chā chīṭhit[u] dhammaṃ anusāsisaṃti (G) ese hi seṭhe kaṃm[am] am  
dhammānusāsanaṃ (H) dhamma-chalane pi chā no hoti āsilasā (I) se im[a]s[ā]  
a]thasā v[a]dhi ahini chā sādhu (J) etāye [a]thāye iyaṃ likhite
- 13 imas[ā] a[tha]s[ā] vadhi yujaṃtu hini ch[a] mā alochayisu (K) duv[ā]das[a]-  
vaś[ā]bhisitenā Dev[ā]naṃp[i]yen[ā] Piyadaśinā lājinā lekhitā<sup>5</sup>

## TRANSLATION

(A) In times past, for many hundreds of years, there had ever been promoted the killing of animals and the hurting of living beings, discourtesy to relatives, (and) discourtesy to Śramaṇas and Brāhmaṇas.

(B) But now, in consequence of the practice of morality on the part of king **Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin**, the sound of drums has become the sound of morality, showing the people representations of aerial chariots, elephants, masses of fire, and other divine figures.

(C) Such as they had not existed before for many hundreds of years, thus there are now promoted, through the instruction in morality on the part of king **Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin**, abstention from killing animals, abstention from hurting living beings, courtesy to relatives, courtesy to Brāhmaṇas and Śramaṇas, (and) obedience to mother and father.

(D) Both in this and in many other ways is the practice of morality promoted.

(E) And king **Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin** will ever promote this practice of morality.

(F) And the sons,<sup>6</sup> grandsons, and great-grandsons of king **Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin** will ever promote this practice of morality until the æon (of destruction of the world), (and) will instruct (people) in morality, abiding by morality and by good conduct.

(G) For this is the best work, viz. instruction in morality.

(H) And the practice of morality also is not (possible) for (a person) devoid of good conduct.

(I) Therefore promotion and not neglect of this object is meritorious.

(J) For the following purpose has this been written, (viz. in order that) they should devote themselves to the promotion of this practice, and that they should not approve<sup>7</sup> the neglect (of it).

(K) (This rescript) was caused to be written by king **Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin** (when he had been) **anointed twelve years**.

<sup>1</sup> *esha* Bühler.

<sup>2</sup> *lāja* Bühler.

<sup>3</sup> There is a fissure in the rock here.

<sup>4</sup> *silasi* Senart, *silasi* Bühler.

<sup>5</sup> *lekhitam* Bühler.

<sup>6</sup> The two syllables *cha kaṃ* seem to have the same meaning as the simple *cha*. They occur twice again at Kālsī (XI, E, and XIII, Z), once at Shāhbāzgarhī (IV, F), three times at Mānsehrā, and once at Brahmagiri (l. 11). Cf. *kaṃ* after *nū*, *sū*, *hī* in the *Rigveda*.

<sup>7</sup> See above, p. 8, n. 3. Here, and in three other versions, the augment *a-* is retained after the particle *mā*, while Shāhbāzgarhī has *lo[ch]e[sā]u* in accordance with Sanskrit grammar.



## FIFTH ROCK-EDICT: KALSI

- 13 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसि लाजा अहा (B) कयाने दुकले। (C) ए आदिकले कयानसा से दुकलं कलेति (D) से ममया बहु कयाने कटे (E) ता ममा पुता चा नताले चा
- 14 पलं चा तेहि ये अपतिये मे आवकपं तथा अनुवटिसंति से सुकटं कळति (F) ए चु हेता देसं पि हापयिसति से दुकटं कळति (G) पापे हि नामा सुपदालये (H) से अतिकंतं अंतलं नो हुतपुलुव धंममहामता नामा (I) तेदस-वसाभिसितेना ममया धंममहामाता कटा (J) ते सवपासंडेसु वियापटा
- 15 धंमाधिथानाये चा धंमवढिया हिदसुखाये वा धंमयुतसा योनकंबोजगंधालानं ए वा पि अंने अपलंता (K) भटमयेसु वंभनिभेसु अनथेसु वुधेसु हिदसुखाये धंमयुताये अपलिबोधाये वियापटा ते (L) वंधनवधसा पटिविधानाये अपलिबोधाये मोखाये चा एयं अनुवधा पजाव ति वा
- 16 कटाभिकाले ति वा महालके ति वा वियापटा ते (M) हिदा बाहिलेसु चा नगलेसु सवेसु ओलोधनेसु भातिनं च ने भगिनिना ए वा पि अंने नातिके सवता वियापटा (N) ए इयं धंमनिसिते ति वा दानसुयुते ति वा सवता विजितसि ममा धंमयुतसि वियापटा ते धंममहामता (O) एताये अठाये
- 17 इयं धंमलिपि लेखिता चिलथितिक्या होतु तथा च मे पजा अनुवततु
- 13 (A) Devānaṃpiye Piyadasi lājā ahā (B) kayāne dukale.<sup>1</sup> (C) e ādikale kay[ā]nasā se dukalāṃ kaletī (D) se mamayā bahu kayāne kaṭ[e] (E) t[ā] ma[m]ā<sup>2</sup> putā ch[ā] nat[ā]le chā
- 14 palāṃ [chā] tehi [ye] apatiye [m]e āva-kapaṃ tathā anuvaṭisa[m]ti s[e] s[u]kaṭaṃ kachhaṃ[t]i (F) e chu het[ā] desaṃ pi hāpa[y]i[sat]i<sup>3</sup> s[e] dukaṭaṃ kachhati (G) p[ā]pe hi nāmā<sup>4</sup> supadālaye (H) se atikaṃtaṃ aṃtalaṃ no huta-puluva<sup>5</sup> dhaṃ[ma]-mahāmātā<sup>6</sup> nāmā<sup>7</sup> (I) t[e]dasa-vasābh[i]sitenā mamayā dhaṃma-mahāmāt[ā] kaṭ[ā] (J) [te] sav[a]-pāsaṃ[de]su viyā[pa]ṭā
- 15 dhaṃ[m]ādhithā[nāye ch]ā dhaṃma-vaḍhiyā hi[da]-sukhāye vā<sup>8</sup> dhaṃm[a]-yuta[s]ā Yona-Kaṃb[o]ja-Gaṃdhālānaṃ e vā [pi] aṃne apalaṃtā (K) bhaṭamayesu baṃbhanibhesu anathesu [v]udhesu hida-sukhāye dhaṃma-yutāye apalibodhāye viyapaṭā<sup>9</sup> te (L) baṃdha[na-badha]sā paṭividhānāy[e] apalibodhāye mokh[ā]ye chā eyaṃ anubadh[ā]<sup>10</sup> pajāva ti v[ā]
- 16 [kaṭābhikā]le ti vā m[ah]ā[la]ke ti v[ā] viy[ā]paṭā te (M) hid[ā] bā[h]ilesu chā naga[l]esu s[a]ves[u] olodha[n]esu bhā[tina]ṃ cha ne bh[agi]nī[nā] e vā [pi] aṃn[e] nātikye savatā viyā[pa]ṭā (N) e iyaṃ dhaṃma-nisite ti vā dāna-suyute<sup>11</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Senart and Bühler omit this sign, which marks the end of the section.

<sup>2</sup> mama Bühler.

<sup>3</sup> saṃti Bühler.

<sup>4</sup> nāma Senart and Bühler.

<sup>5</sup> -puluva Senart and Bühler.

<sup>6</sup> -mahāmātā Senart and Bühler.

<sup>7</sup> nāma Bühler.

<sup>8</sup> vi Senart, chā Bühler.

<sup>9</sup> viyāpaṭā Bühler.

<sup>10</sup> anubandha Senart, anubadha[Bühler].

<sup>11</sup> -sayute Senart, -saṃyute Bühler.



ti [v]ā sav[a]tā v[i]jitas[i] mamā [dha]mma-yutasi viyāpaṭā te dhamma-  
m[a]hām[a]tā<sup>1</sup> (O) etāye aṭhāye

17 [i]yaṃ dhamma-lipi lekhitā chi[la]-thitikyā hotu [tathā] cha me [pa]jā [a]nuva[ta]tu<sup>2</sup>

## TRANSLATION

(A) King Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin speaks (thus).

(B) It is difficult to perform virtuous deeds.

(C) He who starts performing virtuous deeds accomplishes something difficult.

(D) Now, by me many virtuous deeds have been performed.

(E) Therefore (among) my sons and grandsons, and (among) my descendants (who shall come) after them until the æon (of destruction of the world), those who will conform to this (duty) will perform good deeds.

(F) But he who will neglect even a portion of this (duty) will perform evil deeds.

(G) For sin indeed steps fast.<sup>3</sup>

(H) Now, in times past (officers) called *Mahāmātras* of morality did not exist before.

(I) *Mahāmātras* of morality were appointed by me (when I had been) **anointed thirteen years**.

(J) These are occupied with all sects in establishing morality, in promoting morality, and for the welfare and happiness<sup>4</sup> of those who are devoted to morality (even) among the **Yōnas, Kambōjas, and Gandhālas**,<sup>5</sup> and whatever other western borderers (of mine there are).

(K) They are occupied with servants and masters, with Brāhmaṇas and Ibhyas,<sup>6</sup> with the destitute, (and) with the aged, for the welfare and happiness of those who are devoted to morality,<sup>7</sup> (and) in releasing (them) from the fetters (of worldly life).<sup>8</sup>

(L) They are occupied in supporting prisoners (with money), in causing (their) fetters to be taken off, and in setting (them) free, if one has children, or is bewitched, or aged, respectively.<sup>9</sup>

(M) They are occupied everywhere, here<sup>10</sup> and in all the outlying towns, in the harems<sup>11</sup> of our brothers, of (our) sisters, and (of) whatever other relatives (of ours there are).

<sup>1</sup> *mātā* Senart and Bühler.

<sup>2</sup> *anuvataṃtu* Senart and Bühler.

<sup>3</sup> Bühler (ZDMG, 37. 267) explained *supadālaye* (for which Mānsehrā reads *supadarave*) by *supradāryam*. Gīrnār and Shāhbāzgarhī read instead of it *sukaram*, 'easily committed'. Perhaps *padālaya* is formed from *pada*, 'a step', as *mahālaka* (l. 16) = Prākṛit *mahālaya* from *mahat*,

<sup>4</sup> Here and in K the Dhauḷi version reads *hita-* instead of *hida-*.

<sup>5</sup> Here the remaining versions insert the names of two other tribes.

<sup>6</sup> i.e. Vaiśyas; see Bühler, ZDMG, 37. 269. The readings of the Dhauḷi and Mānsehrā versions, *ibhiya* and *ibhya*, show that *ibha* at Kālsī and Shāhbāzgarhī is meant for *ibbha*. The same follows from the *Jātaka*, No. 544, where, as noted by Bühler (VOJ, 12. 76), the compound *brāhmaṇ-ibbha* occurs several times.

<sup>7</sup> The reading *dhamma-yutāye* seems to be a mere corruption of that of the Gīrnār version, *dhamma-yutānam*.

<sup>8</sup> According to Childers's *Pāli Dictionary*, *palibodha* means 'obstacle, hindrance, drawback, impediment'. Lüders (SPAW, 1914. 841) has shown that its original meaning was 'fetters, to be fettered'. As its equivalent at Gīrnār (*parigodha*), the word seems to be used here in a metaphorical sense, while it has its original meaning in the next section.

<sup>9</sup> Bühler (ZDMG, 37. 269) took *eyam anubadhā* = Skt. *etam anubandham* in the sense of *etad-arītham*. But *eyam* may stand for *e ayam* (cf. *e ayam* in section N = *yo ayam* at Gīrnār), and *anubadhā* for the ablative *anubandhāt*, 'in succession, respectively'.

<sup>10</sup> Instead of 'here' the Gīrnār version reads 'both in Pāṭaliputra'.

<sup>11</sup> The Dhauḷi version inserts 'of myself'.



(N) These *Mahāmātras* of morality are occupied everywhere in my dominions<sup>1</sup> with those who are devoted to morality, (in order to ascertain) whether one is eager for morality<sup>2</sup> or properly devoted to charity.<sup>3</sup>

(O) For the following purpose has this rescript on morality been caused to be written, (viz. that) it may be of long duration, and (that) my descendants<sup>4</sup> may conform to it.

#### SIXTH ROCK-EDICT: KALSI

- 17 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसि लाजा हेवं आहा (B) अतिकंतं अंतलं नो हुतपुलुवे  
सवं कलं अठकंमे वा पटिवेदना वा (C) से ममया हेवं कटे (D) सवं कालं  
अदमानसा मे
- 18 ओलोधनसि गभागालसि वचसि विनितसि उयानसि सवता पटिवेदका अटं  
जनसा . . . . वेदेतु मे (E) सवता चा जनसा अटं कछामि हकं (F) यं पि  
चा किछि मुखते आनपयामि हकं दापकं वा सावकं वा ये वा पुना  
महामतेहि
- 19 अतियायिके आलोपिते होति तायेठाये विवादे निरुति वा संतं पलिसाये  
अनंतलियेना पटि . . . . . विये मे सवता सवं कालं (G) हेवं आनपयिते  
ममया (H) नथि हि मे दोसे उठानसा अटसंतिलनाये चा (I) कटवियमुते  
हि मे सबलोकहिते (J) तसा चा पुना एसे मुले उठाने
- 20 अटसंतिलना चा (K) नथि हि कंमतला सबलोकहितेना (L) यं च किछि  
पलकमामि हकं किति भुतानं अननियं येहं हिद च कानि सुखायामि पलत  
चा स्वगं आलाधयितु (M) से एतायेठाये इयं धमलिपि लेखिता चिल-  
ठितिक्या होतु तथा च मे पुतदाले पलकमातु सबलोकहिताये
- 21 (N) दुकले चु इयं अनता अगेना पलकमेना

- 17 (A) Dev[ā]nāmpi[y]e Piyadas[i] lājā hevaṃ āhā (B) atikaṃtaṃ aṃtalaṃ no  
huta-puluv[e] sav[a]ṃ kalam<sup>5</sup> aṭha-k[am]me [v]ā [paṭ]i[veda]nā vā (C) s[e]  
ma[may]ā hevaṃ kaṭe (D) s[a]vaṃ kalam adamānas[ā]<sup>6</sup> me
- 18 olodhanasi gabhāgālas[i] va[chas]i vin[itasi u]y[ānasi sava]t[ā paṭive]dakā aṭha[m]  
janasā . . . . vedetu<sup>7</sup> [m]e (E) sa[va]tā [ch]ā<sup>8</sup> ja[nas]ā aṭhaṃ kachhāmi hakaṃ  
(F) yaṃ pi ch[ā k]i[chhi m]u[kha]t[e ānapayā]mi [ha]kaṃ dā[pakaṃ] v[ā  
sāvakaṃ] vā ye vā punā mahāmat[e]hi<sup>9</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The Dhauili version reads 'on the whole earth'.

<sup>2</sup> Other versions insert 'or established in morality'.

<sup>3</sup> In the translation of this sentence I differ from Bühler and follow on the whole Senart. Instead of *dāna-suyute* the Mānsehrā version reads *dāna-samjute*, which might mean 'furnished with gifts'. The distribution of gifts was one of the duties of the *Dharma-Mahāmātras*; see the Delhi-Tōprā pillar-edict VII, CC and DD.

<sup>4</sup> See Lüders in SPAW, 1914. 841 f.

<sup>5</sup> *kalam* Senart and Bühler.

<sup>6</sup> *adam[a]nasā* Bühler.

<sup>7</sup> Restore *paṭivedantu*, which is Bühler's reading.

<sup>8</sup> Senart and Bühler omit *chā*.

<sup>9</sup> *mātehi* Bühler.



- 19 a[tiyāyike ālopite<sup>1</sup> h]o[t]i tā[yeth]ā[ye] vivāde n[i]jhati v[ā] saṁtaṁ palis[ā]ye  
 anam[ta]l[i]yenā paṭ[i] . . . . . viye<sup>2</sup> me sav[a]t[ā] savaṁ kālaṁ (G) hevaṁ  
 ānapayite m[a]mayā (H) nathi hi me dose<sup>3</sup> uṭhān[a]sā aṭha-saṁtil[a]nāye chā  
 (I) kaṭ[a]viya-mute hi me s[a]va-loka-hi[te] (J) t[asā] ch[ā]<sup>4</sup> [p]u[n]ā es[e] mule  
 uṭh[āne]
- 20 [a]ṭha-saṁtilanā chā (K) [na]thi hi kaṁ[ma]talā sava-lo[ka]-hitenā (L) yaṁ cha  
 kichhi<sup>5</sup> palakamāmi hakaṁ kiti bhutānaṁ [a]naniyaṁ ye[haṁ hi]da cha [kā]ni  
 sukhāyāmi palata chā svagaṁ ālādhayitu<sup>6</sup> (M) s[e] etā[y]eṭhāye iyaṁ dhama-lipi  
 lekhitā chila-ṭhitiyā hotu tathā cha me puta-dāle palakamātu sava-loka-hitā[ye]
- 21 (N) dukale ch[u]<sup>7</sup> iyaṁ anat[ā]<sup>8</sup> agenā palakam[e]nā

## TRANSLATION

- (A) King Dēvānaṁpriya Priyadarśin speaks thus.
- (B) In times past neither the disposal of affairs nor the submission of reports at any time did exist before.
- (C) But I have made the following (arrangement).
- (D) Reporters have to report to me the affairs of the people at any time (and) anywhere, while I am eating, in the harem, in the inner apartment, at the cowpen, in the palanquin, (and) in the park.
- (E) And everywhere I shall dispose of the affairs of the people.
- (F) And also, if in the council (of *Mahāmātras*) a dispute arises,<sup>9</sup> or an amendment is moved, in connexion with any donation or proclamation which I am ordering verbally, or (in connexion with) an emergent matter which has been delegated to the *Mahāmātras*, it must be reported to me immediately, anywhere, (and) at any time.
- (G) Thus I have ordered.
- (H) For I am never content in exerting myself and in dispatching business.
- (I) For I consider it my duty<sup>10</sup> (to promote) the welfare of all men.
- (J) But the root of that (is) this, (viz.) exertion and the dispatch of business.
- (K) For no duty is more important than (promoting) the welfare of all men.<sup>11</sup>
- (L) And whatever effort I am making, (is made) in order that I may discharge the debt (which I owe) to living beings, (that) I may make them<sup>12</sup> happy in this (world), and (that) they may attain heaven in the other (world).

<sup>1</sup> *pitam* Bühler.<sup>2</sup> Restore *paṭivedetaviye*.<sup>3</sup> Jaugaḍa reads *tose*; Bühler adds *va*.<sup>4</sup> Bühler omits *chā*.<sup>5</sup> *kichi* Bühler.<sup>6</sup> Read *ālādhayāntu*.<sup>7</sup> *cha* Senart and Bühler.<sup>8</sup> *anmata* Senart, *anata* Bühler.<sup>9</sup> The form *saṁtaṁ* corresponds to *saṁto* at Gīrnār, and must be a nominative singular, just as in the Kālsī edict VIII, C, and as *kalamtaṁ* in XII, H; see also *kala[mta]*, XI, E, and *kalata*, XII, F and G, and cf. my note on the translation of the Dhauḷi separate edict I, X.<sup>10</sup> *muta* for *mata* occurs also in the Kālsī edict XIII, E (*vedaniya-mute gulu-mute chā*). The change of *a* to *u* is due to the preceding labial, as in *uchāvucha* (Kālsī, VII, C, and IX, B) for *uchāvacha* (Gīrnār).<sup>11</sup> For the use of the instrumental with the comparative see above, p. 17, n. 3.<sup>12</sup> As *kāni* corresponds to *nāni* at Gīrnār, and to *sha* or *she* in the two Kharōṣṭhī versions, it seems to be used as a demonstrative. The same meaning fits in the pillar-edict IV, H and M; V, C; VI, C; and VII, H. The singular *kaṁ* occurs in the Jaugaḍa separate edict I C, and II, C.



(M) Now, for the following purpose has this rescript on morality been caused to be written, (viz. that) it may be of long duration, and (that) my sons and wives<sup>1</sup> may display the same zeal for the welfare of all men.

(N) But it is difficult to accomplish this without great zeal.

## SEVENTH ROCK-EDICT: KALSI

21 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसि लाजा सवता इच्छति सवपासंड वसेवु (B) सवे हि ते सयमं भावसुधि चा इच्छति (C) जने चु उचावुचाछंदे उचावुचलागे (D) ते सवं एकदेसं पि कच्छति (E) विपुले पि चु दाने असा नथि

22 सयमे भावसुधि किटनाता दिढभतिता चा निचे बाढं

21 (A) Devānāmpīye Piyadasi lājā [savat]ā [i]chhati sava-[pāsa]mḍa vas[e]vu (B) [sa]ve hi te sayama[m] bhāva-sudhi chā ichhamti (C) jane [ch]u uchāvuchā-chh[a]mde uchāvucha-lā[g]e (D) te savam eka-des[a]m pi k[a]chham[t]i (E) vipule pi chu dān[e]<sup>2</sup> asā nathi

22 sayame bhā[va]-sudh[i] kiṭanāt[ā<sup>3</sup> d]iḍha-bhatitā chā ni[che] bāḍham

## TRANSLATION

✓ (A) King Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin desires (that) all sects may reside everywhere.  
 (B) For all these desire self-control and purity of mind.  
 (C) But men possess various desires (and) various passions.  
 (D) They will fulfil (either) the whole (or) only a portion (of their duties).  
 (E) But even one who (practises) great liberality, (but) does not possess self-control, purity of mind, gratitude, and firm devotion, is very mean.

## EIGHTH ROCK-EDICT: KALSI

22 (A) अतिकंतं अंतलं देवानंपिया विहालयातं नाम निखमिसु (B) हिदा मिगविया अन्नानि चा हेडिसाना अभिलामानि हुसु (C) देवानंपिये पियदसि लाजा दसवसाभिसिते संतं निखमिथा संबोधि

23 (D) तेनता धंमयाता (E) हेता इयं होति समनबंभनानं दसने चा दाने च बुधानं दसने च हिलंनपटिविधाने चा जानपदसा जनसा दसने धंमनुसथि चा धम-पलिपुछा चा ततोपया (F) एसे भुये लाति होति देवानंपियसा पियदसिसा लाजिने भागे अने

22 (A) atikamta[m] a[m]tala[m] Devānāmpiyā [vihāla-yāta[m] nāma] nikhamisu (B) hidā migaviyā amnāni chā heḍisānā<sup>4</sup> abhilāmān[i] husu (C) Devānāmpīye Piyadasi lājā das[a]-vasābhisite samta[m] nikhamithā<sup>5</sup> Sambodhi

23 (D) tenatā dhamma-yātā (E) [h]etā iya[m] hoti samana-bambhanāna[m] dasane chā

<sup>1</sup> The other versions render it probable that -dāle is a clerical mistake for -natāle, 'grandsons'.

<sup>2</sup> dān[am] Bühler.

<sup>3</sup> Read \*natā.

<sup>4</sup> Read \*sāni, which is the reading of Senart and Bühler.

<sup>5</sup> \*mithā Senart and Bühler.



dāne cha vudh[ā]naṃ dasa[n]e ch[a] hilaṃna-paṭi[v]idhāne chā [jā]napadasā  
[ja]n[a]sā das[a]ne dhaṃmanusathi chā dhama-palipuchhā chā<sup>1</sup> tatopa[yā]  
(F) [e]se bh[u]ye lāti<sup>2</sup> hoti Devānāmpiyasā Piyadas[i]sā lājine bh[ā]g[e] amne

## TRANSLATION

- (A) In times past the *Devānāmpriyas*<sup>3</sup> used to set out on so-called pleasure-tours.  
(B) On these (tours) hunting and other such pleasures were (enjoyed).  
(C) When king *Devānāmpriya Priyadarśin* had been anointed ten years,<sup>4</sup> he went out to *Sambōdhi*.  
(D) Therefore tours of morality (were undertaken) here.<sup>5</sup>  
(E) On these (tours) the following takes place, (viz.) visiting Śramaṇas and Brāhmaṇas and making gifts (to them), visiting the aged and supporting (them) with gold, visiting the people of the country, instructing (them) in morality, and questioning (them) about morality, as suitable for this (occasion).  
(F) This second period (of the reign) of king *Devānāmpriya Priyadarśin* becomes a pleasure in a higher degree.

## NINTH ROCK-EDICT: KALSI

- 24 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसि लाजा आहा (B) जने उचावुचं मंगलं कलेति आवाधसि  
अवाहसि विवाहसि पजोपदाने पवाससि एताये अंनाये चा एदिसाये जने  
बहु मंगलं कलेति (C) हेतु च अवकजनियो बहु चा बहुविधं चा खुदा चा  
निलयिया चा मंगलं कलंति.  
25 (D) से कटवि चेव खो मंगले (E) अपफले च खो एसे (F) इयं च खो महाफले  
ये धम्ममंगले (G) हेता इयं दासभटकसि सम्यापटिपति गुलुना अपचिति  
पानानं संयमे समनवंभनानं दाने एसे अंने चा हेडिसे । धम्ममंगले नामा  
(H) से वतविये पितिना पि पुतेन पि भातिना पि सुवामिकेन पि मित-  
संयुतेना अव पटिवेसियेना पि  
26 इयं साधु इयं कटविये मंगले आव तसा अथसा निवुतिया इमं कळामि ति  
(I) ए हि इतले मंगले संसयिके से (J) सिया व तं अठं निवटेया सिया पुना  
नो (K) हिदलोकिके चेव से (L) इयं पुना धम्ममंगले अकालिके (M) हंचे  
पि तं अठं नो निटेति हिद अठं पलत अनंतं पुना पवसति (N) हंचे पुन तं  
अठं निवतेति हिदा ततो उभयेसं  
27 लधे होति हिद चा से अठे पलत चा अनंतं पुना पवसति तेना धम्ममंगलेना

<sup>1</sup> cha Bühler.<sup>2</sup> Read lāti.<sup>3</sup> Instead of this title of Aśoka's predecessors the Gīrnār and Dhauḷi versions have the word 'kings'.<sup>4</sup> For the form *saṃtāṃ* see above, p. 35, n. 9.<sup>5</sup> viz. 'in my territory'; cf. above, p. 2, n. 3. The Gīrnār version reads *tenesā*, but Shāh-bāzgarhī and Mānsehrā read *tenada*, which seems to stand for *tenatra*. Therefore Bühler (ZDMG, 37. 426) was probably right in explaining *tenatā* at Kālsī and Dhauḷi by *tena atā*.



- 24 (A) Devānāmpīye Piy[a]da[s]i lā[jā] āhā (B) jan[e] uch[āv]ucham maṅgalaṁ ka[l]eti ābādhasi av[āha]si vivāhasi pajopadāne<sup>1</sup> pavāsasi e[tā]ye amnāye chā edisāye jane bahu magala[m] k[a]leti (C) heta [ch]u abaka-janī[yo] bahu chā bahuvidham chā khudā [ch]ā nilathiyā<sup>2</sup> chā magalaṁ ka[la]mīti
- 25 (D) se kaṭavi<sup>3</sup> cheva kho maṅgale (E) apa-phale [ch]u<sup>4</sup> kho [e]s[e] (F) [i]yaṁ chu kho mah[ā]-ph[a]le ye dhamma-magale (G) he[tā] iyaṁ dāsa-bhaṭakasi s[a]myā-paṭip[a]ti<sup>5</sup> gulunā apachiti [p]ā[n]ān[am] saṁyame<sup>6</sup> s[a]man[a]-bambhanānaṁ dāne ese amne chā heḍise<sup>7</sup> dhamma-magale nāmā (H) se vata[v]iye pitinā pi putena pi bh[ā]tinā pi suvāmiken[a]<sup>8</sup> pi mita-saṁthuten[ā] ava<sup>9</sup> paṭivesiyenā [p]i
- 26 iyaṁ sādhu iyaṁ kaṭaviye [ma]g[a]le āva [ta]sā athasā ni[v]utiyaṁ imaṁ kachhāmi ti<sup>10</sup> (I) e hi i[ta]le<sup>11</sup> magale sa[m]sayikyē se<sup>12</sup> (J) siyā va taṁ aṭhaṁ nivaṭe[ā] siyā punā no (K) hi[da]lokike chev[a] se<sup>13</sup> (L) iyaṁ punā dhamma-magale akāliky[e] (M) haṁche pi taṁ aṭhaṁ<sup>14</sup> no niṭeti<sup>15</sup> hida aṭhaṁ<sup>16</sup> palata anamtaṁ punā pavasati<sup>17</sup> (N) haṁche puna<sup>18</sup> taṁ aṭhaṁ nivateti hidā<sup>19</sup> tato ubhaye[sa]m
- 27 ladhe hoti hida chā se aṭhe palata<sup>20</sup> chā anamtaṁ punā<sup>21</sup> pasavati tenā dhamma-magalen[ā]

## TRANSLATION

(A) King Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin speaks (thus).

(B) Men are practising various ceremonies during illness, at the marriage of a son or a daughter, at the birth of a child,<sup>22</sup> (and) when setting out on a journey; on these and other such (occasions) men are practising many ceremonies.

(C) But in such (cases) mothers and wives<sup>23</sup> are practising many and various vulgar and useless ceremonies.

(D) Now, ceremonies should certainly be practised.

(E) But these (ceremonies) bear little fruit indeed.

(F) But the following bears much fruit indeed, viz. the practice of morality.

(G) Herein the following (are comprised), (viz.) proper courtesy to slaves and servants, reverence to elders, gentleness to animals, (and) liberality to Śramaṇas and Brāhmaṇas; these and other such (virtues) are called the practice of morality.

(H) Therefore a father, or a son, or a brother, or a master, (or) a friend or an acquaintance, or even a (mere) neighbour ought to say:—'This is meritorious. This

<sup>1</sup> This word cannot be correct, because in the Kālsī dialect the locative of *upadāna* would end in *-asi*. Read therefore (with Dhaulī and Jaugaḍa) *°dāye*, which is the actual reading of Senart and Bühler.

<sup>2</sup> *nilathiyam* Senart, *nilathiyām* Bühler.

<sup>3</sup> Read *kaṭaviye*.

<sup>4</sup> *vu* Bühler.

<sup>5</sup> *°paṭipāti* Bühler.

<sup>6</sup> *°sāyamme* Senart, *sayame* Bühler.

<sup>7</sup> Instead of this mark of punctuation Senart and Bühler read *taṁ*.

<sup>8</sup> *°ken[ā]* Bühler.

<sup>9</sup> *°āva* Bühler.

<sup>10</sup> *ka[tha]mīti* Bühler.

<sup>11</sup> *°ivale* Bühler.

<sup>12</sup> Bühler adds [*hoti*].

<sup>13</sup> *cha vase* Senart and Bühler.

<sup>14</sup> *°atham* Bühler.

<sup>15</sup> Read, as at Mānsehrā, *nivaṭeti*.

<sup>16</sup> Read (with Shāhbāzgarhī) *atha*.

<sup>17</sup> Read *°punnam pasavati*.

<sup>18</sup> *°sukā* Senart, *°punā* Bühler.

<sup>19</sup> *hida* Senart and Bühler.

<sup>20</sup> *°tā* Senart and Bühler.

<sup>21</sup> Read *°punnam*, which is Bühler's reading.

<sup>22</sup> Bühler (ZDMG, 37. 431 f.) derived the locative *upadāye* from a supposed Skt. feminine *\*utpad*. Shāhbāzgarhī reads *upadane*, which either corresponds to Skt. *utpādanē*, or is a mistake for the Mānsehrā reading, *upadaye*.

<sup>23</sup> Bühler (ZDMG, 37. 433) proposed translating 'nurses and mothers'. Cf. *ambika-mādukehiṁ* in the *Mṛichchhakatika*, act VIII, verse 19.



practice should be observed until the (desired) object is attained, (thinking):<sup>1</sup> I shall observe this<sup>2</sup>.

(I) For other<sup>3</sup> ceremonies are of doubtful (effect).

(J) One may attain his object (by them), but he may not (do so).

(K) And they (bear fruit) in this world only.

(L) But that practice of morality is not restricted to time.

(M) Even if one does not attain (by it) his object in this (world), then endless merit is produced in the other (world).<sup>4</sup>

(N) But if one attains (by it) his object in this (world), the gain<sup>5</sup> of both (results) arises from it; (viz.) the (desired) object (is attained) in this (world), and endless merit is produced in the other (world) by that practice of morality.

## TENTH ROCK-EDICT: KALSI

- 27 (A) देवानंपिये पियदषा लजा यषो वा किति वा नो महथावा मनति अनता  
यं पि यसो वा किति वा इछति तदत्वाये अयतिये चा जने धंमसुसुषा सुसुषातु  
मे ति धंमवतं वा अनुविधियंतु ति (B) धतकाये देवानंपिये पियदसि
- 28 लाजा यषो वा किति वा इछ (C) अं चा किछि लकमति देवनंपिये पियदषि  
लजा त षव पालंतिकाये वा किति सकले अपपलाषवे षियाति ति  
(D) एषे चु पलिसवे ए अपुने (E) दुकले चु खो एषे खुदकेन वा वगेना उषुटेन  
वा अनत अगेना पलकमेना षवं पलितिदितु (F) हेत चु खो

29 उषटेन वा दुकले

- 27 (A) Devā[nam]piye Piy[a]dashā<sup>6</sup> lajā<sup>6</sup> y[a]sho vā kiti vā no [ma]hathāvā<sup>7</sup>  
manati an[a]tā [ya]m pi yaso vā ki[t]i vā ichh[at]i tadatvāye ayatiye chā jāne  
dhamma-susushā susushātu me ti dhamma-vataṁ vā anuvi[dh]iya[m]tu<sup>8</sup> ti  
(B) dhata[k]āye<sup>9</sup> Devāna[m]piye Piyadasi
- 28 lājā yasho vā kiti vā ichha<sup>10</sup> (C) am ch[ā] kichhi lakamati<sup>11</sup> Devanampiye<sup>12</sup>  
Piyadashi lajā ta [sha]va<sup>13</sup> pālaṁtikyāye<sup>14</sup> vā kiti sakale apa-p[a]lāshave<sup>15</sup>  
shiyāti ti (D) [e]she chu palisave e apune<sup>16</sup> (E) dukale chu kho eshe  
khudakena vā vagenā<sup>17</sup> ushūṭena vā ana[ta] agen[ā pa]lakamenā shava[m]  
palitiditu (F) [h]e[ta chu] kho
- 29 [u]shaṭe[na] vā dukale

<sup>1</sup> From this word to the end of the edict the Kālsī version differs completely from the Gīrnār one. Dhāuli and Jaugāḍa agree with Gīrnār, but the two Kharōshthī versions with Kālsī.

<sup>2</sup> i[ta]le is the regular equivalent of [i]tare at Mānsehrā. Shāhbāzgarhī reads however etake.

<sup>3</sup> The words palata anamtaṁ puṁnam pasavati occur again in N, and in the Kālsī edict XI, E. In these two cases pasavati is construed with an instrumental, and in the last case it corresponds to bhavati in the Gīrnār version. Bühler (ZDMG, 37. 580) was therefore right in explaining it by pasavati = Sanskrit prasavyatē.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. above, p. 19, n. 16.

<sup>5</sup> Read Piyadashi.

<sup>6</sup> lāja Senart, lājā Bühler.

<sup>7</sup> The Gīrnār version reads mahāthāvah[ā].

<sup>8</sup> yāta Senart, yatu Bühler.

<sup>9</sup> Read etakāye, which is the reading of Senart and Bühler.

<sup>10</sup> Read ichhati.

<sup>11</sup> Read palakamati.

<sup>12</sup> Devanam Senart and Bühler.

<sup>13</sup> savam Senart, shavam Bühler.

<sup>14</sup> pāliti Senart, pāliti Bühler.

<sup>15</sup> Read palishave.

<sup>16</sup> The syllable ne was entered subsequently; apunne Senart and Bühler.

<sup>17</sup> vagenā Senart and Bühler.



## TRANSLATION

(A) King *Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin* does not think that either glory or fame conveys much advantage, except whatever glory or fame he desires (on account of his aim) that in the present time, and in the future, men may (be induced) by him to practise obedience to morality, or that they may conform to the duties of morality.

(B) On this (account) king *Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin* is desiring glory and fame.

(C) And whatever effort king *Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin* is making, all that (is) only for the sake of (merit) in the other (world), (and) in order that all (men) may run little danger.<sup>1</sup>

(D) But the danger is this, viz. demerit.

(E) But it is indeed difficult either for a lowly person<sup>2</sup> or for a high one to accomplish this without great zeal (and without) laying aside every (other aim).

(F) But among these (two) it is indeed (more) difficult to accomplish just for a high (person).

## ELEVENTH ROCK-EDICT: KALSĪ

29 (A) देवानंपिये पियदषि लाजा हेवं हा (B) नथि हेडिषे दाने अदिष धंमदाने । धमषविभगे । धंमषंवधे । (C) तत एषे दाषभटकषि । षम्यापटिपति मातापितिषु । घुषुषा । मितषंथुतनातिक्यानं समनावंभनाना दाने

30 पानानं अनालंभे (D) एषे वतविये पितिना पि पुतेन पि भातिना पि षवामिक्येन पि मितशंथुताना अवा पटिवेषियेना इयं षाधु इयं कटविये (E) शे तथा कलंत हिदलोकिक्ये च कं आलधे होति पलत चा अनत पुना पशवति तेना धंमदानेना

29 (A) *Devānaṃp[i]ye Piyadashi* [l]ājā hevaṃ hā<sup>3</sup> (B) *nathi h[e]ḍiṣhe dāne adisha*<sup>4</sup> *dha[m]ma-dāne* ; *dhama-shav[i]bhage*<sup>5</sup> ; *dhamma-shambadh[e]* ; (C) *ta[ta] eshe dāsha-bhaṭakashi* ; *shamyā-paṭipati mātā-pitishu* ; *shushushā* ; *mita-shaṃthuta-nātikyānaṃ samanā-[ba]ṃbhanānā*<sup>6</sup> [dā]ne

30 *pānānaṃ anāl[aṃ]bhe* (D) *eshe vatav[i]ye pi[t]inā pi pute[na]*<sup>7</sup> *pi bhā[t]inā pi sh[a]vām[i]kyena*<sup>8</sup> *pi mita-śaṃthutānā*<sup>9</sup> *avā p[a]ṭiveshiyen[ā]*<sup>10</sup> *iy[a]ṃ shādhū*<sup>11</sup> *iyam kaṭaviye* (E) [ś]e *tathā kala[r̥ita] hidalokikye cha kaṃ āladhe hoti palata ch[ā]*<sup>12</sup> *anata*<sup>13</sup> *punā*<sup>14</sup> *paśavati tenā dhamma-dānenā*

<sup>1</sup> The form *shiyāti* occurs again in the Kālśī edict XII, B, where it is spelt *śiyāti*. Cf. also *siyati* in the Shāhbāzgarhī edict XII, L, and in the Mānsehrā edict X, C.

<sup>2</sup> In Sanskrit the word *varga* means 'a class'; but here and in the two Kharōṣṭhī versions it corresponds to *jana*, 'a person', at Gīrnār. The same is the case in the first separate rock-edict, where Dhāuli (K) reads *jane*, and Jaugaḍa (L) [*va*]ge. See also *hedisameva vagam*, 'a person of the same description', in section AA of the same edict at Dhāuli.

<sup>3</sup> Read *ākā*.

<sup>4</sup> *yādisam* Senart, [*ā*]dishaṃ Bühler.

<sup>5</sup> *dhamma-shaṃvibhage* Bühler.

<sup>6</sup> *samana-* and *nānaṃ* Bühler.

<sup>7</sup> *pute* Senart and Bühler; the syllable *na* seems to be entered below the line.

<sup>8</sup> Read *shuvāmi*.

<sup>9</sup> The *ta* of *mita-* stands below the line; read *tenā*.

<sup>10</sup> *paṭivesi* Bühler.

<sup>11</sup> *sādhū* Bühler.

<sup>12</sup> *cha* Senart and Bühler.

<sup>13</sup> *aminatam* Senart, *anamta* Bühler.

<sup>14</sup> *puṇnā* Bühler; read *anamtam puṇnam*.



## TRANSLATION

(A) King Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin speaks thus.

(B) There is no such gift as the gift of morality, the distribution of morality, (and) kinship through morality.

(C) Herein the following (are comprised), (viz.) proper courtesy to slaves and servants, obedience to mother and father, liberality to friends, acquaintances, and relatives, to Śramaṇas and Brāhmaṇas, (and) abstention from killing animals.

(D) Concerning this a father, or a son, or a brother, or a master, (or) a friend or an acquaintance, (or) even a (mere) neighbour, ought to say:—'This is meritorious. This ought to be done'.

(E) If one is acting thus,<sup>1</sup> (happiness) in this world is attained,<sup>2</sup> and endless merit is produced<sup>3</sup> in the other (world) by that gift of morality.

## TWELFTH ROCK-EDICT: KALSI

30 (A) देवानापिये पियदधि

31 लाजा षावापाषंडानि पवजितानि गहथानि वा पुजेति दानेन विविधये च ।  
पुजाये (B) नो चु तथा दाने वा पुजा वा देवानंपिये मनति अथा कित  
शालावढि शियाति शवपाशडान (C) शालावढि ना बहुविधा (D) तश चु  
इनं मुले अ वचगुति किति ति अतपशड वा पुजा वा पलपाशडगलहा व  
नो शया

32 अपकलनशि लहका वा शिया तगि तशि पकलनशि (E) पुजेतविय चु  
पलपाशडा तेन तेन अकालन (F) हेव कलत अतपाशडा वढं वढियति  
पलपाशड पि वा उपकलेति (G) तदा अनथ कलत अतपाशड च छनति  
पलपाशड पि वा अपकलेति (H) ये हि केछ अतपाशड पुनाति

33 पलपाशड वा । गलहति । षवे अतपाषंडभतिया वा किति । अतपाषंड । दिपयेम  
षे च पुना तथा । कलंतं । वाढतले । उपहंति । अतपाषंडधि । (I) षमवाये वु  
षाधु किति । अनमनषा धमं । पुनेयु चा । पुषुषेयु चा ति । (J) हेवं हि  
देवानंपियषा इछा किंति

34 सवपाषंड । बहुषुता चा कयानागा च । हुवेयु ति । (K) ए च तत तत । पषंना ।  
तेहि वतविये । (L) देवानापिये नो तथा । दानं वा । पुजा वा । मनति ।  
अथा किति शालावढि शिया । षवपाषंडति । (M) बहुका चा । एतायाठाये ।  
वियापटा । धंममहामाता । इधिधियखमहामाता । वचभुमिक्या । अने वा  
निक्याया

35 (N) इयं च एतिषा । फले । यं अतपाषंडवढि चा । होति धंमष चा दिपना ।

<sup>1</sup> For the form *kalamitani* see above, p. 35, n. 9.

<sup>2</sup> For *cha kam* see above, p. 31, n. 6.

<sup>3</sup> See above, p. 39, n. 3.



## 30 (A) [D]evānāpiye [P]iyadash[i]

31 **lājā** shāvā-pāsham[ān]i<sup>1</sup> pav[a]jitā[n]i gahathāni vā pūjeti dānena vividh[aye]<sup>2</sup> cha<sup>3</sup> pūj[ā]ye (B) n[o] ch[u] tathā dāne vā pūjā vā **Devāna[m]piye** m[a]nati athā k[i]ta<sup>4</sup> ś[ā]lā-v[a]dhi<sup>5</sup> śiyāti ś[a]va-pāśadāna<sup>6</sup> (C) śālā-vadhi<sup>7</sup> nā<sup>8</sup> bahuvidhā<sup>9</sup> (D) taśa chu inam<sup>10</sup> mule a va[cha]-guti kiti t[i]<sup>11</sup> ata-pāśada<sup>12</sup> [v]ā<sup>13</sup> pūjā vā pala-pāśamda-galahā va<sup>14</sup> no [śa]yā<sup>15</sup>

32 ap[a]k[a]l[a]nāś[i] lahakā<sup>16</sup> vā śiyā [ta]gi<sup>17</sup> taśi pakalan[a]ś[i] (E) pūjetav[i]ya chu p[a]lā-pā[śa]dā tena tena akālana<sup>18</sup> (F) heva<sup>19</sup> kalata ata-pāśadā<sup>20</sup> bādham<sup>21</sup> vadhiyati pala-pāśada pi<sup>22</sup> vā upakaleti (G) tadā<sup>23</sup> anatha<sup>24</sup> kalata ata-pāśada cha chhanati pala-pāśada<sup>25</sup> pi vā apakaleti (H) ye [h]i kechha [a]ta-pāśada punāti<sup>26</sup>

33 pala-pāśada vā | ga[la]hati | shave ata-pāsham[da]-bhatiyā vā kiti | ata-pāshamda<sup>27</sup> | [d]ipayema she cha punā tathā | kalamtam | bādhatale | up[a]hamt[i] | ata-pāshamdashī | (I) shamavāye<sup>28</sup> vu<sup>29</sup> shādhu kiti | amnamanashā dhammam | shune[y]u chā | shushusheyu chā ti | (J) hevam hi **Devānāmpiyashā** ichhā kintī<sup>30</sup>

34 sava-pāshamda | baha-shutā<sup>31</sup> chā kayānāgā<sup>32</sup> cha | huveyu ti | (K) e [cha]<sup>33</sup> tata t[a]t[a]<sup>34</sup> | p[a]sh[am]nā<sup>35</sup> | te[hi] va[taviye] | (L) **Devānāpiye** no tathā | dānam vā | pūjā vā | mannat[i] | athā kiti sh[ā]lā-v[a]dhi<sup>36</sup> śiyā | shava-pāshamdatim<sup>37</sup> |

<sup>1</sup> Read *shava-*; *shavā pāshamdanī* Bühler.

<sup>2</sup> *vividhaya* Senart, *vividhena* Bühler.

<sup>3</sup> Bühler omits this sign.

<sup>4</sup> Read *kiti*.

<sup>5</sup> *śāla-* Senart and Bühler.

<sup>6</sup> The syllable *na* (*nam* Bühler) was inserted subsequently.

<sup>7</sup> *śāla-* Bühler.

<sup>8</sup> The other versions read *tu*.

<sup>9</sup> The syllable *vi* was inserted subsequently.

<sup>10</sup> Read *iyam*, which is the reading of Senart and Bühler.

<sup>11</sup> *ta* Senart and Bühler.

<sup>12</sup> The syllable *ta* of *ata-* is entered above the line; *-pāśada* Senart, *-pāśamda* Bühler.

<sup>13</sup> Cancel *vā*.

<sup>14</sup> The words *pala-pāśamda-galahā va* are entered above the line; below them the words *ti apāśalahā vā* are struck out.

<sup>15</sup> Read *śiyā*.

<sup>16</sup> Read *lahukā*.

<sup>17</sup> Read *taśi*, which is the reading of Senart and Bühler.

<sup>18</sup> Read *ākālana*.

<sup>19</sup> *hevam* Senart and Bühler.

<sup>20</sup> *-pāśadā* Bühler.

<sup>21</sup> *bādham* Senart and Bühler.

<sup>22</sup> *pi* is entered above the line.

<sup>23</sup> The syllable *dā* is entered above the line.

<sup>24</sup> *ammathā* Bühler; read *tad-anatha*.

<sup>25</sup> The syllable *pā* is entered above the line; *-pāśada* Bühler.

<sup>26</sup> *puyāti* Senart, *punati* Bühler; read probably *pūjeti*.

<sup>27</sup> One feels tempted to read *-pāshamdam*. But the point after *da* stands much lower than an Anusvāra, and a similar point occurs quite below the *da* in three other cases: *ata-pāśada* in G, *sava-pāshamda* in J, and *shava-pāshamdatim* in L.

<sup>28</sup> *samā* Bühler.

<sup>29</sup> Read *chu*; *va* Senart and Bühler.

<sup>30</sup> *kiti* Bühler.

<sup>31</sup> Read *baku-*, which is the reading of Senart and Bühler.

<sup>32</sup> Read *\*nāgamā*.

<sup>33</sup> *va* Senart and Bühler.

<sup>34</sup> *tatā* Senart and Bühler.

<sup>35</sup> *pashamna* Bühler.

<sup>36</sup> *śāla-* Bühler.

<sup>37</sup> Read *\*dānam ti*.



(M) bahukā ch[ā] | etāyāthāye | viyāpaṭā | dha[m]ma-mahāmātā | ithidhiyakha-  
mahāmātā | vacha-bh[u]mikyā | ane vā [n]iky[ā]y[ā]<sup>1</sup>

35 (N) iyaṁ cha etishā | phale | yaṁ ata-pāshaṁḍa-vaḍhi chā | hoti dhammasha<sup>2</sup> chā  
dipanā |

## TRANSLATION

(A) King *Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin* is honouring all sects: ascetics or householders, with gifts and with honours of various kinds.

(B) But *Dēvānāmpriya* does not value either gifts or honours so (highly) as (this), (viz.) that a promotion of the essentials of all sects should take place.<sup>3</sup>

(C) This<sup>4</sup> promotion of the essentials (is possible) in many ways.

(D) But its root is this, viz. guarding (one's) speech, (i. e.) that neither praising one's own sect nor blaming other sects should take place on improper occasions, or (that) it should be moderate in every case.

(E) But other sects ought to be honoured in every way.

(F) If one is acting thus,<sup>5</sup> he is promoting his own sect considerably and is benefiting other sects as well.

(G) If one is acting otherwise than thus, he is both hurting his own sect and wronging other sects as well.

(H) For whosoever praises his own sect or blames other sects,—all (this) out of pure devotion to his own sect, (i. e.) with the view of glorifying his own sect,—if he is acting thus, he rather injures his own sect very severely.

(I) But concord is meritorious, (i. e.) that they should both hear and obey each other's morals.

(J) For this is the desire of *Dēvānāmpriya*, (viz.) that all sects should be both full of learning and pure in doctrine.

(K) And those who are attached to their respective (sects), ought to be spoken to (as follows).

(L) *Dēvānāmpriya* does not value either gifts or honours so (highly) as (this), (viz.) that a promotion of the essentials of all sects should take place.

(M) And many (officers) are occupied for this purpose, (viz.) the *Mahāmātras* of morality, the *Mahāmātras* controlling women, the inspectors of cowpens, or other classes (of officials).

(N) And this is the fruit of it, (viz.) that both the promotion of one's own sect takes place, and the glorification of morality.

## THIRTEENTH ROCK-EDICT: KALSI

35 (A) अठवषा- । भिषित- । षा देवानंपियष पियदधिने । लाजिने । कलिग्या  
विजिता । (B) दियदमिते । पानघतषहणे । ये तप्पा अपवुढे । शतषहषमिते ।  
तत हते । बहुतावतके । वा मटे (C) ततो पछा । अधुना लघष । कलिग्येषु ।  
तिवे । धंमवाये

<sup>1</sup> *nikāye* Senart, *nikā[yā]* Bühler.

<sup>2</sup> For *siyāti* see above, p. 40, n. 1.

<sup>3</sup> For the form *kalamitān* see above, p. 35, n. 9.

<sup>4</sup> *dhamasha* Bühler.

<sup>5</sup> For the pronoun *nā* see above, p. 13, n. 5.

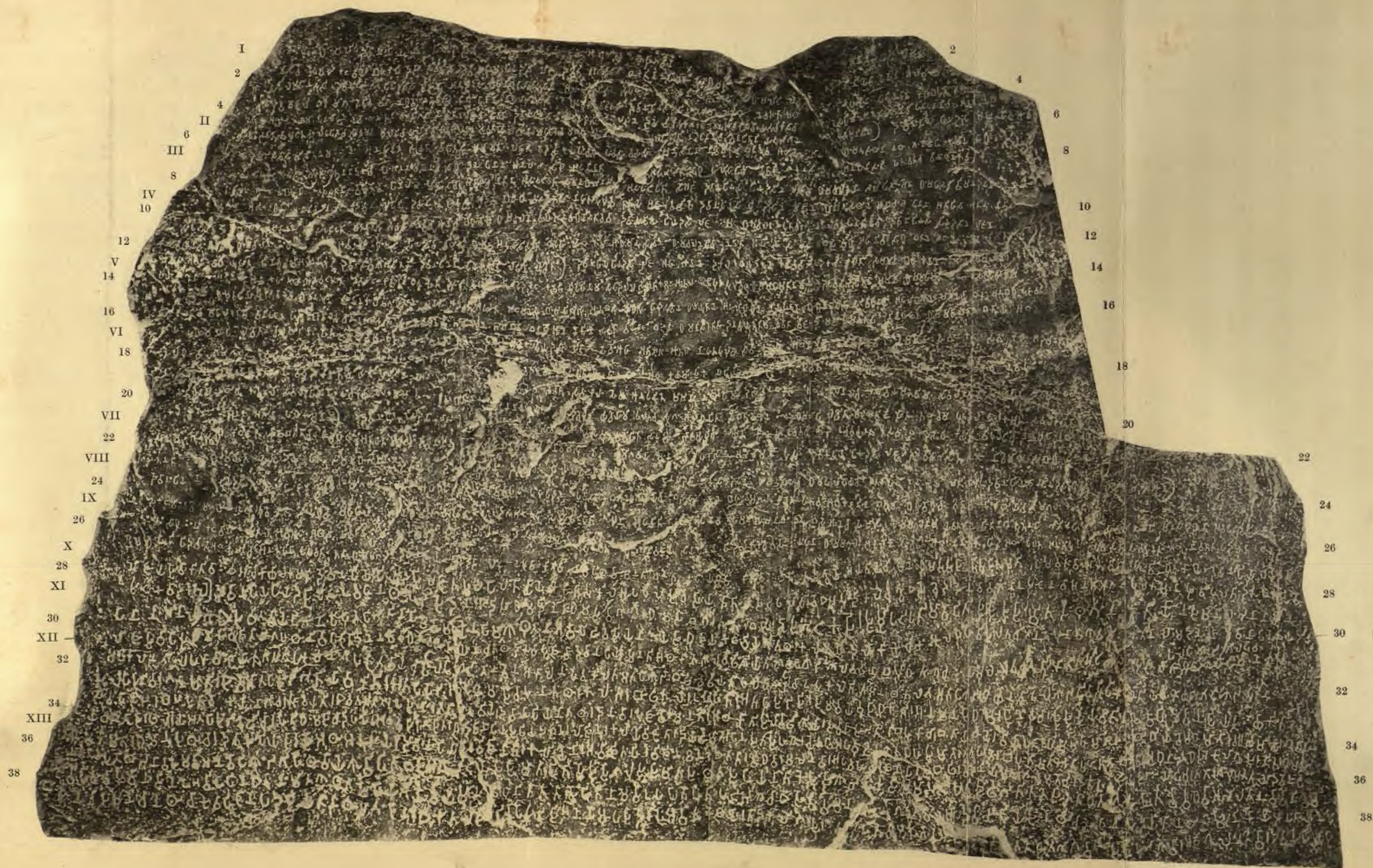


- 36 धंमकामता । धंमानुषधि चा । देवानंपियषा । (D) षे अथि अनुषये । देवानं-  
पियषा । विजिनितु । कलिग्यानि । (E) अविजितं हि । विजिनमने । ए  
तता । वध वा । मलने वा । अपवहे वा । जनषा । षे बाढ । वेदनियमुते ।  
गुलुमुते चा । देवानंपियषा । (F) इयं पि चु । ततो । गलुमततले ।  
देवानंपियषा
- 37 (G) य तता वषति बाभना व षम वा अने वा पाशंड गिहिषा वा येषु विहिता  
एष अगभुतिषुषुषा मातापितिषुषुषा गलुषुषा मितषंयुतषहायनातिकेषु  
दाशभटकषि षम्यापटिपति दिढभतिता तेषं तता होति उपघाते वा वधे वा  
अभिलतानं वा विनिखमने
- 38 (H) येषं वा पि षुविहितानं षिनेहे अविपहिने ए तानं मितषंयुतषहायनातिकष  
वियषनं पापुनात तता षे पि तानमेवा उपघाते होति (I) पटिभागे चा  
एष षवमनुषानं गुलुमुते चा देवानंपियषा (J) नथि चा षे जनपदे यता  
नथि इमे निकाया आनता योनेषु
- 39 वंछने चा षमने चा नथि चा कुवापि जनपदषि यता नथि मनुषान । एकतलपि  
पि । पाषडषि । नो नाम पषादे । (K) षे अवतके जने । तदा कलिंगेषु ।  
लधेषु हते चा मटे चा । अपवुडे चा । ततो षते भागे वा । षहषभागे वा ।  
अज गुलुमुते वा । देवानंपियषा

*B.—South Face of Kālsī Rock.*

- 1 .....  
2 .....  
3 ..... नेयु (O) इछ .....  
4 षवभु ..... षयम षमचलियं मदव ति (P) इयं वु सु .....  
5 देवानंपियेषा ये धंमविजये (Q) षे च पुना लधे देवानंपि ..... च  
6 षवेषु च अतेषु अ षषु पि योजनषतेषु अत अतियोगे नाम योनला .. पलं  
चा तेना
- 7 अंतियोगेना चतालि ४ लजाने तुलमये नाम अतेकिने नाम मका ना-  
8 म अलिकषुदले नाम निचं चोडपंडिया अवं तंवपंनिया हेवमेवा (R) हेवमेवा  
9 हिदा लाजविशवधि योनकंवोजेषु नाभकनाभपंतिषु भोजपितिनिक्केषु  
10 अधपालदेषु षवता देवानंपियषा धंमानुषधि अनुवतंति (S) यत पि दुता  
11 देवानंपियसा नो यंति ते पि सुतु देवानंपिनंय धंमवुतं विधनं  
12 धंमानुसधि धंमं अनुविधियंअ अनुविधियिसंअ चा (T) ये से लधे  
13 एतकेना होति सवता विजये पितिलसे से (U) गधा सा होति पिति पिति  
धंमविजय-











14 पि (V) लहुका वु खो सा पिति (W) पालंतिक्यमेवे महफला मंनंति देवेनंपिने  
 15 (X) एताये चा अठाये इयं धंमलिपि लिखिता किति पुता पपोता मे अमु  
 16 नवं विजय म विजयतविय मनिषु षयकषि नो विजयधि खंति चा ल । हु-  
 17 दंडता चा लोचेतु तमेव चा विजयं मनतु ये धंमविजये (Y) घे हिदल्लोकिक्य  
 पललो-

18 किये (Z) घवा च क निलति होतु उयामलति (AA) षा हि हिदल्लोकिक्य  
 पलल्लोकिक्या

- 35 (A) aṭha-[va]shā-<sup>1</sup> | bhishita-<sup>2</sup> | shā [De]vānaṃpiyasha Piyadashine | lājine |  
 Kaligyā vijitā | (B) diyadha-mite<sup>3</sup> | pāna-shat[a]-shaha[ś]e | ye [ta]phā apavudhe [i  
 śa]ta-[sha]hasha-mite<sup>4</sup> | tata hate | bahu-tāvatake<sup>5</sup> | vā maṭe (C) tai[o<sup>6</sup> pa]chhā |  
 adhunā ladhesha<sup>7</sup> | Kaligyeshu | tive | dhamma[vāy]e  
 36 dhamma-k[ā]matā | dhammānushathi chā | Devānaṃpiyashā | (D) sh[e] athi  
 anushaye | Devānaṃpiya[sh]ā | vijin[i]tu<sup>8</sup> | Kaligyāni | (E) avijitam hi |  
 vijinamane | e tatā | vadha<sup>9</sup> vā | malane vā | apavahe [vā] | jan[a]shā | [sh]e  
 bādha | vedaniya-mute | g[u]l[u]-mut[e] chā | Devāna[m]piyashā | (F) iyaṃ pi  
 chu | tato | galu-matatale | D[e]vānaṃpiyashā<sup>10</sup>  
 37 (G) [ya] tatā<sup>11</sup> vashati b[ā]bhanā<sup>12</sup> va shama<sup>13</sup> vā ane vā pāsāṇḍa gih[i]thā vā  
 yeṣu vihitā[e]sh[a]a[gabhu]t[i]-shushushā<sup>14</sup> m[ā]tā-piti-shushushā<sup>15</sup> galu-shushā<sup>16</sup>  
 mita-shamthuta-shahāya-nātikeshu dāśa-bha[ṭa]kash[i]<sup>17</sup> sha[m]yā-paṭipati diḍha-  
 bhatitā tesham tatā hoti [upa]ghāte vā vadhe vā abhilatānaṃ vā vinikhamane  
 38 (H) yesham vā pi shuvihi[t]ānaṃ<sup>18</sup> shinehe avipahine e tānaṃ mita-śamth[u]ta-  
 sha[h]āya-[nā]tikya<sup>19</sup> viyashanaṃ<sup>20</sup> pāpunāta<sup>21</sup> tatā<sup>22</sup> she [p]i t[ā]namev[ā]<sup>23</sup>  
 upaghāt[e] hoti (I) paṭibhāge chā eṣh[a] sh[a]va-manu[shāna]m gul[u]-m[a]te  
 chā Devāna[m]piyashā (J) n[a]thi chā she jan[a]pade yatā nathi ime nikāyā  
 ānatā<sup>24</sup> Y[o]nesh[u]<sup>25</sup>  
 39 baṃhmane ch[ā] shamane chā nathi chā kuvāpi jan[a]padashi [ya]tā n[a]thi  
 m[a]nushān[a]<sup>26</sup> | ekatalash[i] p[ā] | pāshadashi | no n[ā]ma pashāde | (K) she  
 ava[ta]ke<sup>27</sup> jane | t[ā]dā Kali[m]geshu |<sup>28</sup> [ladheshu ha]te ch[ā]<sup>29</sup> maṭ[e] chā |  
 [apavudhe chā] | tato<sup>30</sup> shat[e] bhāge vā | shah[a]sha-bhāge vā | aja gulu-mate  
 vā | Devāna[m]piyashā

<sup>1</sup> bhisita- Bühler. <sup>2</sup> -m[ā]te Bühler. <sup>3</sup> -māte Bühler. <sup>4</sup> -tāvatake Bühler.

<sup>5</sup> tatā Senart and Bühler. <sup>6</sup> Read *ladhesku*, which is Bühler's reading.

<sup>7</sup> This word may be read also *vijinīti*, as both an *i* and a *u* are affixed to the last consonant.

<sup>8</sup> vadham Bühler. <sup>9</sup> Bühler adds *i*.

<sup>10</sup> Read *ye tatā* in accordance with the Shāhbāzgarhi version, which reads *ye tatā*; *śavatā* Senart and Bühler, who adds *i*.

<sup>11</sup> *baṃbhanā* Senart and Bühler.

<sup>12</sup> Read *shamanā*.

<sup>13</sup> *ag[a]bh[uta]*- Bühler.

<sup>14</sup> *matā*- Bühler.

<sup>15</sup> -*shusha* Bühler; read -*shushushā*.

<sup>16</sup> -*bha[ṭa]kashi* Bühler.

<sup>17</sup> [sha]mvihitānaṃ Bühler.

<sup>18</sup> The syllable *nā* seems to be entered above the line.

<sup>19</sup> *vīyashane* Bühler.

<sup>20</sup> Read *pāpunāti*, which is Bühler's reading.

<sup>21</sup> *tata* Bühler.

<sup>22</sup> *meva* Bühler.

<sup>23</sup> *ānatā* Senart and Bühler.

<sup>24</sup> *yenesha* Bühler.

<sup>25</sup> *shānaṃ* Bühler.

<sup>26</sup> *āvatake* Bühler.

<sup>27</sup> Bühler omits *i*.

<sup>28</sup> *cha* | Bühler.

<sup>29</sup> *tatā* Senart and Bühler.



*B.—South Face of Kālsī Rock.*

- 1 .....  
 2 .....  
 3 ..... [ney]u (O) ichha<sup>1</sup> .....  
 4 sha[va-bhu]<sup>2</sup> ..... [shayama shamacha]liya[m] madava ti (P) iya[m] vu<sup>3</sup>  
 mu .....  
 5 Devāna[m]piyeshā<sup>4</sup> ye dha[m]ma-vijaye (Q) sh[e] cha punā ladhe Devāna[m]-  
 p[ī] ..... cha<sup>5</sup>  
 6 shaveshu cha ateshu a shashu pi [yo]jana-shateshu<sup>6</sup> at[a] Atiyoge nām[a] Yo[na-  
 lā] . . .<sup>7</sup> [pa]lām chā tenā  
 7 A[m]tiyogenā chatālī 4 lajāne Tulamaye [nā]m[a] Amteki[ne nā]ma Makā nā-  
 8 ma Alikyashudale nāma nicham Choḍa-Paṁḍiyā avam Tambapamniyā  
 hevamev[ā]<sup>8</sup> (R) hevamevā  
 9 [hi]dā lā[ja]-viśavashi<sup>9</sup> Yona-Kambojeshu Nābhak[a]-Nābhapaṁtishu<sup>10</sup> Bhoja-  
 Pitinikye[sh]u  
 10 [Adha]-P[ā]lade[sh]u [sha]vatā [D]evā[na]m[pi]ya[shā] dhammānu[sha]thi  
 anuvataṁti (S) y[a]ta pi dutā  
 11 Devāna[m]piyasā no yaṁti t[e] pi sutu Dev[āna]m[pi]naṁya<sup>11</sup> dh[am]ma-vutaṁ  
 v[i]dh[a]na[m]  
 12 dhammānusa[th]i dha[m]ma[m] anuvidhiyaṁa<sup>12</sup> [a]nuvidhiyaṁa<sup>13</sup> [ch]ā (T) ye  
 se [la]dhe  
 13 etakenā hoti savatā vi[ja]ye<sup>14</sup> piti-lase se (U) gadhā sā hoti piti piti dhamm[a]-  
 vijaya-  
 14 shi (V) lahukā v[u]<sup>15</sup> kho sā piti (W) pāṁtikyameve maha-phalā maṁnam[ti]  
 Dev[e]na[m]pi[ne]<sup>16</sup>  
 15 (X) etāye chā aṭhāye iyaṁ dha[m]ma-lipi likhitā kiti putā papotā<sup>17</sup> me a[su]  
 16 nava[m] vijay[a] ma vijayataviya<sup>18</sup> manishu shayakashi no<sup>19</sup> vi[ja]yashi khamti<sup>20</sup>  
 chā la t hu-<sup>21</sup>  
 17 daṁḍatā [chā] lochetu tameva chā vijayaṁ manatu ye dhamma-vijaye (Y) she  
 hidalokikya palalo-  
 18 kiye<sup>22</sup> (Z) shavā cha ka<sup>23</sup> nilati hot[u] uyāma-lati (AA) shā hi hi[da]lokika  
 pa[la]lokikyā

<sup>1</sup> Restore *ichhati*.<sup>2</sup> Restore *-bhutānam*.<sup>3</sup> Read *chu*.<sup>4</sup> Read *\*piyashā*.<sup>5</sup> Restore *\*piyasa hida cha*.<sup>6</sup> There is a fissure in the rock between *yojana* and *shateshu*.<sup>7</sup> Restore *-lājā*.<sup>8</sup> *hevameva* Bühler.<sup>9</sup> [*Hi*]da-lājā Viśa-Vaji- Bühler.<sup>10</sup> *Nābhaku*- Senart, *Nābhake* Bühler.<sup>11</sup> *\*piniya* Senart, *\*piyaṁya* Bühler; read *\*piyasa*.<sup>12</sup> Read *\*yaṁti*, which is Bühler's reading.<sup>13</sup> Read *\*saṁti*, which is Bühler's reading.<sup>14</sup> This word is entered above the line.<sup>15</sup> Read *chu*.<sup>16</sup> Read *pāṁtikyameva mahā-phalam maṁnati Devāna[m]piye*.<sup>17</sup> *pāpotā* Senart and Bühler.<sup>18</sup> *vijayaṁtaviya* Bühler.<sup>19</sup> Read perhaps *yo* (= Prākṛit *yeva*), as at Shāhbāzgarhi.<sup>20</sup> There is a fissure in the rock here.<sup>21</sup> Cancel the sign of punctuation and join *lahu*.<sup>22</sup> *ki . ye* Bühler.<sup>23</sup> Bühler omits *ka*; read *kaṁ* and see above, p. 31, n. 6.



## TRANSLATION

(A) When king **Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin** had been anointed eight years, (the country of) the **Kaliṅgyas** was conquered by (him).

(B) One hundred and fifty thousand in number were the men who were deported thence, one hundred thousand in number were those who were slain there, and many times as many those who died.

(C) After that, now that (the country of) the **Kaliṅgyas** has been taken, **Dēvānāmpriya** (is devoted) to a zealous study of morality, to the love of morality, and to the instruction (of people) in morality.

(D) This is the repentance of **Dēvānāmpriya** on account of his conquest of (the country of) the **Kaliṅgyas**.

(E) For, this is considered<sup>1</sup> very painful and deplorable by **Dēvānāmpriya**, that, while one is conquering<sup>2</sup> an unconquered (country), slaughter, death, and deportation of people (are taking place) there.

(F) But the following is considered even more deplorable than this by **Dēvānāmpriya**.

(G) (To) the Brāhmaṇas or Śramaṇas, or other sects or householders,<sup>3</sup> who are living there, (and) among whom the following are practised: obedience to those who receive high pay,<sup>4</sup> obedience to mother and father, obedience to elders, proper courtesy to friends, acquaintances, companions, and relatives, to slaves and servants, (and) firm devotion,—to these then happen injury or slaughter or deportation of (their) beloved ones.

(H) Or if there are then incurring misfortune<sup>5</sup> the friends, acquaintances, companions, and relatives of those whose affection (for the latter) is undiminished, although they are (themselves) well provided for,<sup>6</sup> this (misfortune) as well becomes an injury to those (persons) themselves.<sup>7</sup>

(I) This is shared by all men<sup>8</sup> and<sup>9</sup> is considered deplorable by **Dēvānāmpriya**.

(J) There is no country where these (two) classes, (viz.) the Brāhmaṇas and the Śramaṇas, do not exist, except among the **Yōnas**; and there is no (place) in any country where men are not indeed attached to some sect.<sup>10</sup>

(K) Therefore even the hundredth part or the thousandth part of all those people

<sup>1</sup> For *muta* = *mata* see above, p. 35, n. 10.

<sup>2</sup> *vijinamane* is a nominative singular absolute; see my note on the translation of the Dhauḷi separate edict I, S.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. the rock-edict XII, A, and the Delhi-Tōprā pillar-edict VII, Y.

<sup>4</sup> Bühler (ZDMG, 37. 592 f.) took *agabhuti* = *agrajanman*, 'a member of a higher caste' or 'a Brāhmaṇa'; but the various reading in the two Kharōṣṭhī versions, *agrabhuti*, suggests that the second member of the compound is Skt. *bhṛiti*.

<sup>5</sup> *pāpunāti* is used in the same way in the Dhauḷi separate edict I, J, and the Jaugaḍa separate edict I, K.

<sup>6</sup> For this meaning of *suviḥita* see Childers, *Pāli Dictionary*, s.v. *vidahati*.

<sup>7</sup> The correct construction of this section is due to Lüders, who showed that *etānaṃ* must be divided into *e tānaṃ*; see SPAW, 1914. 850.

<sup>8</sup> I. e. 'a share of this falls upon all men'; see Thomas in V. A. Smith's *Asoka*, sec. ed., p. 173, n. 1.

<sup>9</sup> The *chā* after *gulu-mate* corresponds to the preceding *chā* after *paṭibhāge*. In the same way the double *nathī chā* in the next section co-ordinates the two sentences.

<sup>10</sup> See above, p. 25, n. 2.



who were slain, who died, and who were deported at that time when (the country of) the **Kaliṅgas** was taken, (would) now be considered very deplorable by **Dēvānāmpriya**.

(O) . . . . . desires towards all beings . . . . . self-control, impartiality, (and) kindness.

(P) But this . . . . . by **Dēvānāmpriya**, viz. the conquest by morality.

(Q) And this (conquest) has been won repeatedly by **Dēvānāmpriya** both [here]<sup>1</sup> and among all (his) borderers, even as far as at (the distance of) six hundred *yōjanas*, where the **Yōna** king named **Antiyoga**<sup>2</sup> (is ruling), and beyond this **Antiyoga**, (where) four—4—kings (are ruling), (viz. the king) named **Tulamaya**,<sup>3</sup> (the king) named **Antekina**,<sup>4</sup> (the king) named **Makā**,<sup>5</sup> (and the king) named **Alikeyashudala**,<sup>6</sup> (and) likewise<sup>7</sup> towards the south,<sup>8</sup> (where) the **Chōḍas** and **Pāṇḍyas** (are ruling), as far as **Tāmraparṇi**.

(R) Likewise here in the king's territory, among the **Yōnas** and **Kambōjas**,<sup>9</sup> among the **Nābhakas** and **Nābhapaṅktis**,<sup>10</sup> among the **Bhōjas**<sup>11</sup> and **Pitinikyās**,<sup>12</sup> among the **Andhras**<sup>13</sup> and **Pāladas**,<sup>14</sup>—everywhere (people) are conforming to **Dēvānāmpriya**'s instruction in morality.

(S) Even those to whom the envoys of **Dēvānāmpriya** do not go, having heard of the duties of morality,<sup>15</sup> the ordinances, (and) the instruction in morality of **Dēvānāmpriya**, are conforming to morality and will conform to (it).

(T) This conquest, which has been won by this everywhere, causes the feeling of satisfaction.

(U) Firm<sup>16</sup> becomes this satisfaction, (viz.) the satisfaction at the conquest by morality.

<sup>1</sup> viz. 'in my territory'; see section R below, and cf. above, p. 2, n. 3.

<sup>2</sup> The Shāhbāzgarhī version reads *Antiyoka*. For Antiochus II of Syria see above, p. 3, n. 11.

<sup>3</sup> The Gīrnār version reads *Turamāya*, and the Shāhbāzgarhī one *Turamaya*.

<sup>4</sup> The Shāhbāzgarhī version reads *Antikini*. <sup>5</sup> The Gīrnār version reads *Magā*.

<sup>6</sup> The two Kharōshthī versions read *Alikeyasudara*. The four kings are Ptolemy II Philadelphos of Egypt (B.C. 285–247), Antigonos Gonatas of Macedonia (276–239), Magas of Cyrene (c. 300–250), and either Alexander of Epirus (272–c. 255) or, more probably, Alexander of Corinth (252–c. 244); see Lassen's *Ind. Alt.*, vol. II, p. 255, and Beloch's *Griechische Geschichte*, 3, 2, 105.

<sup>7</sup> The two Kharōshthī versions omit this word.

<sup>8</sup> This is Senart's rendering of *nicham* (i. e. *nicham*). Bühler (ZDMG, 40. 137) added that the *Rigveda* uses its synonym *nyak* in the same sense. <sup>9</sup> See above, p. 10, n. 1.

<sup>10</sup> As remarked by Bühler (ZDMG, 40. 138), *Prākṛit paṅkti* = Skt. *paṅkti*.

<sup>11</sup> Bühler (ZDMG, 40. 138) connected the Bhōjas with the city of Bhōjakaṭa in East Berar, which is mentioned in a Vākāṭaka grant (*Gupta Insers.*, p. 241) and in the Bharaut inscriptions (IA, 21. 240). But as, in the rock-edict V, J, the Pitinikas appear among Aśoka's western borderers, the Bhōjas, who are coupled with them here, will have to be looked for in the west as well.

<sup>12</sup> The Pitinikyās are identical with the Pētēṇikas in the Gīrnār edict V; see above, p. 10, n. 2. The Shāhbāzgarhī and Mānsehrā versions read *Pitinika*.

<sup>13</sup> Andhra is the old name of the Telugu country and people.

<sup>14</sup> The Gīrnār version seems to read *Pārinda*, and the Shāhbāzgarhī one *Palida*. Bühler (ZDMG, 40. 138) identified this word with *Pulinda* and noted that the Andhras and Pulindas are mentioned together already in the *Aitarēya-Brahmaṇa*, VII, 18. But the variants at Gīrnār and Kālsī render this identification very improbable. *Pārinda* reminds us of the Sanskrit *pārindra*, 'a lion'.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. *dharmma-vutaṃ cha anuvīdhiyatāṃ* in the Gīrnār edict X, A.

<sup>16</sup> As suggested by Bühler (ZDMG, 40. 138), *gadha* (instead of which two other versions read *ladhā* or *ladha*) may represent \**gāddhā*, from Pāli *gādhati*, 'to stand fast.'



(V) But this satisfaction is indeed of little (consequence).

(W) *Dēvānāmpriya* thinks that only the fruits in the other (world) are of great (value).<sup>1</sup>

(X) And for the following purpose has this rescript on morality been written, (viz.) in order that the sons (and) great-grandsons (who) may be (born) to me, should not think that a fresh conquest ought to be made; (that), if a conquest does please them,<sup>2</sup> they should take pleasure<sup>3</sup> in mercy and light punishments; and (that) they should regard the conquest by morality as the only (true) conquest.

(Y) This (conquest bears fruit) in this world (and) in the other world.

(Z) And let all (their) pleasure be the pleasure in exertion.<sup>4</sup>

(AA) For this (bears fruit) in this world (and) in the other world.

## FOURTEENTH ROCK-EDICT: KALSI

19 (A) इयं धमलिपि देवानंपियेना पियदसिना लजिना लिखापिता अथि  
येवा सुखि-

20 तेना अथि मज्झिमेना अथि विषटेना (B) नो हि सवता सवे घटिते (C) महालके  
हि वि-

21 जिते बहु च लिखिते लेखापेशामि चेव निक्खं (D) अथि चा हेता पुन पुना  
लपि-

22 ते तष तषा अथषा मधुलियाये येन जने तथा पटिपजेया (E) षे षाया अत  
किञ्चि अ-

23 समति लिखिते दिषा वा षंखेये कालनं वा अलोचयितु लिपिकलपलाधेन वा

19 (A) *iyam dhama-lipi Dev[ānaṃp]i[y]e[n]ā [P]iyadasinā<sup>5</sup> lajinā likhāpitā athi*  
*yevā sukhi-*

20 *tenā<sup>6</sup> [a]thi majhimenā athi viṭṭaṇā (B) no hi savatā save [gha]ṭite<sup>7</sup> (C) mahālake*  
*hi vi-*

21 *jite bahu cha likhite lekhāpeśāmi cheva nikyaṃ (D) athi chā hetā puna pun[ā]<sup>8</sup> la[p]i-*

22 *t[e] tasha tashā athashā madhuliyāye yena jane tathā paṭipajeyā (E) she shāyā<sup>9</sup>*  
*ata k[i]chhi a-*

23 *samati likhite dishā vā shaṃkheye<sup>10</sup> kālanam vā alochayitu li[p]ikalapalādhena vā*

<sup>1</sup> *mahā-phala* is perhaps a Karmadhāraya, while it may be a Bahuvrīhi in the rock-edict IX, F. Cf. the first separate rock-edict, where *mahā-apāye* (Dhauḷi, R) or *mahāpāy[e]* (Jaugaḍa, S) must be a Karmadhāraya, as it forms the predicate of the feminine *asampāṭipati*; the preceding word *mahā-phale* may be a Bahuvrīhi at Dhauḷi, but a Karmadhāraya at Jaugaḍa.

<sup>2</sup> *shayaka* may be an adjective formed of *svayam*, and having the same meaning as *spa[ka]* (= Skt. *svaka*) at Shāhbāzgarhī, and as *sarasaka* at Gīrnār, for which see above, p. 25, n. 5.

<sup>3</sup> For *lochetu* see above, p. 8, n. 3.

<sup>4</sup> *nyāma* is synonymous with *utthāna* and *parākrama* in the rock-edicts VI and X.

<sup>5</sup> *dashinā* Bühler.

<sup>6</sup> Gīrnār reads *saṃkhītena*.

<sup>7</sup> The syllable *te* was entered subsequently.

<sup>8</sup> *punaṃ puna* Bühler.

<sup>9</sup> Read *shiyā*, which is Bühler's reading. The syllable *shā* is entered above the line.

<sup>10</sup> Read probably *shaṃkhāya* in accordance with the Gīrnār version (*sachhāya*) and the Shāhbāzgarhī one (*saṃkhay[a]*).



## TRANSLATION

(A) These rescripts on morality have been caused to be written by king **Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin** either in an abridged (form), or of middle (size), or at full length.

(B) For the whole was not suitable everywhere.

(C) For (my) dominions are wide, and much has been written, and I shall constantly<sup>1</sup> cause still (more) to be written.

(D) And (some) of this has been stated again and again because of the charm of certain topics, (and) in order that men should act accordingly.

(E) But some of this may have been written incompletely, either on account of the locality,<sup>2</sup> or because (my) motive was not liked, or by the fault of the writer.

BELOW THE FIGURE OF AN ELEPHANT ON THE NORTH FACE  
OF THE KALSI ROCK

गजतमे

gajatame

## TRANSLATION

The best elephant.<sup>3</sup>

## III. THE SHAHBAZGARHI ROCK

## FIRST ROCK-EDICT: SHAHBAZGARHI

*A.—East Face of Shāhbāzgarhī Rock.*

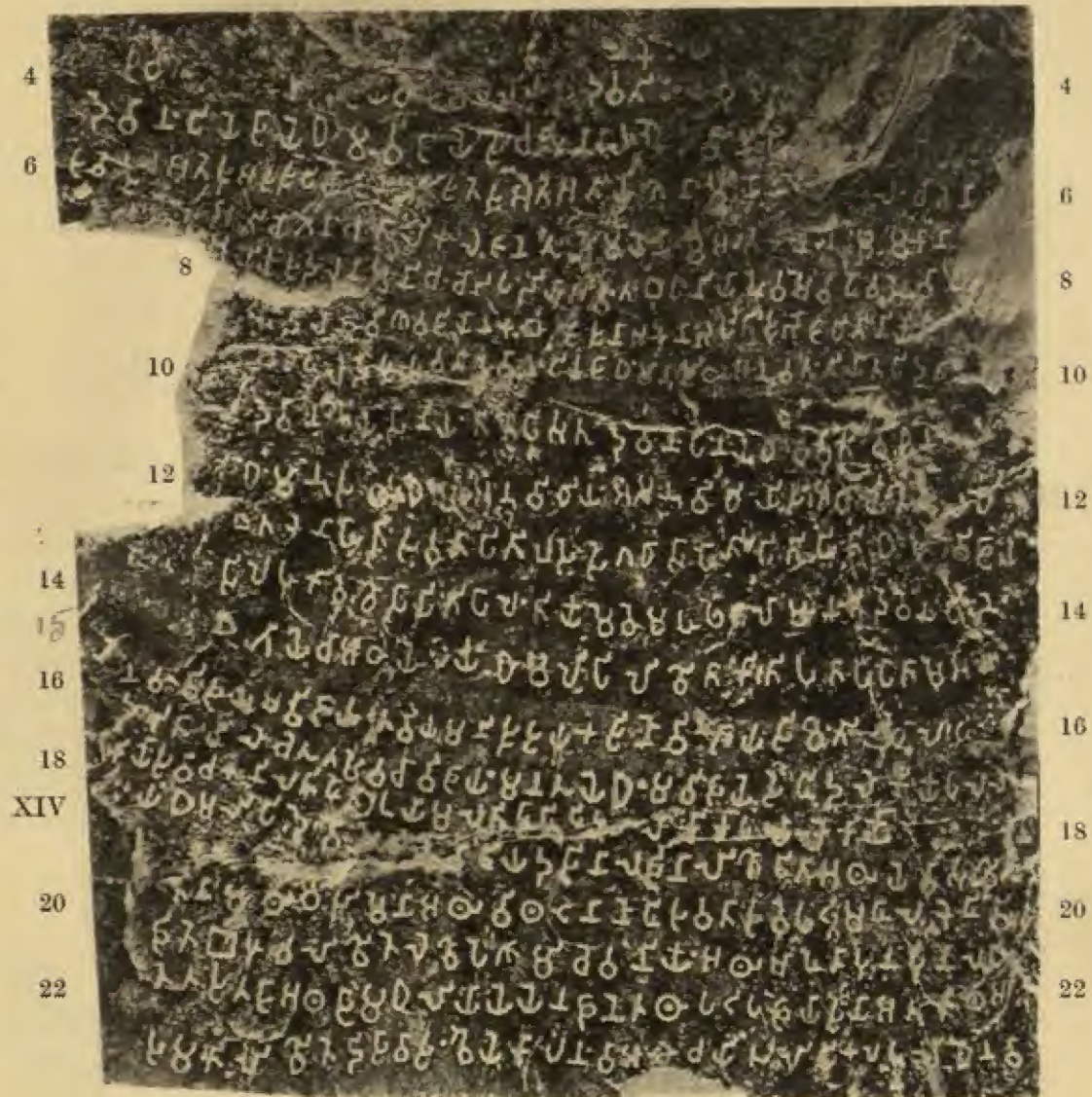
- 1 (A) अय धमदिपि देवनप्रिअस रजो लिखपितु (B) हिद नो किचि जिवे अरभितु प्रयुहोतवे (C) नो पि च समज कटव (D) बहुक हि दोष समयस्मि देवणप्रिये प्रिअद्रशि रय दखति
- 2 (E) अस्मि पि चु एकतिअ समये समुमते देवनपिअस प्रिअद्रशिस रजो (F) पुर महनससि देवनप्रिअस प्रिअद्रशिस रजो अनुदिवसो बहुनि प्रणशतसहसनि अरभियिसु सुपठये (G) सो इदनि यद अय
- 3 धमदिपि लिखित तद चयो वो प्रण हंजंति मजुर दुवि २ सुगो १ सो पि सुगो नो ध्रुवं (H) एत पि प्रण चयो पच न अरभिशंति

<sup>1</sup> Senart and Bühler consider *nikyam* a dialectical variant of *nityam*.

<sup>2</sup> *dis* is used in the sense of *dśa*, unless *dishā* is simply a clerical mistake for the Gīrnār reading *desam*.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. the similar labels at Gīrnār (below edict XIII) and at Dhaurī (at the end of edict VI), and see above, p. 27, n. 2.





KALSI ROCK ; NORTH FACE









- 1 (A) [aya]<sup>1</sup> dhrama-dipi **Devanapriasa** raño likhapitu<sup>2</sup> (B) hida no kich[i] jive ara[bhita p]rayuhotave (C) no pi ch[a] sama[ja] kaṭava (D) ba[hu]ka [hi] dosha sa[maya]spi **Devanapriy[e]**<sup>3</sup> **Priadraśi** ray[a da]khati
- 2 (E) [a]sti pi chu ekatia<sup>4</sup> samaye sasu-mate<sup>5</sup> **Devanapiasa**<sup>6</sup> **Priadraśisa** raño (F) pura mahana[sas]i [Devana]pr[i]asa<sup>7</sup> **Priadraśisa** raño anudivaso bahuni pra[ṇa]-śata-sahasani<sup>8</sup> [arabhi]yis[u] supaṭhay[e] (G) s[o i]dani yada aya
- 3 dhrama-dipi likhita tada trayo vo praṇa hamñamti[i] majura duv[i] 2 mrugo 1 so pi mrugo no dhruva[m] (H) eta pi praṇa trayo pacha na arabhiśamti

## TRANSLATION

✓ (A) This rescript on morality has been caused to be written by king **Dēvānāmpriya**.

(B) Here no living being must be killed and sacrificed.

(C) And also no festival meetings must be held.

(D) For king **Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin** sees much evil in festival meetings.

(E) But there are also some festival meetings which are considered meritorious by king **Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin**.

(F) Formerly in the kitchen of king **Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin** many hundred thousands of animals were killed daily for the sake of curry.

(G) But now, when this rescript on morality is written, then only three animals are being killed (daily), (viz.) two—2—peacocks (and) 1 deer, (but) even this deer not regularly.

(H) Even these three animals shall not be killed in future.

## SECOND ROCK-EDICT: SHAHBAZGARHI

- 3 (A) सवत्र विजिते देवनंप्रियस प्रियद्रक्षिस् ये च अंत यथ चोड  
 4 पंडिय सतियपुत्रो केरडपुत्रो तंवपणि अंतियोको नम योनरज ये च अंजे तस  
 अंतियोक्स समंत रजनो सवत्र देवनंप्रियस प्रियद्रक्षिस् रजो दुवि २  
 चिकिस क्रिट मनुशचिकिस . . पशुचिकिस च
- 5 (B) ओषढनि मनुशेपकनि च पशेपकनि च यत्र यत्र नस्ति सवत्र हरपित च  
 वुत च (C) कुप च खनपित प्रतिभोगये पशुमनुशनं

3 (A) sav[r]atra vijite [De]va[nam]priyasa Priyadraśisa y[e] cha [a]nta yatha [Choḍa]

4 Paṇḍiya Satiyaputro Keraḍaputro<sup>9</sup> Taṁbapaṇṇi<sup>10</sup> Aṁtiyo[k]o nama Yona-  
 raja ye cha aṁñe tasa Aṁtiyokasa samaṁta rajano savratra **Devanaṁ-**  
**priyasa Priyadraśisa** raño du[vi] 2 chik[i]sa [kr]i[ṭa]<sup>11</sup> manuśa-chikisa . .  
 pa[śu-ch]ikisa [cha]

5 (B) [o]sha[ḍha]ni<sup>12</sup> manuśopakani cha paśopakani cha yat[r]a yatra nasti savatra  
 harapita<sup>13</sup> cha vuta cha (C) kupa cha khanapita pratibh[o]gaye paśu-manuśanaṁ

<sup>1</sup> [a]ya[m] Bühler.

<sup>2</sup> Read probably *likhapita*, as at Mānschrā.

<sup>3</sup> *dosham sama . . sa Devanapriy[o]* Bühler.

<sup>4</sup> *cha ekatie* Bühler.

<sup>5</sup> Read *sadhu-*; *sresta-mati* Bühler.

<sup>6</sup> *\*priasa* Bühler.

<sup>7</sup> *Devanaṁpri* Bühler.

<sup>8</sup> *-[sa]has[r]ani* Bühler.

<sup>9</sup> *Satiyaputra Keralaputra* Bühler.

<sup>10</sup> *\*paṇṇi* Bühler.

<sup>11</sup> *ki[ṭra]* Bühler.

<sup>12</sup> *[o]shuḍh* Bühler.

<sup>13</sup> *har[o]pita* Bühler.



## TRANSLATION

(A) Everywhere in the dominions of *Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin*, and (of those) who (are his) borderers, such as the *Chōḍas*, the *Pāṇḍyas*, the *Satiyaputra*, the *Kōra aputra*, *Tāmraparṇi*, the *Yōna* king named *Antiyoka*, and the other kings who are the neighbours of this *Antiyoka*,—everywhere two—2—(kinds of) medical treatment were established by king *Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin*, (viz.) medical treatment for men and medical treatment for cattle.

(B) Wherever there were no herbs beneficial to men and beneficial to cattle, everywhere they were caused to be imported and planted.

(C) And wells were caused to be dug for the use of cattle and men.

## THIRD ROCK-EDICT: SHAHBAZGARHI

- 5 (A) देवनंप्रियो प्रियद्रशि रज अहति (B) वदयवषभिसितेन . . . . . अणपितं  
(C) सवच मञ्ज
- 6 विजिते युत रजुको प्रदेशिक पंचषु पंचषु ५ वषेषु अनुसंयनं निक्रमतु एतिस वो  
करण इमिस ध्रमनुशस्तिये थ अजये पि क्रमये (D) सधु मतपितुषु सुश्रुष  
मिचसंस्तुतजतिकनं ब्रमणश्मणनं . . . . . प्रणनं अनरंभो सधु
- 7 अपवयत अपभंडत सधु (E) परि पि युतनि गणनसि अणपेशंति हेतुतो च  
वज्जनतो च
- 5 (A) *Devanāmpriyo Priyadraśi raja ahati* (B) *badaya-vashabh[i]si[tena]*<sup>1</sup> . . . . .  
[a]ṇapi[tam]<sup>2</sup> (C) *savatra ma[a]*<sup>3</sup>
- 6 *vijite yuta rajuko pradeśi[ka<sup>4</sup> pañcha]shu pañchashu 5 vasheshu anusamyanam  
nik[r]amatu etisa vo karaṇa imisa dhrammanuśastiye [tha]<sup>5</sup> añaye pi  
krammaye<sup>6</sup> (D) sadhu mata-pitushu suśrusha mitra-samst[u]ta-ñatikanam  
bramaṇa-[śra]maṇa[nam] . . . . . [pra]ṇanam [anaram]bho sadhu<sup>7</sup>*
- 7 *apa-vayata apa-bhaṇḍata sadhu (E) pari<sup>8</sup> [pi] yutani [ga]ṇanasi<sup>9</sup> aṇapeśamti hetuto  
cha vaññanato<sup>10</sup> cha*

## TRANSLATION

- (A) King *Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin* speaks<sup>11</sup> (thus).  
(B) (When I had been) anointed twelve years, [the following] was ordered [by me].  
(C) Everywhere in my dominions the *Yuktas*, the *Rajuka*, (and) the *Prādēsika* shall set out on a complete tour (throughout their charges) every five—5—years

<sup>1</sup> With Bühler and Johansson (§ 52) I believe that the writer wanted to write *badāśa*-. On the Wardak vase the symbols for *y* and *ś* are often confused; see Pargiter's remarks in EI, II. 203 f., and ZDMG, 73. 227.

<sup>2</sup> Bühler omitted this word.

<sup>3</sup> Bühler omitted *maa*.

<sup>4</sup> *pradeśik[ε]* Bühler.

<sup>5</sup> Read *yatha*; *dhramanuśasti yatha* Bühler.

<sup>6</sup> *kramaye* Bühler.

<sup>7</sup> Bühler omitted the end of this line.

<sup>8</sup> Read *parisha*.

<sup>9</sup> There is a vacant space between *ga* and *na*.

<sup>10</sup> *vaññanato* Bühler.

<sup>11</sup> Bühler wrote *aha ti* in two words. But the barbarous form *ahati* or *hahati* is guaranteed by the edicts V, &c., where it is preceded by *evam*, and where consequently *ti* cannot have the meaning 'thus'.



for this very purpose, (viz.) for the following instruction in morality as well as for other business.

(D) 'Meritorious is obedience to mother and father. [Liberality] to friends, acquaintances, and relatives, to Brāhmaṇas and Śramaṇas [is meritorious]. Abstention from killing animals is meritorious. Moderation in expenditure (and) moderation in possessions are meritorious.'

(E) The councils (of *Mahāmātras*) also shall order the *Yuktas* to register (these rules) both with (the addition of) reasons and according to the letter.

## FOURTH ROCK-EDICT: SHAHBAZGARHI

- 7 (A) अतिक्रतं अंतरं बहुनि वषशतनि वढितो वो प्रणरंभो विहिस च भुतनं  
जतिन असंपटिपति अमणब्रमणनं असंपटिपति (B) सो अज देवनंप्रियस  
प्रियद्रशिस रजो
- 8 ध्रमचरणेन भेरिघोष अहो ध्रमघोष विमननं द्रशनं अस्तिन जोतिकंधनि अजनि  
च दिवनि रुपनि द्रशयितु जनस (C) यदिशं बहुहि वषशतेहि न भुतप्रुवे  
तदिशे अज वढिते देवनंप्रियस प्रियद्रशिस रजो ध्रमनुशस्तिय अनरंभो  
प्रणनं अविहिस भुतनं जतिनं संपटिपति ब्रमण-
- 9 अमणन संपटिपति मतपितुषु वुढनं सुश्रुष (D) एत अजं च बहुविधं ध्रमचरणं  
वढितं (E) वढिशति च यो देवनंप्रियस प्रियद्रशिस रजो ध्रमचरणं इमं  
(F) पुत्र पि च कं नतरो च प्रनतिक च देवनंप्रियस प्रियद्रशिस रजो  
प्रवढेशंति यो ध्रमचरणं इमं अवकप ध्रमे शिले च
- 10 तिठिति ध्रमं अनुशशिशंति (G) एत हि सेठं क्रमं यं ध्रमनुशशनं (H) ध्रमचरणं  
पि च न भोति अशिलस (I) सो इमिस अणूस वढि अहिनि च सधु  
(J) एतये अठये इमं निपिस्तं इमिस अठस वढि युजंतु हिनि च म लोचेषु  
(K) वटयवषभिसितेन देवनंप्रियेन प्रियद्रशिन रज जनं हिद निपेसितं

- 7 (A) atikratam antaram bahuni vasha-śatani vaḍhito vo praṇarambho vihisa cha  
bhuta[na]m ṇatina<sup>1</sup> asaṃpaṭipati śramaṇa-bramaṇana[m] a[sam]paṭipati<sup>2</sup>  
(B) [so aja Devana]mpriyasa Priyadraśisa [raño]
- 8 dhrama-charaṇena bheri-ghosha aho dhrama-ghosha vimanana[m] draśanaṃ  
[a]stina<sup>3</sup> joti-kamdhani añani cha divani rupani draśayitu janasa (C) yadiśam  
bahuhi vasha-śatehi na bhuta-pruve tadiśe aja vaḍhite Devanaṃpriyasa  
Priyadraśisa raño dhramaṃmanuśa[sti]ya anarambho praṇa[nam] avihisa  
bhutanaṃ ṇatina[m] saṃpa[ṭi]pati<sup>4</sup> [bra]maṇa-
- 9 śramaṇana<sup>5</sup> saṃpaṭipati mata-pitushu vuḍhana[m] suśrusha (D) e[ta] añam cha  
bahuvidham dhrama-charaṇam vaḍhitaṃ (E) vaḍhiśati cha yo Devanaṃpriyasa  
Priyadraśisa raño dhrama-charaṇam<sup>6</sup> ima[m] (F) putra pi cha kam<sup>7</sup> nataro

<sup>1</sup> ṇatinaṃ Bühler.<sup>2</sup> [asaṃpraṭi]<sup>o</sup> Bühler.<sup>3</sup> [ha]stino Bühler.<sup>4</sup> sa[ṃpraṭi]<sup>o</sup> Bühler.<sup>5</sup> śramaṇanaṃ Bühler.<sup>6</sup> -charaṇo Bühler.<sup>7</sup> ku Bühler.



- cha pranatika cha **Devanāmpriya[sa] Priyadrasīsa** raño pra[va]dh[e]śamti<sup>1</sup>  
 [yo]<sup>2</sup> dhrama-charaṇam ima[m] ava]-kapa<sup>3</sup> dhrame śile cha  
 10 tiṭṭiti<sup>4</sup> dhramam anuśaśisamti (G) eta h[i s]reṭham k[r]ama[m] yam  
 dhraman[u]śaśana[m] (H) dhrama-charaṇa[m] pi cha na bhoti aśilasa (I) so  
 imisa athrasa vadhi ahini cha sadhu (J) etaye aṭhaye ima[m] nipistam<sup>5</sup> imisa  
 aṭhasa vadhi yujamtu hini cha ma lo[ch]e[sh]u (K) **badaya-vashabhisitena**<sup>6</sup>  
**Devanāmpriyena Priyadrasīna** raña ṇanam hi[da] nipesitam<sup>7</sup>

## TRANSLATION

(A) In times past, for many hundreds of years, there had ever been promoted the killing of animals and the hurting of living beings, discourtesy to relatives, (and) discourtesy to Śramaṇas and Brāhmaṇas.

(B) But now, in consequence of the practice of morality on the part of king **Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin**, the sound of drums has become the sound of morality, showing the people representations of aerial chariots, elephants, masses of light, and other divine figures.

(C) Such as they had not existed before for many hundredś of years, thus there are now promoted, through the instruction in morality on the part of king **Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin**, abstention from killing animals, abstention from hurting living beings, courtesy to relatives, courtesy to Brāhmaṇas and Śramaṇas, obedience to mother and father, (and) to the aged.

(D) In this and many other ways is the practice of morality promoted.

(E) And this practice of morality will be ever promoted by king **Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin**.

(F) And also the sons,<sup>8</sup> grandsons, and great-grandsons of king **Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin** will ever promote this practice of morality until the æon (of destruction of the world), (and) will instruct (people) in morality, abiding by morality and by good conduct.

(G) For this is the best work, viz. instruction in morality.

(H) And the practice of morality also is not (possible) for (a person) devoid of good conduct.

(I) Therefore promotion and not neglect of this object is meritorious.

(J) For the following purpose has this been written,<sup>9</sup> (viz. in order that) they should devote themselves to the promotion of this practice, and that they should not approve<sup>10</sup> the neglect (of it).

(K) (This) conception (*jñāna*) was caused to be written here by king **Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin** (when he had been) anointed twelve years.

<sup>1</sup> ra[ño vadhe]śamti Bühler.

<sup>2</sup> Bühler omitted *yo*.

<sup>3</sup> -[kapam] Bühler.

<sup>4</sup> tiṭṭiti Bühler.

<sup>5</sup> dipista Bühler.

<sup>6</sup> Read *badāsa*-, and cf. above, p. 52, n. 1.

<sup>7</sup> raña [id]am . . nam dipa[pi]tam Bühler. The *da* of *hida* looks like *dam*, as it does frequently at Mānsehrā.

<sup>8</sup> For *cha kam* see above, p. 31, n. 6. Mānsehrā has once *cha kam* (XI, 14) and twice *cha ka* (IV, 16; XIII, 13).

<sup>9</sup> The participles *nipistam* and *nipesitam* in J and K, which correspond to *likhite* and *lekhitā* at Kālsī, must be derived from *ni-pish*, 'to write', which is used in the inscriptions of the Achæmenidan kings of Persia, and which is preserved in the modern Persian verb نوشتن. Cf. the Russian писать 'to write'.

<sup>10</sup> See above, p. 8, n. 3.



## FIFTH ROCK-EDICT: SHAHBAZGARHI

- 11 (A) देवनप्रियो प्रियद्रशि रय एवं हहति (B) कलणं दुकरं (C) यो अदिकरो कलणस सो दुकरं करोति (D) सो मय बहु कलं किट्रं (E) तं मअ पुच च नतरो च परं च तेन ये मे अपच व्रक्षंति अवकपं तथ ये अनुवटिशंति ते सुकिटं कषंति (F) यो चु अतो . . कं पि हपेशदि सो दुकरं कषति (G) पपं हि सुकरं (H) स अतिक्रतं अतर नो भुतप्रुव धंममहमच नम (I) सो तोदशवषभिसितेन
- 12 मय ध्रममहमच किट (J) ते सवप्रषंडेषु वपट धंमधिथनये च ध्रमवढिय हिदसुखये च ध्रमयुतस योनकंबोयगंधरनं रठिकनं पितिनिकनं ये व पि अपरंत (K) भटमयेषु व्रमणिभेषु अनथेषु वुढेषु हितसुखये धंमयुतस अपलिगोध वपट ते
- 13 (L) वधनवधस पटिविधनये अपलिबोधये मोक्षये अयि अनुव . . प्रजव किटभिकरो व महलके व वियपट ते (M) इअ वहिरेषु च नगरेषु सवेषु ओरोधनेषु भतुन च मे स्पसन च ये व पि अंजे जतिक सवच वियपुट (N) ये अयं ध्रमनिशिते ति व ध्रमधिथने ति व दनसयुते ति व सवत विजिते मअ ध्रमयुतसि वियपट ते ध्रममहमच (O) एतये अठये अयि ध्रमदिपि निपिस्त चिरयितिक भोतु तथ च मे प्रज अनुवततु
- 11 (A) Devanapriyo Priyadraśi raya eva[m] hahati<sup>1</sup> (B) ka[la]ṇa[m] dukara[m] (C) [yo] a[dikaro kala]ṇasa so du[ka]ra[m] karoti (D) so maya bahu kala[m]<sup>2</sup> ki[t]ra[m] (E) ta[m] maa<sup>3</sup> putra cha nataro cha para[m] cha [tena y]e<sup>4</sup> me apacha vṛakṣhaṁti<sup>5</sup> ava-kapa[m] tatha<sup>6</sup> ye an[u]vaṭiśaṁti<sup>7</sup> te s[u]kiṭa[m]<sup>8</sup> kashaṁti (F) yo chu ato . . ka[m]<sup>9</sup> pi hapeśadi<sup>10</sup> so dukata[m] kashati (G) papa[m] h[i] sukara[m] (H) sa atikrata[m] atara no<sup>11</sup> bhuta-pruva dhraṁma-ma[ha]ma[tra]<sup>12</sup> nama (I) so todaśa-vashabhisitena<sup>13</sup>
- 12 maya dhrama-mahamatra kiṭa<sup>14</sup> (J) te savra-praśaṁdeś[u] vapata dhraṁmadhithanaye<sup>15</sup> cha dhrama-vaḍhiya<sup>16</sup> hida-sukhaye cha dhrama-yutasa Yona-Kamboya-Gaṁdharana[m]<sup>17</sup> Raṭhikana[m]<sup>18</sup> Pitinikana[m] ye

<sup>1</sup> aha ti Bühler.<sup>2</sup> Read kalaṇam.<sup>3</sup> ma[ha] Bühler.<sup>4</sup> [ya] Bühler.<sup>5</sup> [a]chhaṁti Bühler. In JA (10), 17. 422 ff. Boyer has shown that the Kharoṣṭhī uses a special form of *chh* in all those cases where it corresponds to Sanskrit *ksh*. In order to distinguish this sign from the real *chh*, I transcribe it by *ksh*, but do not want to imply thereby that it was actually pronounced like that.<sup>6</sup> tatham Bühler; but what he took for an Anusvāra is probably the horizontal bottom-line which is frequent at Mānsehrā.<sup>7</sup> vaṭiśaṁti Bühler.<sup>8</sup> sukiṭ[r]am Bühler.<sup>9</sup> Restore perhaps *ekam*; the other versions read *desam* or *deśa*.<sup>10</sup> [hapeśati] Bühler.<sup>11</sup> so atik[r]am[am] tam antaram na Bühler.<sup>12</sup> dhrama- Bühler.<sup>13</sup> [tadaśa]- Bühler.<sup>14</sup> kiṭ[r]a Bühler.<sup>15</sup> dhrama<sup>2</sup> Bühler.<sup>16</sup> -vaḍhiy[e] Bühler.<sup>17</sup> The rock has a hole here.<sup>18</sup> Raṭhikana[m] Bühler. The *ṭh* is expressed by the first of the two different forms noted by Boyer in JA (10), 17. 429, note.



va pi aparanta (K) bhaṭamayeshu bramaṇibheshu anatheshu vuḍheshu [hita]-  
sukhaye [dhraṃ]ma-yutasa<sup>1</sup> apalig[o]dha<sup>2</sup> vap[a]ṭa te

- 13 (L) badhana-badhasa<sup>3</sup> paṭividhanay[e] apalibodhaye mo[kshaye] ayi anuba...<sup>4</sup>  
prajava kiṭabhikaro va mahalake<sup>5</sup> va viyapaṭa<sup>6</sup> [t]e<sup>7</sup> (M) ia bahireshu cha  
nagareshu savreshu orodhaneshu bhratuna<sup>8</sup> cha me spasana<sup>9</sup> cha ye va pi  
amñe ñatika savatra viyapaṭa (N) y[e] ayaṃ<sup>10</sup> dh[r]ama-niśite<sup>11</sup> ti va  
dhrama[dhitha]ne ti va dana-s[a]yute ti va savata<sup>12</sup> vijite maa<sup>13</sup> dhrama-  
yu[ta]si<sup>14</sup> viyapaṭa te dhrama-mahamatra (O) etaye aṭhaye [a]yi<sup>15</sup> dhrama-dipi  
nipista<sup>16</sup> ch[i]ra-thitika bhot[u] ta[tha]<sup>17</sup> cha [m]e<sup>18</sup> p[r]aja anuvatatu

### TRANSLATION

- (A) King Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin speaks thus.  
(B) It is difficult to perform virtuous deeds.  
(C) He who starts performing virtuous deeds accomplishes something difficult.  
(D) Now, by me many virtuous deeds have been performed.  
(E) Therefore (among) my sons and grandsons, and (among) my descendants who  
shall come<sup>19</sup> after them until the æon (of destruction of the world), those who will  
conform to this (duty) will perform good deeds.  
(F) But he who will neglect even one (portion) of this (duty) will perform evil deeds.  
(G) For sin is easily committed.  
(H) Now, in times past (officers) called *Mahāmātras* of morality did not exist before.  
(I) But *Mahāmātras* of morality were appointed by me (when I had been)  
anointed thirteen years.  
(J) These are occupied with all sects in establishing morality, in promoting  
morality, and for the welfare and happiness<sup>20</sup> of those who are devoted to morality  
(even) among the Yōnas, Kambōyas, and Gandhāras, among the Raṭhikas, among  
the Pitinikas,<sup>21</sup> and whatever (other) western borderers (of mine there are).

<sup>1</sup> [dhra]ma- Bühler.

<sup>2</sup> baṇḍhana- Bühler.

<sup>3</sup> mahalaka Bühler.

<sup>4</sup> bhratunam Bühler.

<sup>5</sup> y[am] i[ya]m Bühler.

<sup>6</sup> ma[ha] Bühler.

<sup>7</sup> ay[am] Bühler.

<sup>8</sup> This and the last four words of the edict were entered above the line.

<sup>9</sup> Bühler omitted me.

<sup>10</sup> vrakshati is the future of vrachati which occurs twice at Shāhbāzgarhī (VI, L, and XIII, S).  
For Prakrit vachchai = Skt. vracati see Hēmachandra, IV, 225.

<sup>11</sup> For Raṭhika and Pitinika Gīrnār reads Ristika and Petenika. As Laṭhika at Dhaulī agrees  
with Raṭhika at Shāhbāzgarhī and Mānsehrā, Ristika at Gīrnār may be a clerical mistake for  
Rāstika, just as parikamate for parākamate in X, l. 3, Devinaṃ for Devānaṃ in XI, l. 1, and dūti  
for dūtā in XIII, l. 9. Conversely, astā is written for asti in IX, l. 7, pitarā for pitari in XI, l. 2,  
and vivādhāya for vīvidhāya in XII, l. 1. The Sanskrit original of Rāstika would be Rāshṭrika.  
The identifications of this name with Surāshṭra (Senart, *Inscriptions de Piyadasi*, vol. I, p. 126) or  
Lāṭa (Lassen, *Ind. Alt.*, vol. I (sec. ed.), p. 137, n. 4) are improbable because these two provinces  
were included in Aśoka's empire; cf. Bühler, ZDMG, 37, 261. Sir R. Bhandarkar (*Early History  
of the Dekkan*, sec. ed., p. 11 ff.) connects Rāshṭrika with Mahārāshṭra, the Pāli form of which,  
Mahārattṭha, occurs in the *Dīpavaṃsa* and *Mahāvāṃsa*. Could the Rāshṭrikas be identical with the  
Āraṭṭas of the Panjāb (Lassen, *Ind. Alt.*, vol. III, p. 76) and with the Ἀραῳοῖσι and Ταρδάριοι who are mentioned  
in the *Periplus* (§ 47) together with the Ἀραχώσιοι and Ταρδάριοι?

<sup>12</sup> b[odhe] Bühler; read °godhaye (= °godhāya at Gīrnār).

<sup>13</sup> Restore anubadha; iyaṃ a[n]uba[dh]am Bühler.

<sup>14</sup> viyapaṭra Bühler.

<sup>15</sup> Bühler omitted te.

<sup>16</sup> Read spasuna; spasunam Bühler.

<sup>17</sup> -niśrite Bühler.

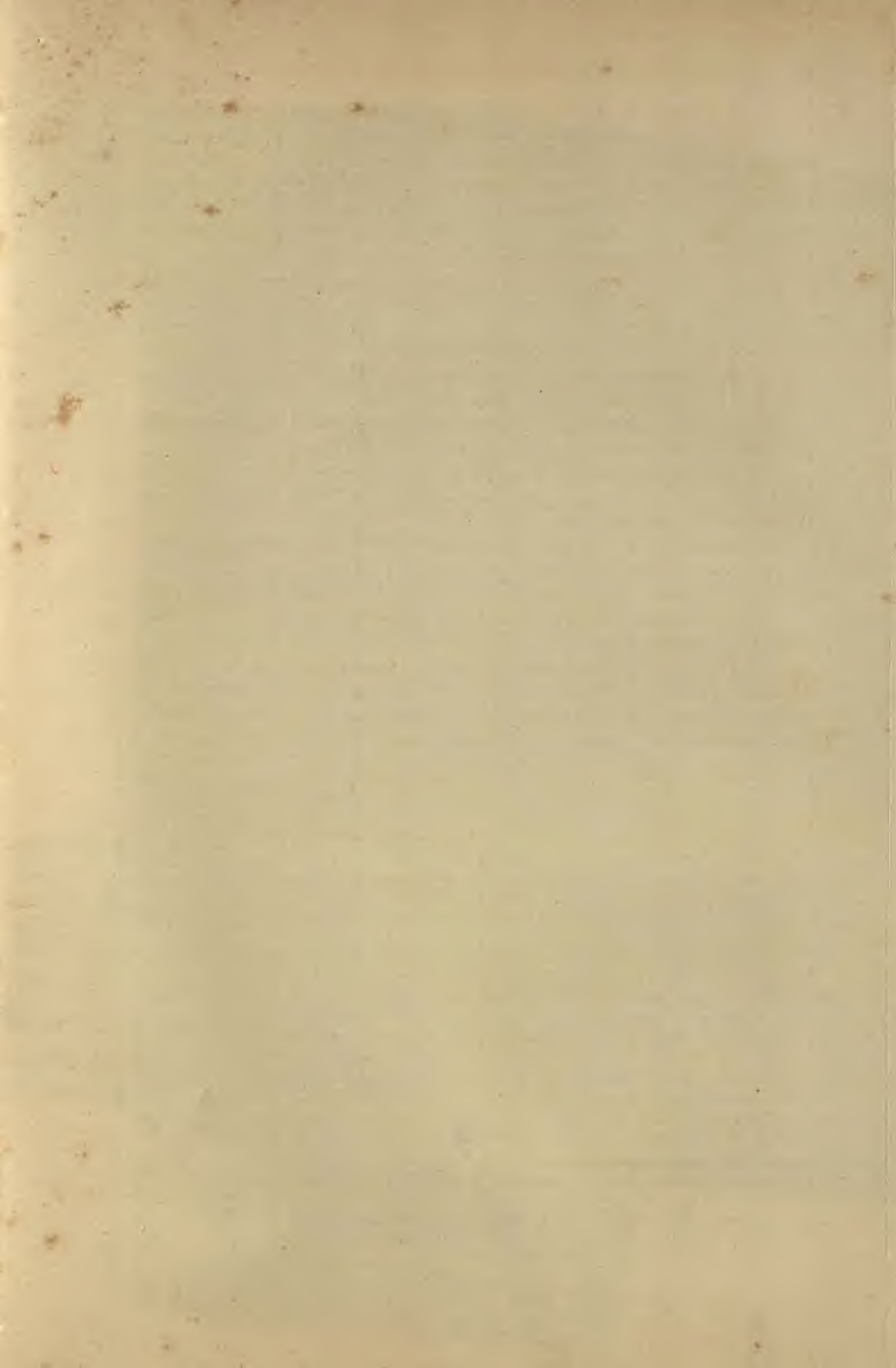
<sup>18</sup> savatra Bühler.

<sup>19</sup> There is a vacant space here.

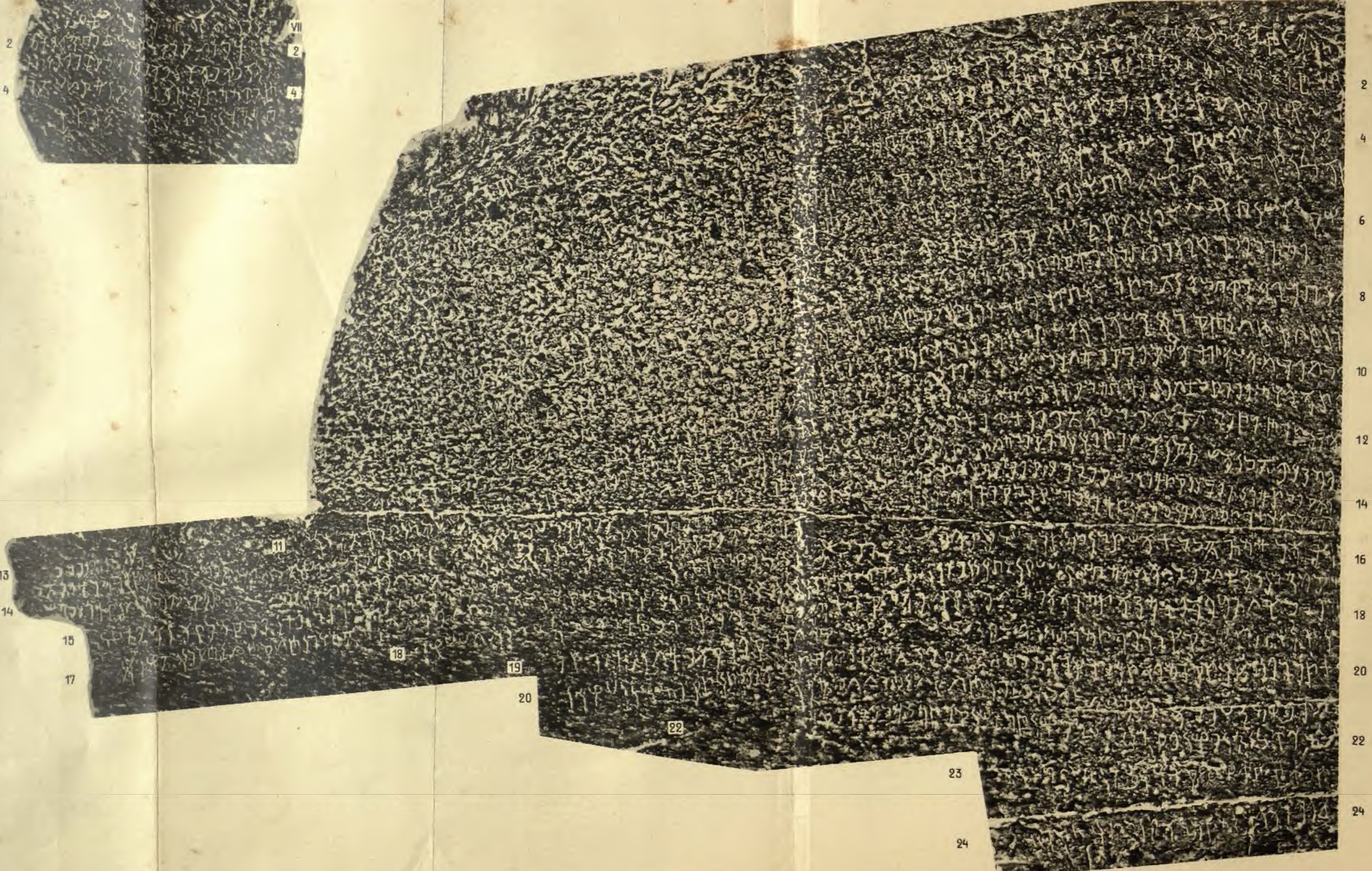
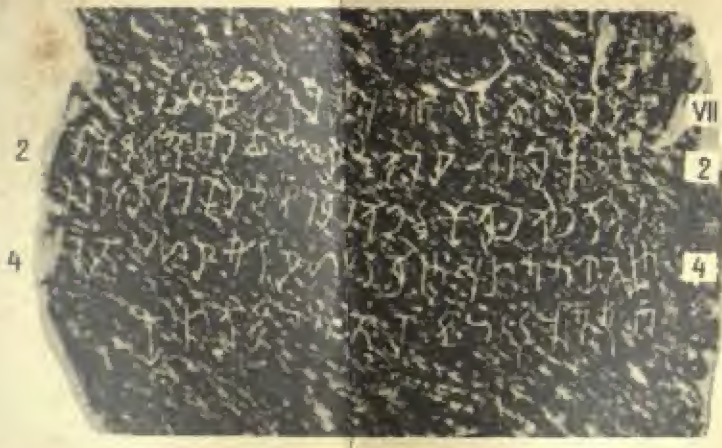
<sup>20</sup> dipist[a] Bühler.

<sup>21</sup> Cf. above, p. 33, n. 4.

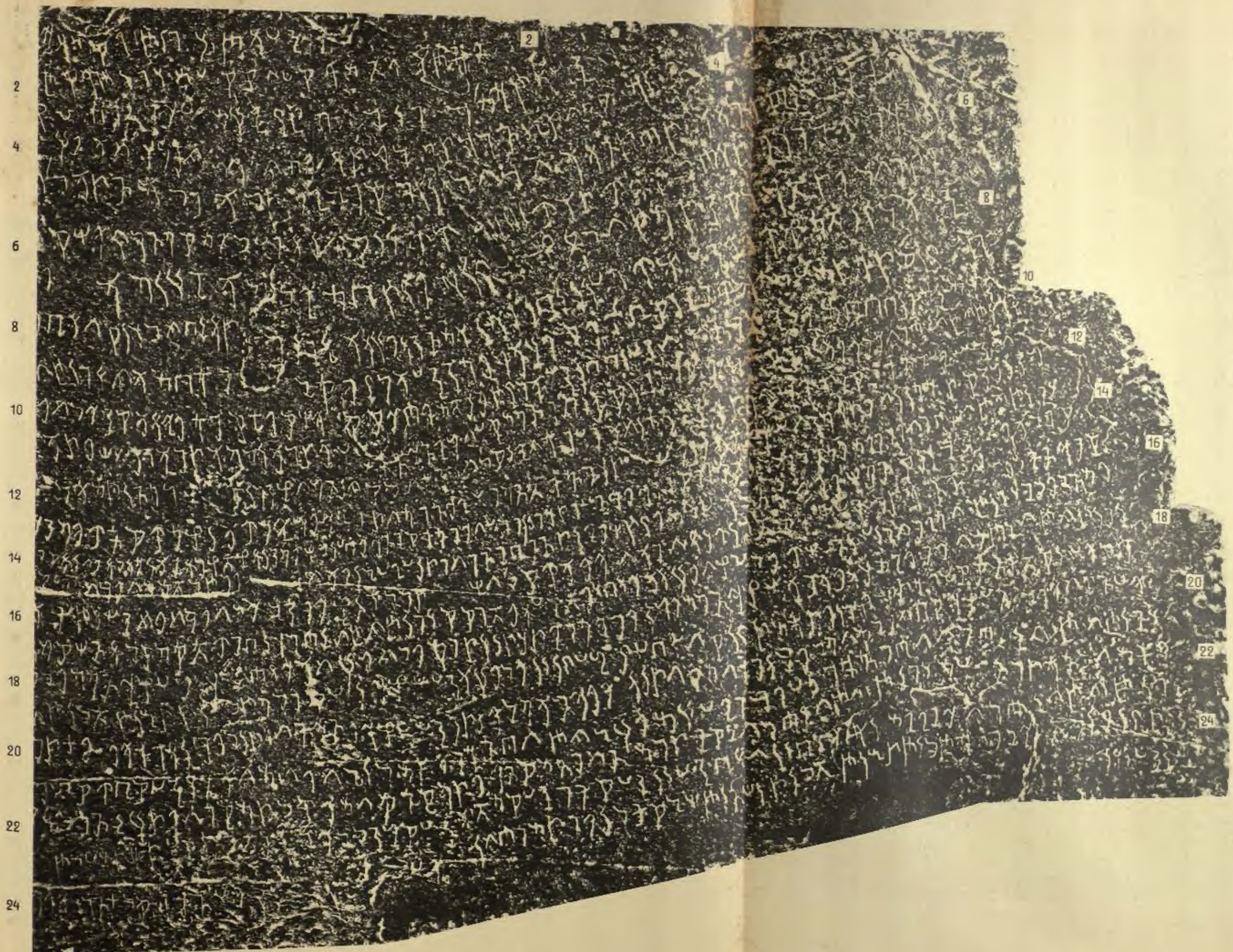


















(K) They are occupied with servants and masters, with Brāhmaṇas and Ibhyas, with the destitute, (and) with the aged, for the welfare and happiness of those who are devoted to morality, (and) in freeing (them) from desire (for worldly life).<sup>1</sup>

(L) They are occupied in supporting prisoners (with money), in causing (their) fetters to be taken off, (and) in setting (them) free, (if) one has children, or is bewitched, or aged, respectively.

(M) They are occupied everywhere, here and in all the outlying towns, in the harems of my brothers, of (my) sisters, and (of) whatever other relatives (of mine there are).

(N) These *Mahāmātras* of morality are occupied everywhere in my dominions with those who are devoted to morality, (in order to ascertain) whether one is eager for morality, or established in morality, or furnished with gifts.<sup>2</sup>

(O) For the following purpose has this rescript on morality been written, (viz. that) it may be of long duration, and (that) my descendants may conform to it.

## SIXTH ROCK-EDICT: SHAHBAZGARHI

14 (A) देवनंप्रियो प्रियद्रशि रय एव अहति (B) अतिक्रतं अंतर न भुतप्रुवं सवं कलं अठक्रमं व पटिवेदन व (C) तं मय एवं किटं (D) सव्रं कलं अशमनस मे ओरोधनस्मि यभगरस्मि व्रचस्मि विनितस्मि उयनस्मि सवच पटिवेदक अठं जनस पटिवेदेतु मे (E) सवच च जनस अठु करोमि (F) यं पि च किचि मुखतो अणपयमि अहं दपक व श्रवक व ये व पन महमचन अचयिक अरोपितं भोति तये अठये विवदे निरुति व सतं परिषये अनंतरियेन पटिवेदेतवो मे

15 (E) सवच च अठं जनस करोमि अहं (F) यं च किचि मुखतो अणपेमि अहं दपकं व श्रवक व ये व पन महमचनं अचयिकं अरोपितं भोति तये अठये विवदे सतं निजति व परिषये अनंतरियेन पटिवेदेतवो मे सवच सवं कलं (G) एव अणपितं मय (H) नस्ति हि मे तोषो उठनसि अठसंतिरणये च (I) कटवमतं हि मे सवलोकहितं (J) तस च मुलं एच उथनं अठसंतिरण च (K) नस्ति हि क्रमतं

16 सवलोकहितेन (L) यं च किचि परक्रममि किति भुतनं अनणियं वचेयं इअ च ष सुखयमि परच च स्पयं अरधेतु (M) एतये अठये अयि धम निपिस्त चिरयितिक भोतु तथ च मे पुच नतरो परक्रमंतु सवलोकहितये (N) दुकर तु खो इमं अजच अये परक्रमेन

14 (A) Devanāmpriyo Priyadraśi raya eva<sup>3</sup> ahati (B) atikratam āntara<sup>4</sup> na bhuta-pruṣam sava[m]<sup>5</sup> kala[m] aṭha-kramam<sup>6</sup> va paṭivedana va (C) ta[m] maya eva[m] kiṭa[m] (D) savram kalam aśamanasa me orodhanaspi grabhagaraspi vrachaspi vinitaspi uyanaspi savatra paṭivedaka<sup>7</sup> aṭham janasa paṭivedetu<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *paligodha* is a Māgadha form of *parigodha*, for which see above, p. 10, n. 5.

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. 34, n. 3.

<sup>3</sup> *eva[m]* Bühler.

<sup>4</sup> *āntaram* Bühler.

<sup>5</sup> *savram* Bühler.

<sup>6</sup> *aṭha-* Bühler.

<sup>7</sup> *savratra paṭri* Bühler.

<sup>8</sup> *paṭ[r]i* Bühler.



- me (E) savatra cha ja[na]sa aṭh[r]a karomi (F) ya[m] pi cha ki[chi] mukhato  
 aṇapayami a[haṃ] dapa[ka]<sup>1</sup> va śravaka<sup>2</sup> va ye<sup>3</sup> va p[a]na mahāmātrana<sup>4</sup>  
 a[cha]yika<sup>5</sup> a[ro]pitaṃ bhoti taye aṭhaye viva[de]<sup>6</sup> nijha[t]i va sataṃ<sup>7</sup>  
 parishaye anantariyena paṭivedetavo me
- 15 (E)<sup>8</sup> savatra cha aṭhaṃ<sup>9</sup> janasa karomi a[haṃ] (F) yaṃ cha kichi<sup>10</sup> mukhato  
 aṇapemi ahaṃ dapaka[m] va śravaka va ye<sup>11</sup> va pana mahāmātranaṃ  
 achayi[k]aṃ aropita[m] bhoti t[a]ye aṭhaye [v]ivade sa[m]taṃ nijati<sup>12</sup> va  
 parishaye anantariyena paṭivedetavo<sup>13</sup> me savatra savam<sup>14</sup> kala[m] (G) eva<sup>15</sup>  
 aṇapita[m] maya (H) [na]sti hi me tosho uṭhanas[i] aṭha-sa[m]tiraṇaye [cha]  
 (I) kaṭava-mataṃ<sup>16</sup> hi me sava-loka-hitaṃ<sup>17</sup> (J) ta[sa cha] mulaṃ etra uṭhanaṃ  
 aṭha-saṃtiraṇa cha (K) na[sti] hi k[r]amatara[m]
- 16 sava-loka-hite[na]<sup>18</sup> (L) yaṃ cha kichi parak[r]amami kiti bhutanaṃ anañiyaṃ  
 v[r]acheyaṃ ia cha sha sukhayami paratra cha spagaram<sup>19</sup> aradhetu (M) etaye  
 aṭhaye ayi dhrama<sup>20</sup> nipista<sup>21</sup> chira-thitika bhotu tatha cha me putra nataro  
 parakramamtu sava-lo[ka-hita]ye (N) [du]kara<sup>22</sup> tu [kh]o imaṃ aṇat[r]a<sup>23</sup>  
 agre<sup>24</sup> parakramena

## TRANSLATION

- (A) King Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin speaks thus.
- (B) In times past neither the disposal of affairs nor the submission of reports at any time did exist before.
- (C) But I have made the following (arrangement).
- (D) Reporters have to report to me the affairs of the people at any time (and) anywhere, while I am eating, in the harem, in the inner apartment, at the cowpen, in the palanquin, (and) in the park.
- (E) And everywhere I am disposing of the affairs of the people.
- (F) And also, if in the council (of *Mahāmātras*) a dispute arises, or an amendment is moved, in connexion with any donation or proclamation which I am ordering verbally, or (in connexion with) an emergent matter which has been delegated to the *Mahāmātras*, it must be reported to me immediately, anywhere, (and) at any time.
- (G) Thus I have ordered.
- (H) For I am never content in exerting myself and in dispatching business.
- (I) For I consider it my duty (to promote) the welfare of all men.
- (J) And the root of that (consists) in this, (viz.) exertion and the dispatch of business.
- (K) For no duty is more important than (promoting) the welfare of all men.
- (L) And whatever effort I am making, (is made) in order that I may discharge

<sup>1</sup> [da]pakam Bühler.<sup>2</sup> śravakam Bühler.<sup>3</sup> yam Bühler.<sup>4</sup> \*tranam Bühler, who added v[o].<sup>5</sup> There is a fissure between a and cha.<sup>6</sup> Bühler added va.<sup>7</sup> samtam Bühler.<sup>8</sup> E and F (besides the last three words of the latter) were repeated by mistake.<sup>9</sup> There is a vacant space between a and thaṃ.<sup>10</sup> There is a fissure between ki and chi.<sup>11</sup> ya Bühler.<sup>12</sup> Read nijhati, which is Bühler's reading.<sup>13</sup> paṭri Bühler.<sup>14</sup> sav[r]am Bühler.<sup>15</sup> evam Bühler.<sup>16</sup> There is a hole between ma and tam.<sup>17</sup> sav[r]a- Bühler.<sup>18</sup> s[r]ava- Bühler.<sup>19</sup> spagam Bühler.<sup>20</sup> Read dhrama-dipi.<sup>21</sup> dipista Bühler.<sup>22</sup> [d]ukara[m] Bühler.<sup>23</sup> amātra Bühler.<sup>24</sup> Read agrena.



the debt (which I owe) to living beings, (that) I may make them<sup>1</sup> happy in this (world), and (that) they may attain heaven in the other (world).

(M) For the following purpose has this [rescript on] morality been written, (viz. that) it may be of long duration, and (that) my sons (and) grandsons may display the same zeal for the welfare of all men.

(N) But it is indeed difficult to accomplish this without great zeal.

## SEVENTH ROCK-EDICT: SHAHBAZGARHI :

- 1 (A) देवनंप्रियो प्रियशि रज सवच्च इच्छति सव-
- 2 प्रषंड वसेयु (B) सवे हि ते सयमे भवशुधि च इच्छति
- 3 (C) जनो चु उचवुचछंदो उचवुचरगो (D) ते सव्वं व एकदेशं व
- 4 पि कषंति (E) विपुले पि चु दने यस नस्ति सयम भव-
- 5 शुधि किट्ठजत द्विढभतित निचे पढं

- 1 (A) Devanāmpriyo Priyaśi<sup>3</sup> raja savatra ichhati savra-<sup>4</sup>
- 2 [p]rashaṁḍa vaseyu (B) save<sup>4</sup> hi te sayame<sup>5</sup> bhava-śudhi cha ichhamti
- 3 (C) jano chu uchavucha-chhaṁdo uchavucha-rago (D) te savraṁ va eka-deśaṁ va
- 4 pi kashaṁti (E) vipule pi chu dane yasa nasti sayama bhava-
- 5 śudhi kiṭṭhaṇata dviḍha-bhatita<sup>6</sup> niche paḍham

## TRANSLATION

(A) King Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin desires (that) all sects may reside everywhere.

(B) For all these desire self-control and purity of mind.

(C) But men possess various desires (and) various passions.

(D) They will fulfil either the whole or only a portion (of their duties).

(E) But even one who (practises) great liberality, (but) does not possess self-control, purity of mind, gratitude, (and) firm devotion, is very mean.

## EIGHTH ROCK-EDICT: SHAHBAZGARHI

A.—East Face of Shāhbāzgarhī Rock (continued).

- 17 (A) अतिक्रतं अतरं देवनंप्रिय विहरयच्च नम निक्रमिषु (B) अच्च सुगय अजनि च एदिशनि अभिरमंनि अभुवमु (C) सो देवनंप्रियो प्रियद्रशि रज दशवषभिसितो सतं निक्रमि सबोधि (D) तेनद धंमयच्च (E) अच्च इयं होति अमणवमणनं द्रशने दनं वुढनं दशन हिरजप्रटिविधने च जनपदस जनस द्रशन धमनुशस्ति धमपरिमुद्ध च ततोपयं (F) एवे भुये रति भोति देवनंप्रियस प्रियद्रशिस रजो भगो अंजि

<sup>1</sup> sha (she at Mānsēhrā) corresponds to, and must have the same meaning as, nāni at Gīrnār and kāni at Kālsī, Dhauli, and Jaugaḍa. Bühler (ZDMG, 43, 149) derived it from Skt. īśhām, and translated it by '(some) of them'.

<sup>2</sup> This edict is engraved on the left of the east face, at the top of the rock. The lines are therefore numbered separately.

<sup>3</sup> Read Priyadrasī.

<sup>4</sup> savre Bühler.

<sup>5</sup> sayama Bühler.

<sup>6</sup> diḍha- Bühler.



- 17 (A) atikratam ataram<sup>1</sup> Devanampriya vihara-yatra nama nikramishu (B) atra mrugaya anani cha edisani<sup>2</sup> abhiramani abhuvasu<sup>3</sup> (C) so Devanampriyo Priyadrasī raja daśa-vashabhisito satam<sup>4</sup> nikrami Sabodhi<sup>5</sup> (D) tenada<sup>6</sup> dhramma-yatra<sup>7</sup> (E) atra iyam hoti śramaṇa-bramaṇanam draśane danam vuḍhana[m] daśana<sup>8</sup> hiraṇa-p[r]aṭividhane<sup>9</sup> cha [jana]padasa janasa draśana<sup>10</sup> dhramanuśasti dhrama-pa[ri]p[ru]chha<sup>11</sup> cha tatopayam (F) eshe<sup>12</sup> bhuy[e ra]ti bhoti<sup>13</sup> Devanampriyasa Priyadrasīsa raño bhago<sup>14</sup> amñi

## TRANSLATION

- (A) In times past the *Dēvānāmpriyas* used to set out on so-called pleasure-tours.  
 (B) On these (tours) hunting and other such pleasures were (enjoyed).  
 (C) But when king *Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin* had been anointed ten years, he went out to *Sambōdhi*.  
 (D) Therefore tours of morality (were undertaken) here.<sup>15</sup>  
 (E) On these (tours) the following takes place, (viz.) visiting Śramaṇas and Brāhmaṇas (and) making gifts (to them), visiting the aged and supporting (them) with gold, visiting the people of the country, instructing (them) in morality, and questioning (them) about morality, as suitable for this (occasion).  
 (F) This second period (of the reign) of king *Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin* becomes a pleasure in a higher degree.

## NINTH ROCK-EDICT: SHAHBAZGARHI

- 18 (A) देवनंप्रियो प्रियद्रशि रय एवं अहति (B) जनो उचवुचं मंगलं करोति अबधे अवहे विवहे पञ्चपदने प्रवसे अतये अजये च एदिशिये जनो व मंगलं करोति (C) अच तु स्त्रियक बहु च बहुविधं च पुतिक च निरटियं च मंगलं करोति (D) सो कटवो च व खो मंगल (E) अपफलं तु खो एत (F) इमं तु खो महफल ये ममंगल
- 19 (G) अच इम दसभटकस सम्पटिपति गरुन अपचिति प्रणनं संयमो शमणब्रमणन दन एतं अजं च ध्रममंगलं नम (H) सो वतवो पितुन पि पुचेन पि भतन पि स्पमिकेन पि मिचसस्तुतेन अव प्रतिवेशियेन इमं सधु इमं कटवो मंगलं यव तस अट्टस निवुटिय निवुटस्मि व पुन
- 20 इमं कषं (I) ये हि एतके मंगले सशयिके तं (J) सिय वो तं अठं निवटेयति सिय पुन नो (K) इअलोक च वो तं (L) इद पुन ध्रममंगलं अकलिकं (M) यदि पुन तं अठं न निवटे इअ अथ परच अनंतं पुजं प्रसवति (N) हंचे पुन तं ठं निवटेति ततो उभयेस लधं भोति इअ च सो अठो परच च अनंतं पुजं प्रसवति तेन ध्रमंगलेन

<sup>1</sup> atikratnam ataram Böhler.<sup>2</sup> [h]edisani Böhler.<sup>3</sup> abhavasū Böhler.<sup>4</sup> sato Böhler.<sup>5</sup> sabodhi[m] Böhler.<sup>6</sup> tenada[a] Böhler.<sup>7</sup> dhrama- Böhler.<sup>8</sup> draśane Böhler.<sup>9</sup> -paṭividha[ne] Böhler.<sup>10</sup> draśanam Böhler.<sup>11</sup> -pa[ri]pucchha Böhler.<sup>12</sup> esha[a] Böhler.<sup>13</sup> hoti Böhler.<sup>14</sup> bhag[i] Böhler.<sup>15</sup> See above, p. 37, n. 5.



- 18 (A) Devanāmpriyo Priyadraśi r[a]ya evaṃ ahati (B) jano uchavuchaṃ maṃgalaṃ karoti abadhe avahe vivahe pajupadane pravase ataye<sup>1</sup> añāye cha ediśiy[e]<sup>2</sup> jano ba<sup>3</sup> maṃgalaṃ karoti (C) atra tu striyaka bahu cha bahuvidhaṃ cha putika<sup>4</sup> cha nirāṭhiyaṃ<sup>5</sup> cha maṃgalaṃ karo[ti]<sup>6</sup> (D) so kaṭavo cha [va]<sup>7</sup> kho maṃgala (E) apa-phala[m] tu kho eta<sup>8</sup> (F) imaṃ [t]u kho maha-phala ye ma-maṃgala<sup>9</sup>
- 19 (G) [a]tra ima dasa-bhaṭakasa samma-paṭipati<sup>10</sup> garuna apachiti praṇaṇaṃ sa[m]jyamo<sup>11</sup> śamaṇa-bramaṇa<sup>12</sup> dana etaṃ aṇaṃ cha dhrama-maṃga[laṃ] nama (H) [s]o vatavo pituna pi putrena pi bhratana<sup>13</sup> pi spamik[e]na pi mitra-sastutena<sup>14</sup> ava prativeśiyena imaṃ sadhu [imaṃ]<sup>15</sup> kaṭa[vo] maṃgala[m] yava tasa aṭhresa<sup>16</sup> nivuṭiya nivuṭaspi va p[u]na<sup>17</sup>
- 20 imaṃ kashaṃ<sup>18</sup> (I) ye hi etake<sup>19</sup> magale saśayike<sup>20</sup> taṃ (J) siya vo taṃ aṭhaṃ nivaṭeyati siya puna<sup>21</sup> no<sup>22</sup> (K) ialoka cha<sup>23</sup> vo taṃ<sup>24</sup> (L) ida<sup>25</sup> puna dhrama-magalaṃ akalikaṃ (M) yadi puna taṃ aṭhaṃ na nivaṭ[e]<sup>26</sup> ia<sup>27</sup> atha paratra anantaṃ puṇaṃ prasavati (N) haṃche puna taṃ ṭhaṃ<sup>28</sup> nivaṭeti tato u[bha]y[e]sa<sup>29</sup> ladhaṃ bhoti ia<sup>30</sup> cha so aṭho paratra cha anantaṃ puṇaṃ prasavati tena dhramaṃgalena<sup>31</sup>

## TRANSLATION

(A) King Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin speaks thus.

(B) Men are practising various ceremonies during illness, at the marriage of a son or a daughter, at the birth of a child,<sup>23</sup> (and) when setting out on a journey; on these and other such (occasions) men are practising many ceremonies.

(C) But in such (cases) women are practising many and various offensive<sup>33</sup> and useless ceremonies.

(D) Now, ceremonies should certainly be practised.

(E) But these (ceremonies) bear little fruit indeed.

(F) But the following bears much fruit indeed, viz. the practice of morality.

(G) Herein the following (are comprised), (viz.) proper courtesy to slaves and servants, reverence to elders, gentleness to animals, (and) liberality to Śramaṇas and Brāhmaṇas; these and other (virtues) are called the practice of morality.

(H) Therefore a father, or a son, or a brother, or a master, (or) a friend or an acquaintance, (or) even a (mere) neighbour ought to say: 'This is meritorious. This practice should be observed until the (desired) object is attained, (thinking): After it is actually attained, I shall observe this again'.

<sup>1</sup> Read *etaye*, which is Bühler's reading.

<sup>2</sup> Read probably *ediśaye*, as at Mānsehrā.

<sup>3</sup> Read *bahu*.

<sup>4</sup> *putika[m]* Bühler.

<sup>5</sup> *nirāṭhiyaṃ* Bühler.

<sup>6</sup> *ka[rotne]* Bühler.

<sup>7</sup> Bühler omitted *va*.

<sup>8</sup> *etaṃ* Bühler.

<sup>9</sup> Read *dhrama-*; *-maṃgala[m]* Bühler.

<sup>10</sup> *-paṭipati* Bühler.

<sup>11</sup> *samyama* Bühler.

<sup>12</sup> *śramaṇa-* Bühler.

<sup>13</sup> Read *bhratana*, which is Bühler's reading.

<sup>14</sup> *-sastutena* Bühler.

<sup>15</sup> There is a vacant space here.

<sup>16</sup> *aṭhresa* Bühler.

<sup>17</sup> *pana* Bühler.

<sup>18</sup> *ke[sha]* Bühler.

<sup>19</sup> *et[ra]ke* Bühler.

<sup>20</sup> *sa[m]śayike* Bühler.

<sup>21</sup> *pana* Bühler.

<sup>22</sup> Bühler omitted *no*.

<sup>23</sup> *ialokach[e]* Bühler.

<sup>24</sup> *tithe* Bühler.

<sup>25</sup> *iya* Bühler.

<sup>26</sup> Read *nivaṭeti*, as at Mānsehrā.

<sup>27</sup> *[k]ia* Bühler.

<sup>28</sup> Read *taṃ aṭhaṃ*; Bühler read *[a]ṭhaṃ* for *taṃ ṭhaṃ*.

<sup>29</sup> *ubhayasa* Bühler.

<sup>30</sup> *iha* Bühler.

<sup>31</sup> Read *dhrama-maṃgalena*.

<sup>32</sup> For *pajupadane* see above, p. 38, n. 22.

<sup>33</sup> Instead of *pūtika*, 'foul', all other versions read *kshudra*, 'vulgar'.



- (I) For such ceremonies are of doubtful (effect).  
 (J) One may attain his object (by them), but he may not (do so).  
 (K) And they (bear fruit) in this world only.  
 (L) But that practice of morality is not restricted to time.  
 (M) But if<sup>1</sup> one does not attain (by it) his object in this (world), then endless merit is produced in the other (world).  
 (N) But if one attains (by it) his object (in this world), the gain of both (results) arises from it; (viz.) the (desired) object (is attained) in this (world), and endless merit is produced in the other (world) by that practice of morality.

## TENTH ROCK-EDICT: SHAHBAZGARHI

- 21 (A) देवनप्रिये प्रियद्रशि रय यशो व किद्रि व नो महठवह मजति अजच यो पि यशो किद्रि व इछति तदत्वये अयतिय च जने धम्मसुअष सुअुषतु मे ति धम्मवुतं च अनुविधियतु (B) एतकये देवनप्रिये प्रियद्रशि रय यशो किद्रि व  
 22 इछति (C) यं तु किचि परक्रमति देवनंप्रियो प्रियद्रशि रय तं सव्रं परचिकये व किति सकले अपरिसवे सियति (D) एषे तु परिसवे यं अपुजं (E) दुकरे तु खो एषे खुद्रेकेन वयेन उसटेन व अजच अयेन परक्रमेन सवं परित्तित्तु (F) अच चु उसटे . . . . .

- 21 (A) Devanapriye Priyadraśi raya yaśo va kiṭṭi va no mahatṭhavaḥa mañati añatra yo pi yaśo kiṭṭi va ichhati tadatvaye<sup>2</sup> ayatiya cha jane dhrama-suśrasha<sup>3</sup> suśrushatu me ti dhramma-vutaṃ cha anuvi[dhi]yatu (B) etakaye Devanapriye<sup>4</sup> Priyadraśi raya yaśo<sup>5</sup> kiṭṭi va  
 22 ichhati (C) ya[m] tu kichi parakramati Devanaṃpriyo Priyadraśi raya taṃ sav[r]aṃ paratirikaye va kiti sakale aparisrave siyati (D) eshe tu parisrave yaṃ apuññaṃ (E) dukare<sup>6</sup> [tu] kho eshe khudrakena vagrena usaṭṭena va añatra agrena parakramena sava[m] paritijitu (F) at[r]a<sup>7</sup> chu usaṭṭe . . . . .

## TRANSLATION

✓ (A) King Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin does not think that either glory or fame conveys much advantage, except whatever glory or fame he desires (on account of his aim) that in the present time, and in the future, men may (be induced) by him to practise obedience to morality, and that they may conform to the duties of morality.

(B) On this (account) king Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin is desiring glory and fame.

(C) But whatever effort king Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin is making, all that (is) only for the sake of (merit) in the other (world), (and) in order that all (men) may be free of danger.

(D) But the danger is this, viz. demerit.

<sup>1</sup> Instead of 'but if', two other versions read 'even if', which is preferable.

<sup>2</sup> tadattaye Bühler; but see his *Ind. Pal.*, § 11, C.

<sup>3</sup> Read -suśrashaṃ.

<sup>4</sup> Devanaṃpriye Bühler.

<sup>5</sup> Bühler added va.

<sup>6</sup> dukaraṃ Bühler.

<sup>7</sup> etaṃ (which is also possible) Bühler.



(E) But it is indeed difficult for a lowly person or for a high one to accomplish this without great zeal (and without) laying aside every (other aim).

(F) But among these (two) . . . . . a high (person).

## ELEVENTH ROCK-EDICT: SHAHBAZGARHI

23 (A) देवनंप्रियो प्रियद्रशि रय एवं हहति (B) नस्ति एदिशं दनं यदिशं धमदन  
धमसंस्तवे धमसंविभगो धमसंबंध (C) तच्च एतं दसभटकनं संम्मपटिपति  
मतपितुषु सुश्रुष मित्रसंस्तुतजतिकनं श्रमणब्रमणन

24 दन प्रणन अनरंभो (D) एतं वतवो पितुन पि पुत्रेन पि भ्रतुन पि स्पमिकेन पि  
मित्रसंस्तुतन अत्र प्रतिवेशियेन इमं सधु इमं कटवो (E) सो तथ करतं  
इअलोक च अरधेति परच च अनतं पुज प्रसवति

25 तेन धमदनेन

23 (A) Devana[m]priyo Priyadraśi raya evaṃ hahati<sup>1</sup> (B) nasti ed[i]śaṃ danaṃ  
yadiśaṃ dhrama-dana<sup>2</sup> dhrama-saṃstav[e] dh[r]ama-saṃvibhago dh[r]ama-  
saṃba[m]dha<sup>3</sup> (C) tatra etaṃ dasa-bhaṭakanāṃ saṃmma-paṭipati<sup>4</sup> mata-pitushu  
suśrūṣa mi[t]ra-saṃstuta-ñāṭikanāṃ śramaṇa-bramaṇaṇa<sup>5</sup>

24 dana praṇaṇa<sup>6</sup> anara[m]bho (D) etaṃ vatavo pituna pi putrena pi bhratuna pi  
[spa]mikena<sup>7</sup> pi mitra-saṃstutana<sup>8</sup> ava prativeśiyena [i]ma[m]<sup>9</sup> sadhu imaṃ  
kaṭavo (E) so tatha karata[m] ialoka<sup>10</sup> cha a[ra]dheti paratra cha anataṃ puṇa<sup>11</sup>  
prasavati

25 [te]na dhrama-danena

## TRANSLATION

(A) King Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin speaks thus.

(B) There is no such gift as the gift of morality, acquaintance through morality, the distribution of morality, (and) kinship through morality.

(C) Herein the following (are comprised), (viz.) proper courtesy to slaves and servants, obedience to mother and father, liberality to friends, acquaintances, and relatives, to Śramaṇas and Brāhmaṇas, (and) abstention from killing animals.

(D) Concerning this a father, or a son, or a brother, or a master, (or) a friend or an acquaintance, (or) even a (mere) neighbour, ought to say: 'This is meritorious. This ought to be done'.

(E) If one is acting thus, he attains (happiness in) this world, and endless merit is produced in the other (world) by that gift of morality.

<sup>1</sup> aha ti Bühler.

<sup>2</sup> -danaṃ Bühler.

<sup>3</sup> -saṃbaṃdho Bühler.

<sup>4</sup> samma-paṭipati Bühler.

<sup>5</sup> -bramaṇaṇaṃ Bühler.

<sup>6</sup> danaṃ praṇaṇaṃ Bühler.

<sup>7</sup> [sa]mikena Bühler.

<sup>8</sup> Read -saṃstutana, which is Bühler's reading.

<sup>9</sup> There is a fissure in the rock here.

<sup>10</sup> karaṃtaṃ ialoka[m] Bühler.

<sup>11</sup> puṇaṃ Bühler.



## TWELFTH ROCK-EDICT: SHAHBAZGARHI

*B.—On a separate boulder.*

- 1 (A) देवनंप्रियो प्रियद्रशि रय सवप्रषंडनि प्रव्रजितनि सह्यनि च पुजेति दनेन  
विविधये च पुजये (B) नो चु तथ दन व पुज व
- 2 देवनंप्रियो मज्जति यथ किति सलवढि सिय सवप्रषंडनं (C) सलवढि तु बहुविध  
(D) तस तु इयो मुल यं वचगुति
- 3 किति अतप्रषंडपुज व परपषंडगरन व नो सिय अपकरणसि लहुक व सिय तसि  
तसि प्रकरणे (E) पुजेतविय व चु परप्रषं-
- 4 ड तेन तेन अकरेन (F) एवं करतं अतप्रषंडं वढेति परप्रषंडंस पि च उपकरोति  
(G) तद अजथ करमिनो अतप्रषंड
- 5 क्षणति परप्रषंडस च अपकरोति (H) यो हि कचि अतप्रषंडं पुजेति परप्रषंडं  
गरहति सवे अतप्रषंडभतिय व किति
- 6 अतप्रषंडं दिपयमि ति सो च पुन तथ करतं सो च पुन तथ करतं वढतरं  
उपहंति अतप्रषंडं (I) सो समयो वो सधु किति अजमजस ध्रमो
- 7 श्रुण्येयु च मुश्रुषेयु च ति (J) एवं हि देवनंप्रियस इह किति सवप्रषंडं बहुश्रुत च  
कलणगम च सियसु (K) ये च तच तच
- 8 प्रसन तेषं वतवो (L) देवनंप्रियो न तथ दनं व पुज व मज्जति यथ किति  
सलवढि सियति सवप्रषंडनं (M) बहुक च एतये अठ . .
- 9 वपट ध्रममहमच इस्त्रियक्षमहमच वचभुमिक अजे च निकये (N) इमं च एतिस  
फलं यं अतप्रषंडवढि भोति
- 10 ध्रमस च दिपन

- 1 (A) Devanam̐priyo Priyadraśi raya savra-praśaṃḍani pravrajita[ni]<sup>1</sup>  
grahathani<sup>2</sup> cha pujeti danena vividhaye cha pujaye (B) no chu tatha  
[da]na<sup>3</sup> va puja va
- 2 Devanam̐priyo mañati yatha kiti sa[la]-vaḍhi siya savra-praśaṃḍanaṃ  
(C) sala-vaḍhi tu bahuvidha (D) tasa tu iyo mula yaṃ vacha-guti
- 3 kiti ata-praśaṃḍa-puja va pa[ra]-paśaṃḍa-garana va no siya [a]pakaraṇasi<sup>4</sup>  
lahuka va siya tasi tasi prakara[n]e (E) pujetaviya va chu para-praśa[m]-
- 4 [da] tena tena akarena (F) e[v]aṃ karataṃ<sup>5</sup> ata-p[r]aśaṃḍaṃ vadheti  
para-praśaṃḍaṃsa<sup>6</sup> pi cha upakaroti (G) tada añatha<sup>7</sup> ka[ra]min[o]<sup>8</sup>  
ata-p[r]aśaṃḍa]<sup>9</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This word was entered above the line; *pravrajita* Bühler.

<sup>2</sup> *graha[tha]ni* Bühler.

<sup>4</sup> *aprakaraṇasi* Bühler.

<sup>6</sup> Read *ḍasa*, which is Bühler's reading.

<sup>8</sup> *ka[rata cha]* Bühler.

<sup>3</sup> *dana[m]* Bühler.

<sup>5</sup> *kara[m]taṃ* Bühler.

<sup>7</sup> Read *tad-añatha*.

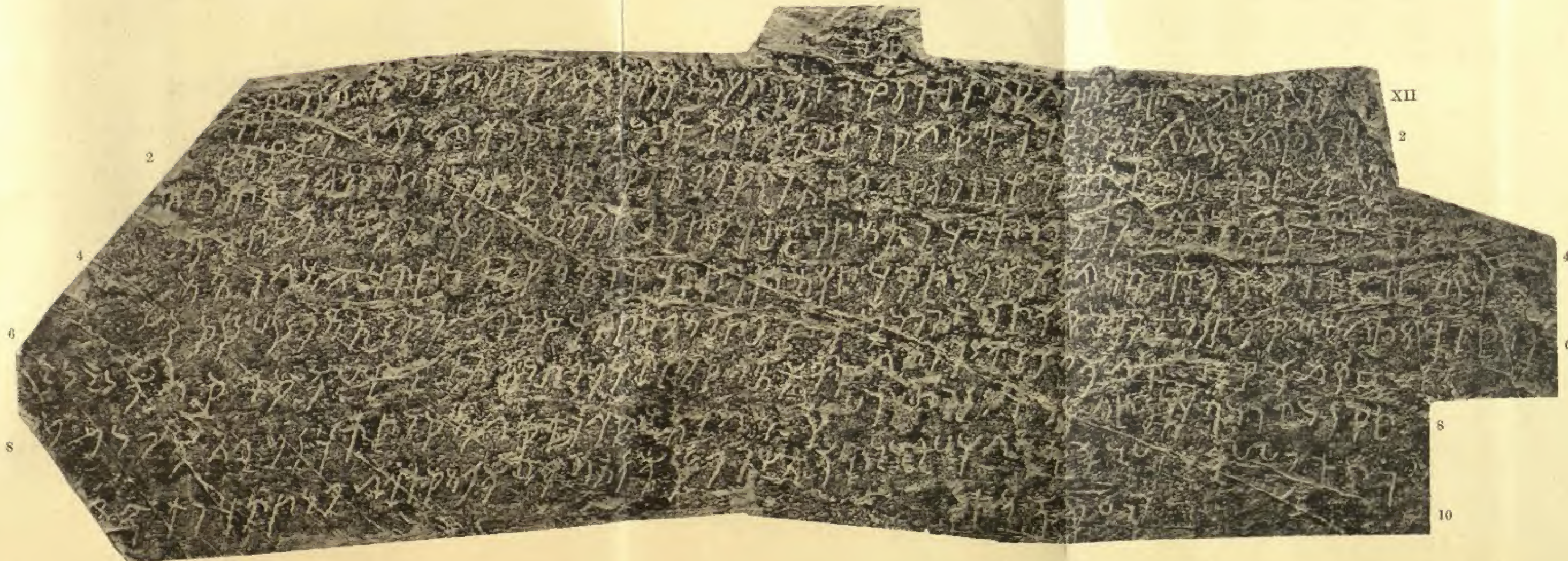
<sup>9</sup> *-praśaṃḍaṃ* Bühler.





SCALE ONE-FOURTH

SEE PAGE 59



SCALE ONE-SIXTH







- 5 kṣhaṇāti para-[pra]śhaḍasa<sup>1</sup> cha apakaroti (H) yo hi kachi<sup>2</sup> ata-prashadaṁ pujeti  
[para]-p[r]ashaḍa[m]<sup>3</sup> garahati savre ata-prashada-bhatiya va kiti  
6 ata-prashamdaṁ dipayami ti so cha puna tatha karaṁtaṁ so cha puna tatha  
karataṁ<sup>4</sup> ba[dhata]raṁ upahamti ata-prashadaṁ (I) so sayamo vo sadhu kiti  
añamañasa dhramo  
7 śruṇeyu cha suśrusheyu cha ti (J) evaṁ hi Devanāmpriyasa ichha kiti savra-  
prashamda bahu-śruta ch[a] kal[aṇa]gama cha siyasu (K) ye cha tatra tatra  
8 prasana tesha[m] vatavo (L) Devanāmpriy[o] na [tatha da]na[m] va p[u]ja va  
mañiati ya[tha] kiti sala-vaḍhi siyati savra-prashadanam (M) bahuka cha etaye  
a[tha] . . .<sup>5</sup>  
9 vap[a]ṭa dh[ra]ma-ma[ha]matra i[st]ridhi yaksha-ma[ha]matra [vra]cha-bhumika<sup>6</sup> añe  
cha nikaye (N) imaṁ cha etisa [pha]laṁ yaṁ ata-pashada-vaḍhi<sup>7</sup> [bh]o[ti]  
10 dhramasa cha di[pana]

## TRANSLATION

(A) King Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin is honouring all sects: (both) ascetics and householders, with gifts and with honours of various kinds.

(B) But Dēvānāmpriya does not value either gifts or honours so (highly) as (this), (viz.) that a promotion of the essentials of all sects should take place.

(C) But the promotion of the essentials (is possible) in many ways.

(D) But its root is this, viz. guarding (one's) speech, (i. e.) that neither praising one's own sect nor blaming other sects should take place on improper occasions, or (that) it should be moderate in every case.

(E) But other sects ought to be duly honoured in every way.

(F) If one is acting thus, he is promoting his own sect and is benefiting other sects as well.

(G) If one is acting otherwise than thus, he is hurting his own sect and wronging other sects.

(H) For whosoever praises his own sect (or) blames other sects,—all (this) out of pure devotion to his own sect, (i. e.) with the view of glorifying his own sect,—if he is acting thus, he rather injures his own sect very severely.

(I) Therefore self-control<sup>8</sup> alone is meritorious, (i. e.) that they should both hear and obey each other's morals.

(J) For this is the desire of Dēvānāmpriya, (viz.) that all sects should be both full of learning and pure in doctrine.

(K) And those who are attached to their respective (sects), ought to be spoken to (as follows).

(L) Dēvānāmpriya does not value either gifts or honours so (highly) as (this), (viz.) that a promotion of the essentials of all sects should take place.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>1</sup> -prashamḍasa Bühler.

<sup>2</sup> k[o]chi Bühler.

<sup>3</sup> -prash[a]ḍa Bühler.

<sup>4</sup> Cancel the five preceding words, which were repeated by mistake.

<sup>5</sup> Restore aṭhaye.

<sup>6</sup> vacha- Bühler.

<sup>7</sup> -prashada- Bühler.

<sup>8</sup> Instead of 'self-control' the other versions read 'concord'.

<sup>9</sup> For siyati see above, p. 40, n. 1.



(M) And many (officers) are occupied for this purpose, (viz.) the *Mahāmātras* of morality, the *Mahāmātras* controlling women, the inspectors of cowpens, and other classes (of officials).

(N) And this is the fruit of it, (viz.) that the promotion of one's own sect takes place, and the glorification of morality.

### THIRTEENTH ROCK-EDICT: SHAHBAZGARHI

*C.—West face of Shāhbāzgarhī rock.*

- 1 (A) अठवषअभिसितस देवनप्रिअस प्रिअद्रशिस रजो कलिग विजित (B) दिअढमचे प्रणशतसहस्रे ये ततो अपवुढे शतसहस्रमचे तत्र हते बहुतवतके व मुटे
- 2 (C) ततो पच अधुन लधेषु कलिगेषु तिचे ध्रमशिलन ध्रमकमत ध्रमनुशस्ति च देवनप्रियस (D) सो अस्ति अनुसोचन देवनप्रिअस विजिनिति कलिगनि
- 3 (E) अविजितं हि विजिनमनो यो तत्र वध व मरणं व अपवहो व जनस तं वढं वेदनियमतं गुरुमतं च देवनप्रियस (F) इदं पि चु ततो गुरुमततरं देवनप्रियस (G) ये तत्र
- 4 वसति ब्रमण व अमण व अंजै व प्रषंड ग्रहथ व येसु विहित एष अयभुटिसुश्रुष मतपितुषु सुश्रुष गुरुन सुश्रुष मिचसंस्तुतसहय-
- 5 जतिकेषु दसभटकनं सम्मप्रतिपति दिढभतित तेष तत्र भोति अपयथो व वधो व अभिरतन व निक्रमणं (H) येष व पि सुविहितनं सिंहो अविप्रहिनो ए तेष मिचसंस्तुतसहयजतिक वसन
- 6 प्रपुणति तत्र तं पि तेष वो अपग्रथो भोति (I) प्रतिभगं च एतं सवमनुशनं गुरुमतं च देवनप्रियस (J) नस्ति च एकतरे पि प्रषडस्सि न नम प्रसदो (K) सो यमचो जनो तद कलिगे हतो च मुटो च अपवुढ च ततो
- 7 शतभगे व सहस्रभगं व अज गुरुमतं वो देवनप्रियस (L) यो पि च अपकरेयति क्षमितवियमते व देवनप्रियस यं शको क्षमनये (M) य पि च अटवि देवनप्रियस विजिते भोति त पि अनुनेति अनुनिजपेति (N) अनुतपे पि च प्रभवे
- 8 देवनप्रियस वुचति तेष किति अवचपेयु न च हंजेयसु (O) इद्धति हि देवनप्रियो सवभुतन अक्षति संयमं समचरियं रभसिये (P) अयि च मुखमुत विजये देवनप्रियस यो ध्रमविजयो (Q) सो च पुन लधो देवनप्रियस इह च सवेषु च अंतेषु
- 9 अ षषु पि योजनशतेषु यत्र अंतियोको नम योनरज परं च तेन अतियोकेन चतुरे ४ रजनि तुरमये नम अंतिकिनि नम मक नम अलिकमुदरो नम निच चोडपंड अव तंवपणिय (R) एवमेव हिद रजविषवस्सि योनकंवोयेषु नभकनभितिन



- 10 भोजपित्तिनिकेषु अंघ्रपलिदेषु सवच देवनंप्रियस ध्रमनुशस्ति अनुवटंति (S) यच  
पि देवनंप्रियस दुत न व्रचंति ते पि श्रुतु देवनंप्रियस ध्रमवुटं विधनं  
ध्रमनुशस्ति ध्रमं अनुविधियंति अनुविधियिशंति च (T) यो स लधे एतकेन  
भोति सवच विजयो सवच पुन
- 11 विजयो प्रितिरसो सो (U) लध भोति प्रिति ध्रमविजयस्सि (V) लहुक तु खो स  
प्रिति (W) परचिकमेव महफल मेजति देवनंप्रियो (X) एतये च अठये अयि  
ध्रमदिपि निपिस्त किति पुच पपोच मे असु नवं विजयं स विजेतविअ  
मजिषु स्पकस्सि यो विजये क्षंति च लहुदंडत च रोचेतु तं च यो विज मजतु
- 12 यो ध्रमविजयो (Y) सो हिदलोकिको परलोकिको (Z) सवचतिरति भोतु य  
ध्रमरति (AA) स हि हिदलोकिक परलोकिक

- 1 (A) [aṭṭha]-vasha-a[bhis]ita[sa<sup>1</sup> Devana]pri[a]sa Pri[a]draśisa ra[ñño] Ka[liga]  
vi[j]ita (B) diadha-mat[r]e<sup>2</sup> praṇa-śata-[saha]sre y[e] tato apavudhe śata-  
sahasra-matre tatra hate baṇhu-tavata[ke va]<sup>3</sup> m[uṭe]
- 2 (C) tato [pa]cha<sup>4</sup> a[dhu]na ladh[e]shu [Kaligeshu<sup>5</sup> tivre dhrama-śilana]<sup>6</sup>  
dhra[ma-ka]mata dhramanuśasti cha Devanapriyasa (D) so [a]sti anusochana<sup>7</sup>  
Devanap[ria]sa vijinīti Kaliga[ni]<sup>8</sup>
- 3 (E) avijitaṁ [hi vi]jinamano yo<sup>9</sup> tat[r]a vadha<sup>10</sup> va maraṇaṁ va apavaho va  
janasa taṁ baḍhaṁ v[e]dani[ya]-ma[taṁ] guru-mata[m] cha Devanaṁpriyasa  
(F) idaṁ<sup>11</sup> pi chu [tato] guru-matataraṁ [Devanaṁ]priyasa (G) ye tatra<sup>12</sup>
- 4 vasati<sup>13</sup> bramaṇa va śrama[ṇa] va a[m]ñe va prashaṁḍa gra[ha]tha va yesu vihita  
esha agrabhūti-suśrusha mata-pitushu suśrusha guruna<sup>14</sup> suśrusha mitra-  
saṁstuta-sahaya-
- 5 ṇatikeshu dasa-bhaṭakanam samma-pratipa[ti] dridha-bhatita<sup>15</sup> tesha<sup>16</sup> tatra bhoti  
[a]pag[r]atho va vadho va abhiratana va nikramaṇaṁ (H) yesha va pi  
suvihitanaṁ<sup>17</sup> [si]ho<sup>18</sup> aviprahino [e te]sha mitra-saṁstuta-sahaya-ṇatika vasana
- 6 prapuṇati [ta]tra taṁ pi tesha vo apagratho<sup>19</sup> bhoti (I) pratibhagaṁ cha  
[e]taṁ savra-manuśanaṁ<sup>20</sup> guru-mataṁ cha Devanaṁpriya[sa] (J) nasti  
cha ekatare<sup>21</sup> pi prashaḍaspi<sup>22</sup> na nama prasado (K) so yamatro [ja]no tada  
Kalige [ha]to cha muṭ[o] cha apav[udha]<sup>23</sup> cha tato
- 7 śata-bhage va sahasra-bhagaṁ va [a]ja guru-mataṁ v[o] Devanaṁpriyasa (L) yo  
pi cha apakareyati kshamitaviya-mate va<sup>24</sup> Devanaṁp[r]iyasa yaṁ śako  
kshamanaye (M) ya pi cha aṭavi Devanaṁpriyasa vijite bhoti ta pi anuneti  
anunijapeti<sup>25</sup> (N) anutape pi cha prabhave

<sup>1</sup> a[sta]- Bühler.<sup>2</sup> [diyadha]- Bühler.<sup>3</sup> Bühler omitted va.<sup>4</sup> [pa]chha Bühler.<sup>5</sup> [Kaligeshu] Bühler.<sup>6</sup> -[palanaṁ] Bühler.<sup>7</sup> \*n[am] Bühler.<sup>8</sup> \*priyasa vijinīti[u Ka]līṅga[ni] Bühler.<sup>9</sup> \*man[i ye] Bühler.<sup>10</sup> vadh[o] Bühler.<sup>11</sup> imam Bühler.<sup>12</sup> tatra h[i] for ye tatra Bühler.<sup>13</sup> vasaṁti Bühler.<sup>14</sup> gurunam Bühler.<sup>15</sup> diḍha- Bühler.<sup>16</sup> teshaṁ Bühler.<sup>17</sup> samvi<sup>o</sup> Bühler.<sup>18</sup> Read sincho; [ne]ho Bühler.<sup>19</sup> Read apagratho, which is Bühler's reading.<sup>20</sup> savraṁ manu<sup>o</sup> Bühler.<sup>21</sup> ekataraspi Bühler.<sup>22</sup> prashaṁḍaspi Bühler.<sup>23</sup> apavudh[o] Bühler.<sup>24</sup> vo Bühler.<sup>25</sup> Read \*nijhapeti, which is Bühler's reading.



- 8 **Devanāmpriyasa** vuchati tesha kiti avatrapeyu na cha [ha]mñeyasu (O) ichhati hi **D[e]vanāmpriyo** savra-bhutana akshati sa[m]yamam sama[cha]riyam rabhasiye (P) ayi<sup>1</sup> cha mukha-mut[a]<sup>2</sup> vijaye **Devanāmpriya[sa]** yo dhrama-vijayo (Q) so cha puna ladho **Devanāmpriyasa** iha cha sava<sup>3</sup> cha amteshu
- 9 [a] shashu pi yojana-sa[t]eshu yatra **Am̐tiyoko** nama **Y[o]na-raja** param cha tena **Atiyok[e]na**<sup>4</sup> chature 4 rajani **Turamaye** nama **Am̐tikini** nama **Maka** nama **Alikasudaro** nama nicha **Choḍa-Paṇḍa** ava **Ta[m]bapam[ñi]ya**<sup>5</sup> (R) [e]vameva [hi]da raja-vishavaspi<sup>6</sup> **Yona-Ka[m]boyeshu** **Nabhaka-Nabhitina**<sup>7</sup>
- 10 **Bhoja-Pitinikeshu** **Am̐dhra-Palideshu**<sup>8</sup> savatra **Devanāmpriyasa** dhramanuśasti anuvataṁti (S) yatra pi **Devanāmpriyasa** duta na vrachanti te pi śrutu **Devanāmpriyasa** dhrama-vuṭam vidh[a]nam<sup>9</sup> dhramanuśasti dhramam [a]nuvidhiyamti anuvihiyiśam[ti] cha (T) yo [sa]<sup>10</sup> ladhe etakena bho[ti] savatra vijayo sava[tra] pu[na]
- 11 vijayo priti-raso so (U) ladha bh[oti] priti dhrama-vijayaspi (V) lahuka tu kho sa priti (W) paratri[ka]meva maha-phala meñati **Devana[m]priyo** (X) etaye cha aṭhaye ayi<sup>11</sup> dhrama-dipi nipi[sta]<sup>12</sup> kiti putra papotra me asu navam vijayam ma vijetav[i]a<sup>13</sup> mañishu spa[kaspi] yo vijay[e ksham]ti cha lahu-da[m]ḍata<sup>14</sup> cha rochetu tam cha yo<sup>15</sup> vija<sup>16</sup> maña[tu]
- 12 yo dhrama-vijayo (Y) so hidalokiko paralokiko (Z) sava-chati-rati<sup>17</sup> bhotu ya [dh]ramma-rati<sup>18</sup> (AA) sa hi hidalokika paralokika

## TRANSLATION

(A) When king **Dēvanāmpriya Priyadarśin** had been anointed eight years, (the country of) the **Kaliṅgas** was conquered by (him).

(B) One hundred and fifty thousand in number were the men who were deported thence, one hundred thousand in number were those who were slain there, and many times as many those who died.

(C) After that, now that (the country of) the **Kaliṅgas** has been taken, **Dēvanāmpriya** (is devoted) to a zealous study of morality,<sup>19</sup> to the love of morality, and to the instruction (of people) in morality.

(D) This is the repentance of **Dēvanāmpriya** on account of his conquest of (the country of) the **Kaliṅgas**.

(E) For, this is considered very painful and deplorable by **Dēvanāmpriya**, that, while one is conquering an unconquered (country), slaughter, death, and deportation of people (are taking place) there.

(F) But the following is considered even more deplorable than this by **Dēvanāmpriya**.

<sup>1</sup> *eshe* Bühler.

<sup>2</sup> *-mute* Bühler.

<sup>3</sup> *sa[vre]shu* Bühler.

<sup>4</sup> *Am̐tiyokena* Bühler.

<sup>5</sup> *pañniya* Bühler.

<sup>6</sup> *Visha-Vajri-* Bühler.

<sup>7</sup> *Nabhake Na[bhi]tina* Bühler.

<sup>8</sup> *-Puli[de]shu* Bühler.

<sup>9</sup> *vidhenam* Bühler.

<sup>10</sup> *[cha]* Bühler.

<sup>11</sup> *ayo* Bühler.

<sup>12</sup> *[di]pista* Bühler.

<sup>13</sup> *\*tavi[ya]m* Bühler.

<sup>14</sup> *-dam[ḍa]tam* Bühler.

<sup>15</sup> *tam e[va]* Bühler.

<sup>16</sup> Read *vijayam*, as at Kālsī.

<sup>17</sup> *sava cha nirati* Bühler.

<sup>18</sup> *[s]rama-* Bühler.

<sup>19</sup> *dhrama-śilana* (= Skt. *dharmā-śilana*) is the equivalent of *dhammavāyo* at Girnār; see above, p. 24, n. 14.

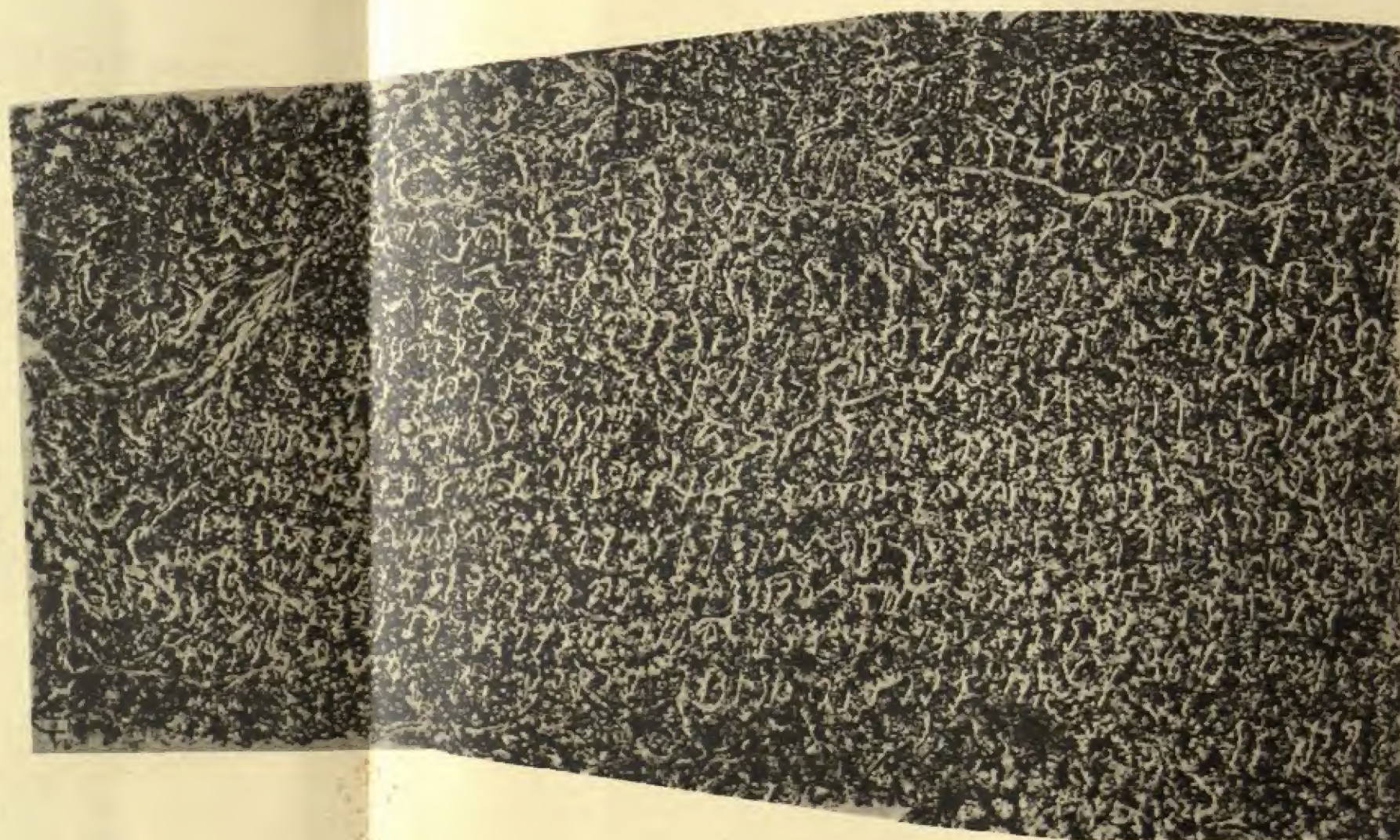






THIRTEENTH AND FOURTEENTH ROCK-EDICTS: SHAHBAZGARHI

LEFT HALF



2

4

6

8

10

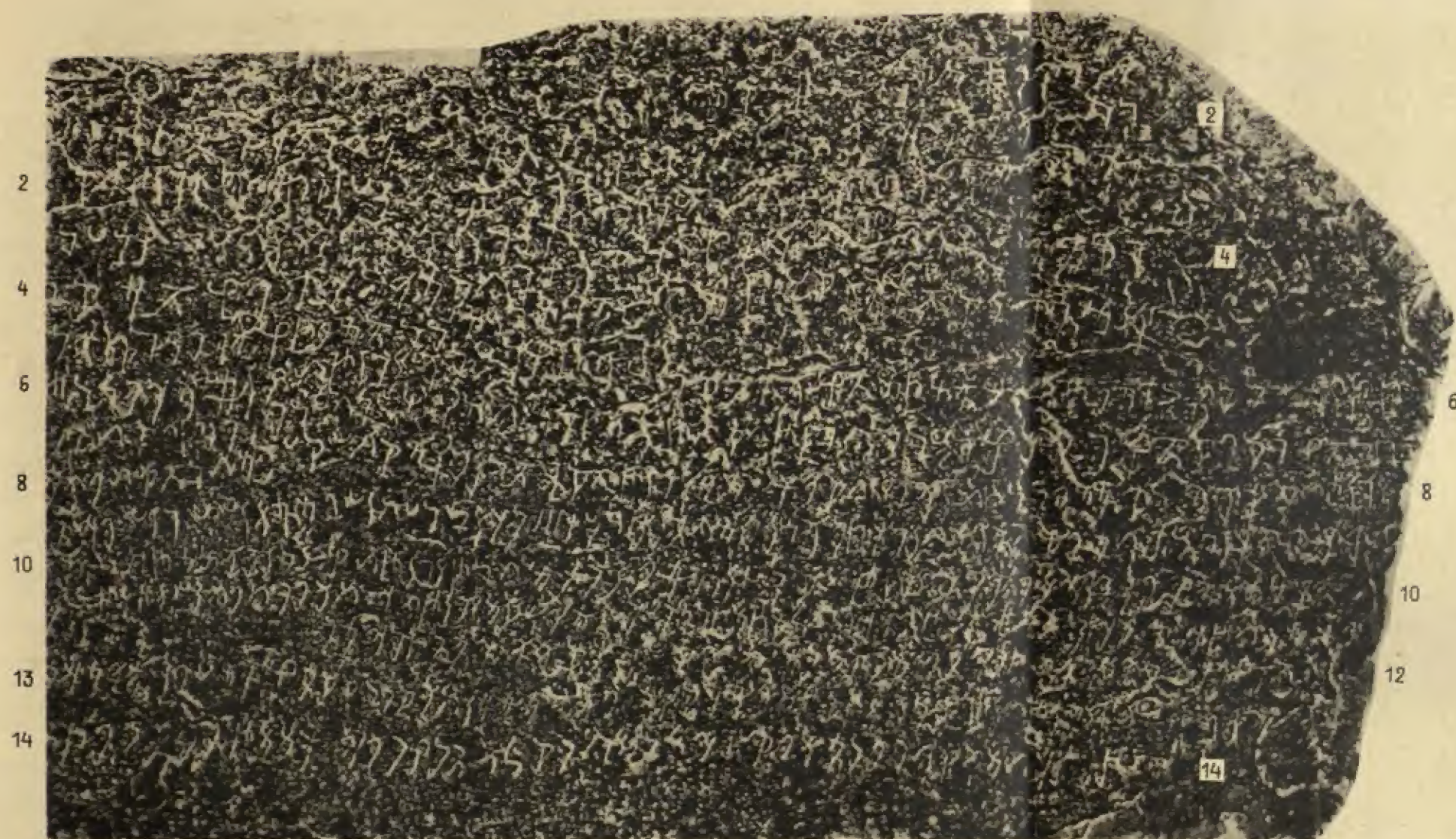
13

14

SCALE ONE-NINTH



RIGHT HALF



SCALE ONE-NINTH







(G) (To) the Brāhmaṇas or Śramaṇas, or other sects or householders, who are living there, (and) among whom the following are practised: obedience to those who receive high pay, obedience to mother and father, obedience to elders, proper courtesy to friends, acquaintances, companions, and relatives, to slaves and servants, (and) firm devotion,—to these then happen injury<sup>1</sup> or slaughter or deportation of (their) beloved ones.

(H) Or, if there are then incurring misfortune the friends, acquaintances, companions, and relatives of those whose affection (for the latter) is undiminished, although they are (themselves) well provided for, this (misfortune) as well becomes an injury to those (persons) themselves.

(I) This is shared by all men and is considered deplorable by **Dēvānāmpriya**.

(J) And there is no (place where men) are not indeed attached to some sect.<sup>2</sup>

(K) Therefore even the hundredth part or the thousandth part of all those people who were slain, who died, and who were deported at that time in **Kaliṅga**, (would) now be considered very deplorable by **Dēvānāmpriya**.

(L) And **Dēvānāmpriya** thinks that even (to one) who should wrong (him), what can be forgiven is to be forgiven.

(M) And even (the inhabitants of) the forests<sup>3</sup> which are (included) in the dominions of **Dēvānāmpriya**, even those he pacifies (and) converts.<sup>4</sup>

(N) And they are told of the power (to punish them) which **Dēvānāmpriya** (possesses) in spite of (his) repentance,<sup>5</sup> in order that they may be ashamed (of their crimes) and may not be killed.

(O) For **Dēvānāmpriya** desires towards all beings abstention from hurting, self-control, (and) impartiality in (case of) violence.<sup>6</sup>

(P) And this conquest is considered the principal one<sup>7</sup> by **Dēvānāmpriya**, viz. the conquest by morality.

<sup>1</sup> 'The meaning of *apagratho* is fixed by the various readings *upaghāte* (Kālsī) and *upaghāto* (Girnār). It has to be noted (to which Pischel draws my attention) that some Kōśas give for *grathita* the meaning *hata*, *himsita*; see Böhtlingk and Roth's Dictionary, s. v. *granth*.'—Bühler, ZDMG, 43. 174.

<sup>2</sup> 'By the fault of the writer' (as the rock-edict XIV, E, expresses it), most of this section is omitted in the Shāhbāzgarhī version.

<sup>3</sup> As remarked by Bühler (ZDMG, 43. 174 f.), the nom. plur. *aṭavi* is used in the sense of *āṭavikāḥ*. Indian rhetoricians call such a figurative expression *lakṣaṇā*. One of the examples given in the *Tarkasaṃgrahadīpikā*, § 59, is मयाः क्रोशन्ति, 'the tribunes (i. e. the occupants of the tribunes) are shouting.'

<sup>4</sup> Literally, 'induces to meditate'. Cf. *nijhapayisanti* and *nijhapayitā* (or *nijhapayitave*) in the pillar-edict IV, M, *nijhap[et]a[va]ye* in the Jaugaḍa separate edict I, R, and *nijhati* in the rock-edict VI, F, and in the Delhi-Tōprā pillar-edict VII, JJ to NN; also the second separate edict at Dhauli and Jaugaḍa, where Aśoka declares that he wishes to induce his borderers to practise morality.

<sup>5</sup> Bühler (EI, 2. 471) rendered *anutāpe prabhāve* (i. e. *anutāpē prabhāvē*) by 'power to torment (them)'. But the meaning which he assigned to *anutāpa* is unusual, and this word is a synonym of *anusāya* or *anusāchana* in section D of this edict. Thomas takes *prabhāve* = Skt. *prabhavēt*; see V. A. Smith's *Asoka*, sec. ed., p. 173, n. 4. But at Shāhbāzgarhī the 3. sing. opt. ends in *-eyati*; cf. my note on the translation of edict XIV, D.

<sup>6</sup> I adopt Lüders' rendering of the last two words of this section; see SPAW, 1914. 851. The Girnār and Kālsī versions replace the locative *rabhasiye* (= Skt. *rābhasyē*) by the accusative *mādava* or *madava* (= Skt. *mārdavam*, 'kindness').

<sup>7</sup> *mukha-muta* (also at Mānsehrā, XIII, I. 9) is the same as *mukhya-muta* in the Lauṛiyā-Ararāj and Allahabad-Kōsam pillar-edicts, VI, F.



(Q) And this (conquest) has been won repeatedly by **Dēvānāmpriya** both here and among all (his) borderers, even as far as at (the distance of) six hundred *yōjanas*, where the **Yōna** king named **Antiyoka** (is ruling), and beyond this **Antiyoka**, (where) four—4—kings (are ruling), (viz. the king) named **Turamaya**, (the king) named **Antikini**, (the king) named **Maka**, (and the king) named **Alikasudara**, (and) towards the south, (where) the **Chōḍas** and **Pāṇḍyas** (are ruling), as far as **Tāmraparṇī**.

(R) Likewise here in the king's territory, among the **Yōnas** and **Kambōyas**, among the **Nabhakas** and **Nabhitis**,<sup>1</sup> among the **Bhōjas** and **Pitinikas**, among the **Andhras** and **Palidas**,<sup>2</sup>—everywhere (people) are conforming to **Dēvānāmpriya's** instruction in morality.

(S) Even those to whom the envoys of **Dēvānāmpriya** do not go, having heard of the duties of morality, the ordinances, (and) the instruction in morality of **Dēvānāmpriya**, are conforming to morality and will conform to (it).

(T) This conquest, which has been won by this everywhere,—a conquest (won) everywhere (and) repeatedly,—causes the feeling of satisfaction.

(U) Satisfaction has been obtained (by me) at the conquest by morality.

(V) But this satisfaction is indeed of little (consequence).

(W) **Dēvānāmpriya** thinks that only the fruits in the other (world) are of great (value).

(X) And for the following purpose has this rescript on morality been written, (viz.) in order that the sons (and) great-grandsons (who) may be (born) to me, should not think that a fresh conquest ought to be made, (that), if a conquest does please them,<sup>3</sup> they should take pleasure in mercy and light punishments, and (that) they should regard the conquest by morality as the only (true) conquest.

(Y) This (conquest bears fruit) in this world (and) in the other world.

(Z) And let there be (to them) pleasure in the abandonment of all (other aims),<sup>4</sup> which is pleasure in morality.

(AA) For this (bears fruit) in this world (and) in the other world.

#### FOURTEENTH ROCK-EDICT: SHAHBAZGARHI

- 13 (A) अयि घमदिपि देवनंप्रियेन प्रिशिन रज निपेसपित अस्ति वो संक्षितेन  
अस्ति यो विस्त्रितेन (B) न हि सवच ससवे गटिते (C) महलके हि विजिते  
बहु च लिखिते लिखपेशमि चेव (D) अस्ति चु अच पुन पुन लपितं तस  
तस अठस मधुरियये येन जन तथ
- 14 पटिपजेयति (E) सो सिय व अच किचे असमतं लिखितं देशं व संखय करण  
व अलोचेति दिपिकरम व अपरधेन

<sup>1</sup> The Kālsī version reads *Nābhapaṁti* for *Nabhiti*.

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. 48, n. 14.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. above, p. 49, n. 2.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. above, p. 18, n. 10. The wording of Kālsī and Mānsehrā differs here. Unless the Shāhbāzgarhī reading is merely due to a clerical mistake, it would contain a Prākṛit substantive *chatti* = Skt. *\*tyakti* in the sense of *tyāga*.



- 13 (A) ayi<sup>1</sup> dhrama-dipi<sup>2</sup> Devanāmpriyena Priśi[na]<sup>3</sup> rañña nipesapita<sup>4</sup> asti vo  
: amkshītena<sup>5</sup> asti yo vistrītena (B) na hi savatra<sup>6</sup> sasavre<sup>7</sup> gaṭite<sup>8</sup> (C) mahālake  
hi vijite bahu cha likhite likha[p]eśami cheva (D) asti chu<sup>9</sup> atra puna puna  
[la]pitaṁ tasa tasa [a]ṭṭhasa madhuriyaye ye[na] jana tatha  
14 paṭipajeyati<sup>10</sup> (E) so siya va atra kiche<sup>11</sup> asamataṁ likhitaṁ deśaṁ va saṁkhay[a]<sup>12</sup>  
karaṇa va alocheti dipikarasa va aparadhena

## TRANSLATION

✓ (A) These rescripts on morality have been caused to be written<sup>13</sup> by king  
Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin either in an abridged (form) or at full length.

(B) For the whole was not suitable everywhere.

(C) For (my) dominions are wide, and much has been written, and I shall cause  
still (more) to be written.

(D) But (some) of this has been stated again and again because of the charm  
of certain topics, (and) in order that men should act accordingly.<sup>14</sup>

(E) But some of this may have been written incompletely, either on account of  
the locality, or because (my) motive was not liked,<sup>15</sup> or by the fault of the writer.

## IV. THE MANSEHRA ROCK

## FIRST ROCK-EDICT: MANSEHRA

## A.—First Inscribed Rock.

- 1 (A) अयि धमदिपि देवनंप्रियेन प्रियद्रशिण रजिन लिखपित (B) हिद नो किञ्चि  
जिवे अरभितु प्रजोहि-  
2 तविये (C) नो पि च समजे कटविये (D) बहुक हि दोष समजस देवनंप्रिये  
प्रियद्रशि रज दखति (E) अस्ति पि चु  
3 एकतिय समज सधुमत देवनप्रियस प्रियद्रशिस रजिने (F) पुर महनससि  
देवनप्रियस प्रियद्रशिस र-  
4 जिने अनुदिवस बहुनि प्रणशतसहस्रनि अरभिसु सुपथ्ये (G) से . . . . . द  
अयि धमदिपि लिखित तद तिनि येव प्रणनि अरभियंति दुवे २ मज्जु-  
5 र एके म्मिगे से पि चु म्मिगे नो ध्रुवं (H) एतनि पि चु तिनि प्रणनि पच नो  
अरभि . . . . .

<sup>1</sup> *ayo* Bühler.

<sup>2</sup> There is a vacant space between *ma* and *di*.

<sup>3</sup> Read *Priyadrasina*.

<sup>4</sup> *dipapito* Bühler.

<sup>5</sup> *saṁkhitena* Bühler.

<sup>6</sup> *savratra* Bühler.

<sup>7</sup> Read *savre*; [*so*] *savre* Bühler.

<sup>8</sup> Read *ghatite*; *ghatiti* Bühler.

<sup>9</sup> *cha* Bühler.

<sup>10</sup> *prāṭi* Bühler.

<sup>11</sup> Read *kichi*, which is Bühler's reading.

<sup>12</sup> *saṁkhaye* Bühler.

<sup>13</sup> With *nipesapita* cf. *nipesitaṁ* in the Shāhbāzgarhi edict IV, K.

<sup>14</sup> With the optative *paṭipajeyati* (= *°yāti* at Dhāuli and Jaugada) cf. *apakareyati* (XIII, l. 7), *nivapeyati* (IX, l. 20), and *siyati* (= *siyāti* or *shiyāti* at Kālsī); see above, p. 40, n. 1.

<sup>15</sup> See above, p. 8, n. 3.



- 1 (A) ayi dhra[ma]-dip[i] Devana[m]priye<sup>1</sup>na<sup>1</sup> Priya[draśina rajina li]khapita (B) hi[da] no kichhi<sup>2</sup> ji[ve] ara[bhita] pra[johi]-  
 2 taviye<sup>3</sup> (C) no pi [cha] samaj[e] kaṭaviye<sup>4</sup> (D) bahu[ka] hi [dosha samajasa Devana[m]priye] Priyadraśi raja [da]kha[ti] (E) asti [pi chu]  
 3 [eka]tiya samaja sa[dhu]-mata Devanapriyasa Priyadraśi[sa]<sup>5</sup> rajine (F) pura maha[nasa]si [Devana]pri[ya]sa Pri[yadra]śisa ra-  
 4 jine anudiva[sa ba]huni praṇa-śa[ta]-sahas[r]ani [arab]hiṣu supa[thra]ye (G) s[e].....[da] ayi dhrama-dipi likhi[ta] ta[da] ti[ni] y[eva] pra[ṇa]ni [ara]bh[iya]nti du[v]e [2] maju-  
 5 ra [e]k[e]<sup>6</sup> m[r]ig[e] s[e] p[i chu] mrig[e] no dhruva[m] (H) [e]tani pi chu [tini] praṇani pacha no ara[bhi].....

## SECOND ROCK-EDICT: MANSEHRA

- 5 (A) सवच विजितसि देवनप्रियस प्रियद्रशिस रजिने ये च अत अथ  
 6 चोड पंडिय सतियपुच केरलपुच तंवपणि अतियोगे नम योनरज ये च अ.....स  
 ..... गस समत रजने सवच ..... प्रियस प्रियद्रशिस रजिने  
 7 दुवे २ चिकिस कट मनुश्चिकिस च पशुचिकिस च (B) ओषढनि मनु ..... कनि  
 च प ..... कनि च अच अच नस्ति सवच हरपित च रोपपित च  
 8 (C) एवमेव मुलनि च फलनि च अच अच नस्ति सवच हरपित च रोपपित च  
 (D) मगेषु रुद्धनि रोपपितनि ..... पितनि पटिभोगये पशु-  
 मुनिशनं  
 5 (A) sa[vatra vi]jitasi Devanapriyasa Priyadraśisa rajine ye cha ata<sup>7</sup> atha  
 6 [Choḍa] Pa[m̐di]ya Sa[ti]ya[p]u[tra] Keralaputra<sup>8</sup> [Taṁ]bapaṇi [A]tiyoge<sup>9</sup>  
 nama Yona-[raja] ye cha [a].... sa ..... [gasa] samata<sup>10</sup> ra[jane sa]vratra  
 ..... priyasa Priyadraśisa rajine  
 7 [duve 2] chikisa [ka]ṭa manuśa-chik[isa cha] paśu-[chi]kisa cha (B) osha[ḍha]ni<sup>11</sup>  
 manu.... ka[ni cha] pa.... [kani cha atra atra<sup>12</sup> nasti savra]tra [ha]rapi[ta  
 cha] ropa[pita] cha  
 8 (C) e[va]meva mulani [cha] phalani [cha] a[tra a]tra [na]sti [savra]tra harapita cha  
 ro[p]a[pita] cha (D) ma[geshu] ruchhani<sup>13</sup> [ropa]pi[tani]<sup>14</sup> ..... [pi]tani  
 paṭibhogaye paśu-m[uni]śanaṁ<sup>15</sup>

<sup>1</sup> [De]vana[pri]yena Bühler.<sup>2</sup> kichi Bühler.<sup>3</sup> pra[juho]taviye Bühler.<sup>4</sup> sama[ja] kaṭaviya Bühler.<sup>5</sup> [Pri]yadraśi[ne] Bühler.<sup>6</sup> Bühler inserted the figure '1'.<sup>7</sup> aṁta Bühler.<sup>8</sup> putr[e] Bühler.<sup>9</sup> . tiyo[ke] Bühler.<sup>10</sup> samanta Bühler.<sup>11</sup> osha[ḍhi]ni Bühler.<sup>12</sup> [ya]tra yatra Bühler.<sup>13</sup> ru[chha] Bühler.<sup>14</sup> The next symbol (read [ku] by Bühler) may be the first letter (u) of udupanani.<sup>15</sup> -m[a]nuśana Bühler.



## THIRD ROCK-EDICT: MANSEHRA

- 9 (A) देवनप्रिये प्रियद्रशि रज एव अह (B) दुवडशवषभिसेतेन मे इयं अणपयिते  
(C) सव्रत्र विजितसि . . . . . त रजु . . प्रदेशिके पंचषु पंचषु ५ वषेषु  
10 अनुसंयनं निक्रमतु एतये व अथूये इमये धमनुशस्तिये यथ अजये पि क्रमणे  
(D) सधु मतपितुषु सुश्रुष मित्रसंस्तुत-  
11 जतिकनं च ब्रमणश्रमणनं सधु दने प्रणन अनरभे सधु अपवयत अपभडत सधु  
(E) परिष पि च युतनि गणनसि अणपयिशति हेतुते च वियंज-  
12 नते च

- 9 (A) Devanapriye Priyadraśi raja eva a[ha] (B) duva[.a]śa-vashabhisetena<sup>1</sup>  
me iyaṁ<sup>2</sup> [aṇapayit]e (C) savrat[r]a vijitasi . . . . . ta<sup>3</sup> [ra]ju . . pradeśike  
[paṁ]chashu paṁ[chashu] 5 vashesh[u]  
10 anusa[m]yana[m] nikramatu<sup>4</sup> etaye va<sup>5</sup> athraye imaye dhramanuśastiye ya[tha]<sup>6</sup>  
añaye<sup>7</sup> pi krama[ṇe]<sup>8</sup> (D) [sadhu mata]-pi[tu]shu [s]u[śrusha mitra]-sa[m]stuta-  
11 ñatikanam cha bra[ma]ṇa-śramaṇana[m]<sup>9</sup> sadhu dane praṇana [anara]bhe sadhu  
apa-[va]yata apa-bha[ḍata] sadhu (E) parisha pi cha yutani ga[ṇa]nasi  
[aṇapa]yīśa[ti] he[tute] cha vi[yamja]-  
12 nate cha

## FOURTH ROCK-EDICT: MANSEHRA

- 12 (A) अतिक्रतं अतरं बहुनि वषशतनि वधिते वो प्रणरंभे विहिस च भुतनं जतिन  
असपटिपति श्रमणब्रमणन असंपटिपति  
13 (B) से अज देवनप्रियस प्रियद्रशिने रजिने धमचरणेन भेरिघोषे अहो धमघोषे  
विमनद्रशन अस्तिने अगिकंधनि अजनि च दिवनि रुपनि द्रशेति जनस  
14 (C) अदिशे बहुहि वषशतेहि न हुतप्रुवे तदिशे अज वढिते देवनप्रियस प्रियद्रशिने  
रजिने धमनुशस्तिय अनरभे प्रणन अविहिस भुतन जतिन  
15 संपटिपति वमणश्रमणन संपटिपति मतपितुषु सुश्रुष बुध्न सुश्रुष (D) एषे अजे  
च बहुविधे धमचरणे वधिते (E) वधयिशति येव देवनप्रिये  
16 प्रियद्रशि रज धमचरण इमं (F) पुत्र पि च क नतरे च पणतिक देवनप्रियस  
प्रियद्रशिने रजिने पवढयिशति यो धमचरण इमं अवकपं धमे शिले च

<sup>1</sup> Read °bhisitena. <sup>2</sup> ayaṁ Bühler. <sup>3</sup> [me] . . ta Bühler. <sup>4</sup> nikrama[m]tu Bühler.

<sup>5</sup> vaṁ Bühler. What he took for an Anusvāra, is the optional horizontal (sometimes curved) bottom-line which he has noted in *ja* (ZDMG, 43. 275), and which the Mānsehrā version uses also in *ḍa* (XIII, 10), *ḍha* (VII, 33; XII, 6; XIII, 1), *ta* of *mata* (I, 3; IV, 15; XIII, 4), *tha* (II, 5; V, 20, 26; XII, 4; cf. above, p. 55, n. 6), and *pa* (XII, 5).

<sup>6</sup> ya . aṁ Bühler. <sup>7</sup> añaye Bühler. <sup>8</sup> kramane Bühler. <sup>9</sup> -śramaṇanam Bühler.



- 17 चिठितु ध्रमं अनुशशिशंति (G) एषे हि सेठे अं ध्रमनुशशन (H) ध्रमचरणे पि च  
न होति अशिलस (I) से इमस अथस वध्रि अहिनि च सधु (J) एतये
- 18 अथये इयं लिखिते एतस अथस वध्र युजंतु हिनि च म अलोचयिसु (K)  
दुवदशवषभिसितेन देवनप्रियेन प्रियद्रशि रजिन इयं लिखपिते
- 12 (A) atikrataṁ āta[raṁ]<sup>1</sup> bahuni vasha-śa[ta]ni vadhite vo<sup>2</sup> praṇaram[bh]e vihi[sa]  
cha bhutanam ṇatina asapa[t]ipati śrama[ṇa]-bramaṇana<sup>3</sup> asa[m]paṭipati
- 13 (B) se aja [De]vanapriyasa Priyadraśīne rajīne dhrama-[cha]ra[ṇe]na bheri-  
ghoshe aho dhama-ghoshe<sup>4</sup> vimana-draśana asti[ne]<sup>5</sup> agi-kamdhana[i] aña[ni  
cha] di[vani] rupani draśeti janasa
- 14 (C) [a]diśe bahuhi vasha-śa[tehi] na [hu]ta-pr[u]ve tadiśe [a]ja vadhite [De]vana-  
priyasa Priyadraśīne rajīne dhramanuśastiya anarabhe praṇana<sup>6</sup> avihisa  
bhutana ṇatina
- 15 sampaṭipati bamaṇa-śramaṇana<sup>7</sup> sa[m]paṭipati mata-pitushu<sup>8</sup> suśru[sha] vudhrana  
[su]śrusha (D) eshe aṇ[e] cha bahuvidhe dhrama-charaṇe vadhrite (E)  
vadhraiśati yeva Devanapriye
- 16 Priyadraśī raja dhama-[cha]raṇa<sup>9</sup> ima[m]<sup>10</sup> (F) [putra] pi cha ka<sup>11</sup> natore cha  
paṇatika De[va]napriyasa Priyadaśīne<sup>12</sup> rajīne pavadhayiśanti yo<sup>13</sup> dhrama-  
charaṇa imam [a]va-kapaṁ dhrame śile cha
- 17 [chi]ṭhitu<sup>14</sup> dhra[maṁ] anu[śa]śiśanti (G) eshe hi sreṭhe a[m] dhramanuśaśana  
(H) dhrama-[cha]ra[ṇe] pi [cha] na hoti aśi[la]sa (I) se imasa athrasa vadhri  
ahi[ni] cha sadhu (J) etaye
- 18 athraye i[yaṁ]<sup>15</sup> li[khi]te e[ta]sa [athra]sa vadhra<sup>16</sup> yu[jaṁ]tu hini cha ma  
[alo]chay[i]su<sup>17</sup> (K) duva[da]śa-vashabhisitena Devanapriyena Priya-  
draśīna rajina iya[m] likhapite

## FIFTH ROCK-EDICT: MANSEHRA

- 19 (A) देवनंप्रियेन प्रियद्रशि रज एवं अह (B) कलणं दुकरं (C) ये अदिकरे कयणस  
से दुकरं करोति (D) तं मय बहु कयणे कटे (E) तं मअ पुच च  
20 नतरे च पर च तेन ये अपतिये से अवकपं तथ अनुवटिशति से सुकट कषति  
(F) ये चु अच देश पि हपेशति से दुकट कषति
- 21 (G) पपे हि नम सुपदरवे (H) से अतिक्रतं अंतरं न भुतप्रुव ध्रममहमच नम (I)  
से वेदशवषभिसितेन मय ध्रममहमच कट (J) ते सवपषडेव
- 22 वपुट ध्रमधिषनये च ध्रमवध्रिय हिदसुखये च ध्रमयुतस योनकं वोजगधरन  
रठिकपित्तिनिकन ये व पि अजे अपरत (K) भटमये-

<sup>1</sup> a[m]ta[raṁ] Bühler.<sup>2</sup> vadhite vaṁ Bühler.<sup>3</sup> -bramaṇanam Bühler.<sup>4</sup> dhrama-goshe Bühler.<sup>5</sup> hastine Bühler.<sup>6</sup> praṇanam Bühler.<sup>7</sup> -śramaṇana[m] Bühler.<sup>8</sup> matu- Bühler.<sup>9</sup> dhrama- Bühler.<sup>10</sup> ima Bühler.<sup>11</sup> ku Bühler.<sup>12</sup> Devanapriyasa Priyadraśīne Bühler.<sup>13</sup> Bühler omitted yo.<sup>14</sup> [ti]sthitu Bühler.<sup>15</sup> i[maṁ] Bühler.<sup>16</sup> Read vadhri.<sup>17</sup> anu[lo]chayisu Bühler.



- 23 शु ब्रमणिभ्येषु अनघेषु वुधेषु हिदमुखये ध्रमयुतअपलिबोधये वियपुट ते (L)  
वधनवधस पटिविधनये अपलिबोधये मोक्षये च इयं
- 24 अनुबध प्रज ति व कट्टभिकर ति व महलके ति व वियप्रट ते (M) हिद बहिरेषु  
च नगरेषु सव्रेषु ओरोधनेषु भतन च स्पमुन च
- 25 ये व पि अजे जतिके सव्रच वियपट (N) ए इयं ध्रमनिशितो तो व ध्रमधिषने  
ति व दनसंयुते ति व सव्रच विजितसि मअ ध्रमयुतसि वपुट ते
- 26 ध्रममहमच (O) एतये अय्ये अयि ध्रमदिपि लिखित चिरठितिक होतु तथ च मे  
प्रज अनुवटतु

- 19 (A) De[vanam]priyena<sup>1</sup> Priyadraśi raja eva[m] aha (B) kalaṇa[m] dukara[m]  
(C) ye adikare kayāṇasa se dukaram karoti (D) tam maya bahu [ka]yaṇe  
[ka]ṭe (E) [ta]m ma[a] putra [cha]
- 20 natar[e] cha<sup>2</sup> para<sup>3</sup> cha t[e]na ye apatiye me [a]va-[ka]pam tatha anuvaṭṭisati<sup>4</sup> se  
sukaṭa ka[sha]ti (F) ye [chu] atra deśa pi hapeṣati se dukāṭa kashati
- 21 (G) pape hi nama supadarave<sup>5</sup> (H) s[e] atikrata[m] a[m]tara[m] na bhuta-pruva  
dhrama-[ma]hamatra nama (I) se treḍḍaśa-va[sha]bhisitena maya dhrama-  
mahamatra kaṭa (J) te savra-pa[sha]ḍeśha<sup>6</sup>
- 22 vapuṭa dhramadhitha[na]ye cha dhrama-vadhriya hida-sukhaye cha dh[r]ama-yutasa  
Yona-Kaṁboja-Gadharana<sup>7</sup> Raṭhika-Pitinikana<sup>8</sup> ye va pi aṇe aparata (K)  
bha[ṭa]maye-
- 23 shu bramaṇibhyeshu anatheshu vudhreshu hida-su[khaye]<sup>9</sup> dhrama-yuta-  
apalibodhaye viya[p]uṭa te (L) badhana-badha[sa] paṭivi[dhanay]e apalibodhaye  
mokshay[e cha iyaṁ]
- 24 anubadha p[r]aja<sup>10</sup> t[i] va kaṭṭabhikara ti va mahalake ti va viyapraṭa te (M)  
hida<sup>11</sup> bahreshu cha nagaresh[u] savreshu [o]rodhaneshu bhatana<sup>12</sup> cha  
spas[u]na [cha]
- 25 ye va pi aṇe ñatike savratra viyapaṭa (N) [e] iyaṁ dhrama-ñisito to<sup>13</sup> va  
dhramadhithane ti va dana-samyute ti va savratra vijitasi maa dhrama-yutasi  
vaputa [te]
- 26 dhrama-mahamatra (O) etaye athraye ayi dhrama-dipi likhita chira-ṭhitika hotu  
tatha<sup>14</sup> cha me praja anuvaṭatu

<sup>1</sup> Read °priye, which is Bühler's reading.

<sup>2</sup> Bühler omitted cha.

<sup>3</sup> param Bühler.

<sup>4</sup> tatham anuvaṭṭisati Bühler.

<sup>5</sup> supadare v[a] Bühler.

<sup>6</sup> Read °desha, which is Bühler's reading.

<sup>7</sup> -Ga[m]dharanam Bühler.

<sup>8</sup> Raṭrakra- Bühler. The second symbol (thi) resembles the corresponding one at Shāhbāz-gaṛhī, but the vertical line connecting the right ends of the two horizontal bars is omitted here. The third symbol looks like kaṁ; but the apparent Anusvāra is the optional bottom-line of the letter. Cf. the ka of chira-ṭhitika, VI, 31, and above, p. 73, n. 5.

<sup>9</sup> hidam- Bühler.

<sup>10</sup> paja Bühler; ja looks like ju.

<sup>11</sup> hidam Bühler.

<sup>12</sup> Read bhatana.

<sup>13</sup> -ñisiti ti Bühler; read ti for to.

<sup>14</sup> tatham Bühler.



## SIXTH ROCK-EDICT: MANSEHRA

- 26 (A) देवनप्रिये प्रियद्रशि रज एवं अञ्ज (B) अतिक्रतं अतरं  
 27 न हुतप्रुवे सव्रं कल अथक्रम व पटिवेदन व (C) त मय एवं किटं (D) सव्र  
 कलं अशतस मे ओरोधने यभगरंसि व्रचस्पि विनितस्पि उयनस्पि सव्रच  
 पटिवेदक अथ जनस  
 28 पटिवेदेतु मे (E) सव्रच च जनस अथ करोमि अहं (F) यं पि च किछि मुखतो  
 अणपेमि अहं दपकं व अवरकं व ये व पुन महमचेहि अचयिके अरोपिते  
 होति  
 29 तये अथये विवदे निजति व संत परिषये अनतलियेन पटिवेदेतविये मे  
 सव्रच सव्र कल (G) एवं अणपित मय (H) नस्ति हि मे तोषे उठनसि  
 अथसंतिरणये च  
 30 (I) कटवियमते हि मे सवलोकहिते (J) तस चु पुन एषे मुले उठने अथसतिरण  
 च (K) नस्ति हि क्रमतर सवलोकहितेन (L) यं च किछि परक्रममि अञ्ज  
 किति भुतनं  
 31 अणणियं येहं इञ्ज च षे सुखयमि परच च स्पय अरधेतु ति (M) से एतये अथये  
 इयं भ्रमदिपि लिखित चिरठितिक होतु तथ च मे पुच नतरे परक्रमते सव-  
 32 लोकहितये (N) दुकरे च खो अञ्जच अयेन परक्रमेन

- 26 (A) Devanapriye<sup>1</sup> Priyadraśi raja [e]va[m].aa<sup>2</sup> (B) atikratam ataram<sup>3</sup>  
 27 na<sup>4</sup> huta-pruve [sa]vram kala athra-[krama] va [pa]ṭivedana va (C) ta maya evam  
 kiṭam (D) savra kalam aśatasa me orodhane grabhagarasi vrachaspi vinitaspi  
 uyanaspi savratra pa[ṭi][ve]da[ka] athra janasa  
 28 paṭivedetu me (E) savratra cha janasa athra kar[o]mi aham (F) yaṁ pi cha<sup>5</sup>  
 kichhi<sup>6</sup> mukhato<sup>7</sup> aṇapemi aham dapakaṁ va śravakaṁ va ye<sup>8</sup> va puna  
 mahamatrehi achayike aropite<sup>9</sup> hoti  
 29 taye athraye vivade nijati<sup>10</sup> va samta par[isha]ye a[na]taliyena paṭivedetaviye<sup>11</sup>  
 me savratra savra kala (G) evam aṇapita maya (H) nasti hi me toshe  
 [uṭhanasi] ath[r]a-sa[m]tiraṇaye cha  
 30 (I) kaṭaviya-mate hi me savra-loka-h[i]te (J) [ta]sa chu puna eshe mule uṭhane  
 athra-satiraṇa cha (K) nasti hi kramatara savra-loka-hitena (L) ya[m] cha  
 [kichhi]<sup>12</sup> pa[rakra]mami aam<sup>13</sup> k[i]t[i] bh[u]tanam  
 31 aṇaṇiyam<sup>14</sup> ye[ham] ia cha she<sup>15</sup> sukhayami paratra cha spagra<sup>16</sup> a[ra]dhetu ti

<sup>1</sup> Devana[m]priye Bühler.<sup>2</sup> aka Bühler.<sup>3</sup> atikramtam amtarām Bühler.<sup>4</sup> n[o] Bühler.<sup>5</sup> Bühler omitted cha.<sup>6</sup> kichi Bühler.<sup>7</sup> mukhato looks almost like mukhati, which is Bühler's reading.<sup>8</sup> yaṁ Bühler.<sup>9</sup> aropita Bühler.<sup>10</sup> Read nijhati, which is Bühler's reading.<sup>11</sup> a[na]taliyena paṭiveditaviye Bühler.<sup>12</sup> [ki]chi Bühler.<sup>13</sup> aham Bühler.<sup>14</sup> aṇaṇiyam Bühler.<sup>15</sup> sha Bühler.<sup>16</sup> spagram Bühler.



- (M) se etaye athraye iyañ dhrama-dipi likhita chira-ñhitika<sup>1</sup> hotu ta[tha]<sup>2</sup>  
 cha] me pu[tra nata]re para[kra]mate<sup>3</sup> sa[vra]-  
 32 [lo]ka-hitaye (N) dukare cha<sup>4</sup> kho [a]ñatra a[g]rena para[kra]mena

## SEVENTH ROCK-EDICT: MANSEHRA

- 32 (A) देवनप्रियो प्रियद्रशि रज सवच इच्छति सवपषड वसेयु (B) सवे हि ते सयम  
 भवशुधि च  
 33 इच्छति (C) जने चु उचवुचछदे उचवुचरगे (D) ते सव्रं एकदेशं व पि कषति (E)  
 विपुले पि चु दने यस नस्ति सयेमे भवशुति किटनत द्रिढभतित च  
 34 निचे बढं  
 32 (A) Devanapriyo<sup>5</sup> Priyadraśi raja savratra ichhati savra-pashaḍa vaseyu (B)  
 savre hi te sa[ya]ma [bha]va-śu[dh]i [cha]  
 33 [ichhañ]ti (C) jane chu uchavucha-chhade<sup>6</sup> uchavucha-rage (D) te savrañ eka-deśañ  
 va pi kashati (E) [v]ipule pi ch[u] dane yasa nasti sayeme<sup>7</sup> bhava-śuti<sup>8</sup>  
 kiṭanata dṛiḍha-bhatita<sup>9</sup> cha  
 34 niche baḍhañ

## EIGHTH ROCK-EDICT: MANSEHRA

- 34 (A) अतिक्रतं अतरं देवनप्रिय विहरयच नम निक्रमिषु (B) इअ म्रिगविय अजनि  
 च एदिशनि अभिरमनि हुसु (C) से देवनप्रिये प्रियद्रशि  
 35 रज दशवषभिसिते संतं निक्रमि सवोधि (D) तेनद धमयद (E) अच इय होति  
 शमणब्रमणन द्रशने दने च वुध्न द्रशने च हिजपटिविधने च  
 36 जनपदस जनस द्रशने धमनुशस्ति च धमपरिपुछ च ततोपय (F) एषे भुये रति  
 होति देवनप्रियस प्रियद्रशिस  
 37 रजिने भगे अणे  
 34 (A) a[ti]kratañ atarañ<sup>10</sup> Devanapri[ya] vihara-yatra nama nikramishu (B) ia<sup>11</sup>  
 mrigaviya añani cha ediśani abhiramani husu (C) s[e] Devanap[r]iy[e]  
 P[r]iyadraśi  
 35 raja daśa-vashabhisite sañta[m] nikrami Sabodhi<sup>12</sup> (D) tenada dhrama-yada<sup>13</sup>

<sup>1</sup> -ñhitikañ Bühler.<sup>2</sup> tathañ Bühler.<sup>3</sup> °mate Bühler.<sup>4</sup> chu Bühler.<sup>5</sup> °[priye] Bühler.<sup>6</sup> -chade Bühler.<sup>7</sup> sayame Bühler.<sup>8</sup> Read -śudhi.<sup>9</sup> dṛiḍha- Bühler.<sup>10</sup> añtarañ Bühler.<sup>11</sup> i[ka] Bühler.<sup>12</sup> sambodhi Bühler.

<sup>13</sup> tenad[am] dhrama-yadva Bühler. What looks like an Anusvāra or Rēpha, is probably the optional bottom-line of *da*, which occurs also in V, 23, 24; VIII, 36; IX, 8 (twice); X, 9; XIII, 3, 7, 9, 10, 13. Cf. above, p. 54, n. 7.



(E) atra iya hoti śamaṇa-bramaṇana<sup>1</sup> dra[śa]ne dane cha vudhrana<sup>2</sup> dra[śa]ne  
[cha hi]ṇa-paṭivi[dhane<sup>3</sup> cha]

36 janapadasa janasa draśane dhramaṇuśasti cha dhrama-[pa]r[i]puchha cha tatopaya

(F) eshe bhuye rati hoti Devanapriyasa Priyadrasisa

37 rajine bhage aṇe

### NINTH ROCK-EDICT: MANSEHRA

*B.—North Face of Second Rock.*

- 1 (A) देवनप्रिये प्रियद्रशि रज एवं अह (B) जने उचवुचं मगलं करोति
- 2 अबधसि अवहसि विवहसि प्रजोपदये प्रवसस्मि एतये अजये च एदिशये जने
- 3 बहु मंगलं करोति (C) अत्र तु अबकजनिक बहु च बहुविध च खुद च निरथिय  
च मगलं करोति (D) से कटविये चेव खो
- 4 मगले (E) अपफले चु खो एषे (F) इयं चु खो महफले ये धम्ममगले (G) अत्र  
इयं दसभटकसि सम्यपटिपति गुरुन अपचिति
- 5 प्रणन सयमे अमणब्रमणन दने एषे अणे च एदिशे धम्ममगले नम (H) से  
वतविये पितुन पि पुचेन पि भृतुन पि स्पमिकेन पि
- 6 मिचसंस्तुतेन अत्र पटिवेशियेन पि इयं सधु इयं कटविये मगले अत्र तस अथूस  
निवुटिय निवुटसि व पुन इम कषमि ति (I) ए हि इतरे मगले
- 7 शशयिके से (J) सिय व तं अथं निवटेय सिय पन नो (K) हिदलोकिके चेव से  
(L) इयं पुन धम्ममगले अकलिके (M) हचे पि तं अथं नो निवटेति हिद  
अथ परच
- 8 अनत पुण प्रसवति (N) हचे पुन तं अथं निवटेति हिद ततो उभयेसं अरधे होति  
हिद च से अथे परच च अनत पुणं प्रसवति तेन धम्मगलेन

- 1 (A) Devanapriye Priyadrasī raja evaṃ aha (B) jane uchavucha[ṃ ma]gala[ṃ]  
karoti
- 2 abadhasi a[va]hasi vi[va]hasi prajopadaye pravasaṣpi etaye añaye [cha ed]jīsa[ye  
jane]
- 3 bahu maṅga[laṃ ka]ro[t]i (C) atra tu abaka-janika<sup>4</sup> bahu cha bahuvidha cha khuda  
cha nirathriya cha magalaṃ karoti (D) se ka[ṭaviye ch]eva<sup>5</sup> kho
- 4 magale (E) apa-phale chu [kho e]she (F) iyaṃ chu kho maha-phale ye dhrama-  
magale<sup>6</sup> (G) atra iyaṃ dasa-bhaṭakasi samya-paṭipati guruna a[pachit]i
- 5 pra[ṇa]na [sa]yame śramaṇa-bramaṇana [dane] eshe aṇe cha eḍiśe dhrama-magale  
nama (H) se vataviye pi[tu]na pi putrena pi bhratuna<sup>7</sup> pi spamikena pi
- 6 mitra-sa[m]stutena [a]va paṭiveśiyena pi iyaṃ sadhu iyaṃ kaṭaviye magale ava tasa  
athrasa nivuṭiya nivuṭasi va puna ima [ka]shami ti<sup>8</sup> (I) e hi [i]tare<sup>9</sup> maga[le]

<sup>1</sup> śramaṇa- Bühler.

<sup>4</sup> balika for abaka- Bühler.

<sup>7</sup> bhatuna Bühler.

<sup>2</sup> vadhrana Bühler.

<sup>5</sup> cha for [ch]eva Bühler.

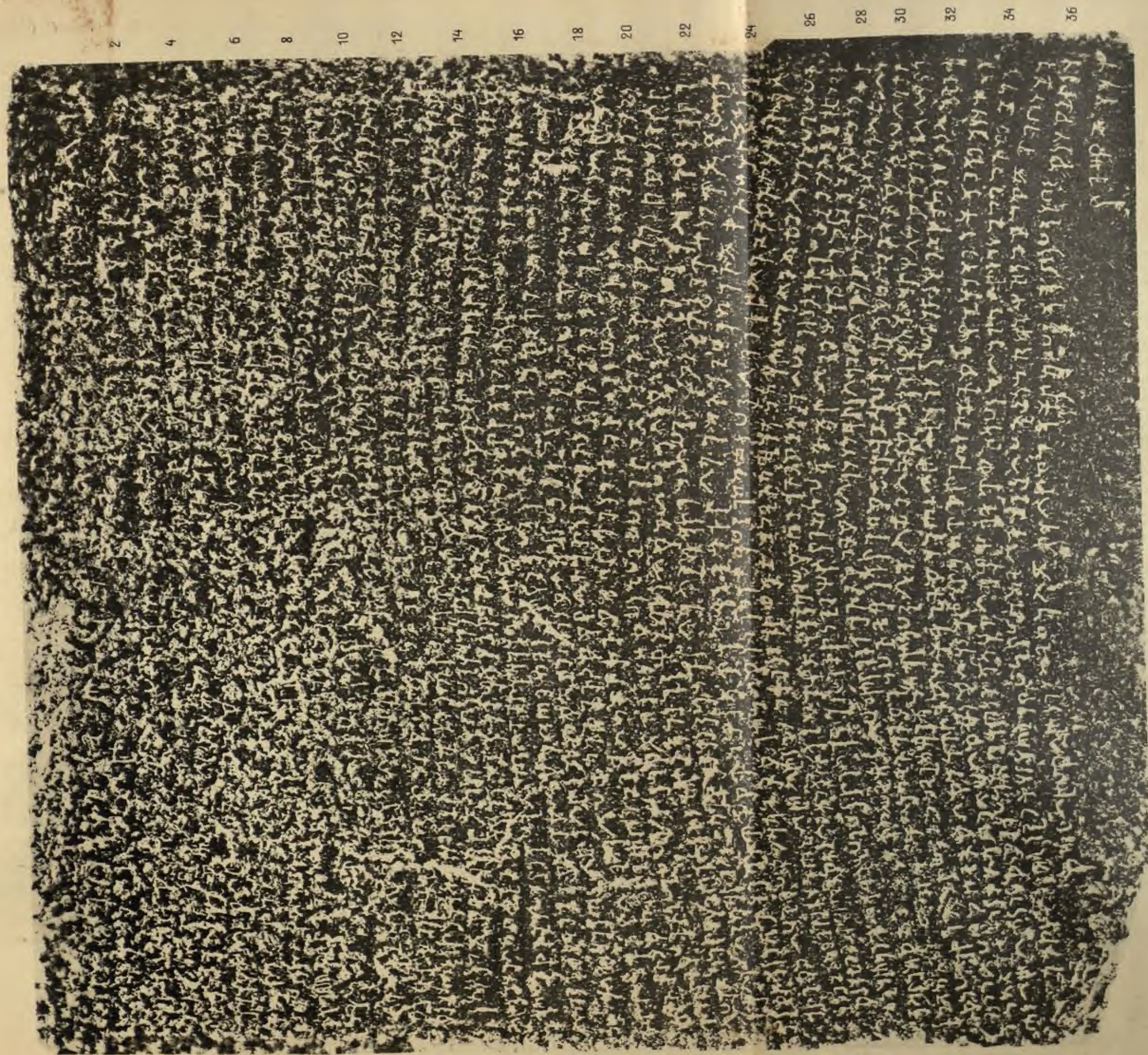
<sup>8</sup> k[e]sh[a]miti Bühler.

<sup>3</sup> Read hiraṇa.

<sup>6</sup> -maṅgale Bühler.

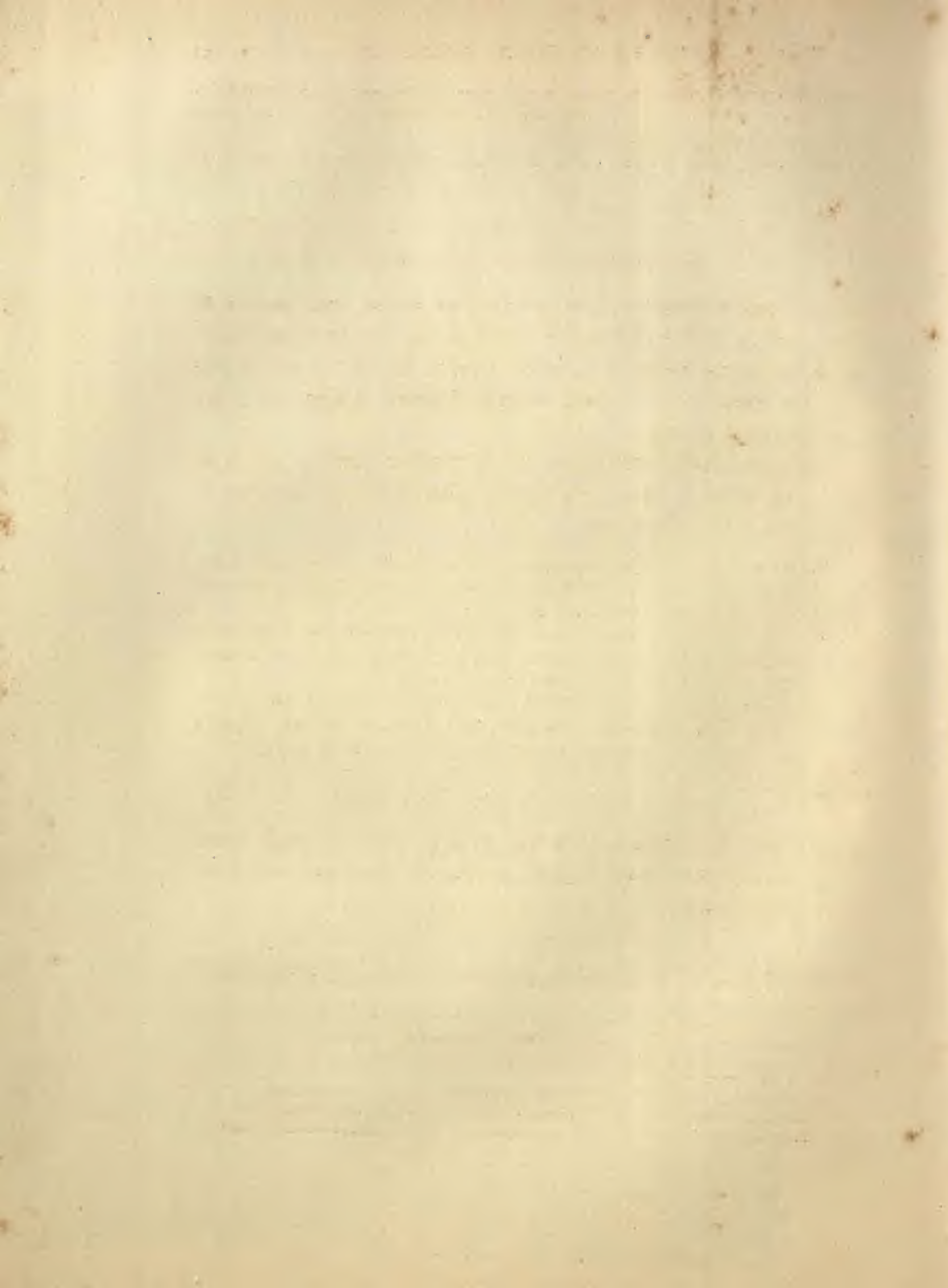
<sup>9</sup> [a]trake Bühler.





SCALE ONE-SIXTH







- 7 śa[śa]yike se (J) s[i]ya va taṁ athraṁ nivaṭeya s[i]ya pana no (K) hida[o]kike  
cheva se<sup>1</sup> (L) iyaṁ puna dhrama-magale akalike (M) [ha]che pi taṁ athraṁ  
no<sup>2</sup> nivaṭeti [hi]da a[tha] paratra
- 8 anata puna<sup>3</sup> prasavati (N) hache puna ta[m] athraṁ<sup>4</sup> nivaṭ[e]ti hida tato<sup>5</sup>  
ubhayesaṁ [ara]dhe<sup>6</sup> hoti hida cha se athre paratra cha anata<sup>7</sup> puṇaṁ  
prasavati tena dhramagalena<sup>8</sup>

## TENTH ROCK-EDICT: MANSEHRA

- 9 (A) देवनप्रिये प्रियद्रशि रज यशो व किटि व नो महथ्रवहं मजति अणच यं पि  
यशो व किटि व इछति तदत्वये अयतिय च जने भ्रमसुश्रुष सश्रुषतु मे ति
- 10 भ्रमवुतं च अनुविधियतु ति (B) एतकये देवनप्रिये प्रियद्रशि रज यशो व किटि  
व इछति (C) . . . . किछि परक्रमति देवनप्रिये प्रियद्रशि रज तं सवं  
परचिकये व किति
- 11 सकले अपपरिसवे सियति ति (D) एषे चु परिसवे ए अपुणे (E) दुकरे चु खो  
एषे खुदकेन व वयेन उसटेन व अनच अयेन परक्रमेन सवं परितिजितु (F)  
अच तु खो उसटेनेव दुकरे

- 9 (A) [Devana]priye Priyadraśi raja yaśo va kiṭi va no<sup>9</sup> mahathravahaṁ mañati  
aṇatra yaṁ pi ya[śo va] kiṭi va ichhati tadatvaye<sup>10</sup> ayatiya cha jane  
[dhra]ma-suśrusha suśrushatu<sup>11</sup> me ti
- 10 dhrama-[vutaṁ cha]<sup>12</sup> anuvidhiyatu ti (B) etakaye Devanapriye Priya[dra]śi  
raja yaśo va kiṭi va i[chha]ti (C) . . . . [k]ichhi<sup>13</sup> parak[r]ama[ti] Devanapriye  
Priyadraśi raja taṁ savraṁ parat[r]ikay[e va k]i[ti]
- 11 sa[kale apa]-pa[r]isav[e] siyati ti (D) eshe chu<sup>14</sup> pa[ri]save e apu[ṇe]<sup>15</sup> (E) dukare<sup>16</sup>  
chu kho eshe khudakena<sup>17</sup> [va va]gr[e]na [u]saṭena va ana[tra]<sup>18</sup> a[gre]na  
para[krame]na sav[raṁ] pariti[ji]tu (F) atra<sup>19</sup> tu [kho] usaṭeneva du[ka]re<sup>20</sup>

## ELEVENTH ROCK-EDICT: MANSEHRA

- 12 (A) देवनप्रिये प्रियद्रशि रज एवं अह (B) नस्ति एदिशे दने अदिशे भ्रमदने  
भ्रमसंखवे भ्रमसंविभग भ्रमसंबंधे (C) तच एषे दसभटकसि सम्यपटिपति  
मतपितुषु सुश्रुष

<sup>1</sup> i[ha]ch[a]loki[cha] vase Bühler.<sup>2</sup> na Bühler.<sup>3</sup> an[am]taṁ puṇaṁ Bühler.<sup>4</sup> [a] . ra Bühler.<sup>5</sup> tato looks almost like tati.<sup>6</sup> ubhayasa [va la]dhe Bühler.<sup>7</sup> ana[m]ta[m] Bühler.<sup>8</sup> Read dhrama-magalena. The same mistake is found in the Shāhbāzgarhī version.<sup>9</sup> n[a] Bühler.<sup>10</sup> tadattaye Bühler; but see above, p. 62, n. 2.<sup>11</sup> The syllable śru is engraved in a deep round hole which must have existed already at the time of the inscription.<sup>12</sup> Bühler omitted cha.<sup>13</sup> [e tu] kichi Bühler.<sup>14</sup> tu Bühler.<sup>15</sup> [apu]ṇa[m] Bühler.<sup>16</sup> dukaraṁ Bühler.<sup>17</sup> khudrakena Bühler.<sup>18</sup> a[ṇa]tra Bühler.<sup>19</sup> e . . Bühler.<sup>20</sup> usaṭena va duka[ra] Bühler.



- 13 मित्रसंस्तुतजितिकन अमणवमणन दने प्रणन अनरभे (D) एषे वतविये पितुन  
पि पुचेन पि भतुन पि स्पमिकेन पि मित्रसंस्तुतेन अव पटिवेशियेन
- 14 इयं सधु इयं कटविये (E) से तथ करतं हिदलोके च कं अरधे होति परच च  
अनंतं पुणं प्रसवति तेन धमदनेन
- 12 (A) Devanapri[y]e Priyadraśi raja evaṃ aha (B) nasti ediśe dane [a]diśe  
dhrama-dane dhrama-saṃtha[v]e dhrama-saṃvibhaga<sup>1</sup> dhrama-sa[m]ba[m]dh[e]  
(C) tatra eshe dasa-bhaṭa[ka]si samya-paṭipati<sup>2</sup> mata-[pitu]shu su[śru]sha  
13 mitra-saṃ[stuta]-ñatikana śramaṇa-bramaṇana dan[e] praṇana [ana]rabhe<sup>3</sup> (D)  
[e]she vataviye pituna pi putrena pi bhratuna<sup>4</sup> pi spamike[na] pi mitra-  
saṃ[stu]t[e]na ava paṭiveśiyena  
14 iyaṃ sa[dhu] iyaṃ kaṭaviye<sup>5</sup> (E) se tatha karata[m] hi[dalo]ke<sup>6</sup> [cha] kaṃ<sup>7</sup> aradhe  
ho[ti]<sup>8</sup> pa[ra]tra cha ana[m]taṃ puṇaṃ p[r]asavati te[na dhra]ma-danena

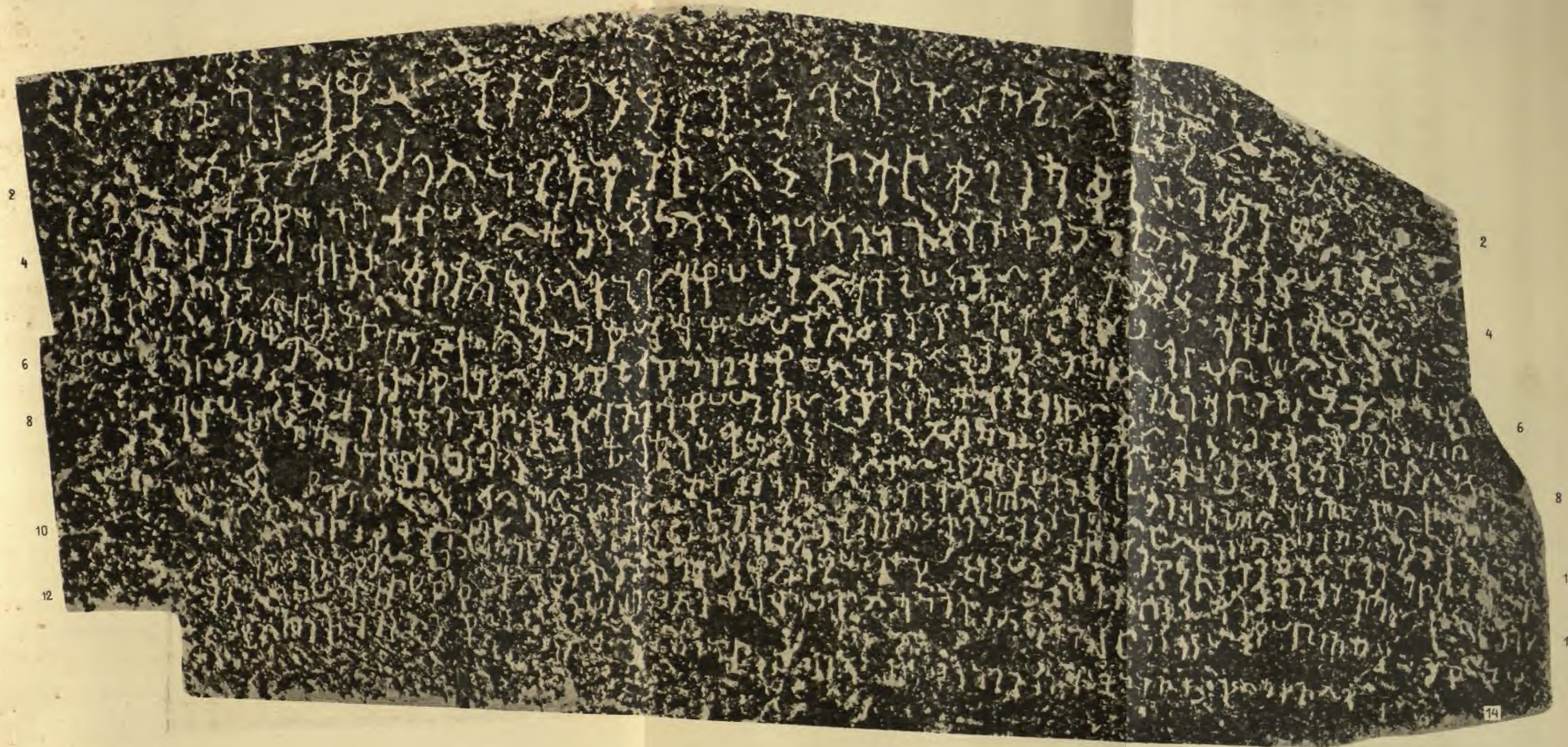
## TWELFTH ROCK-EDICT: MANSEHRA

C.—South Face of Second Rock.

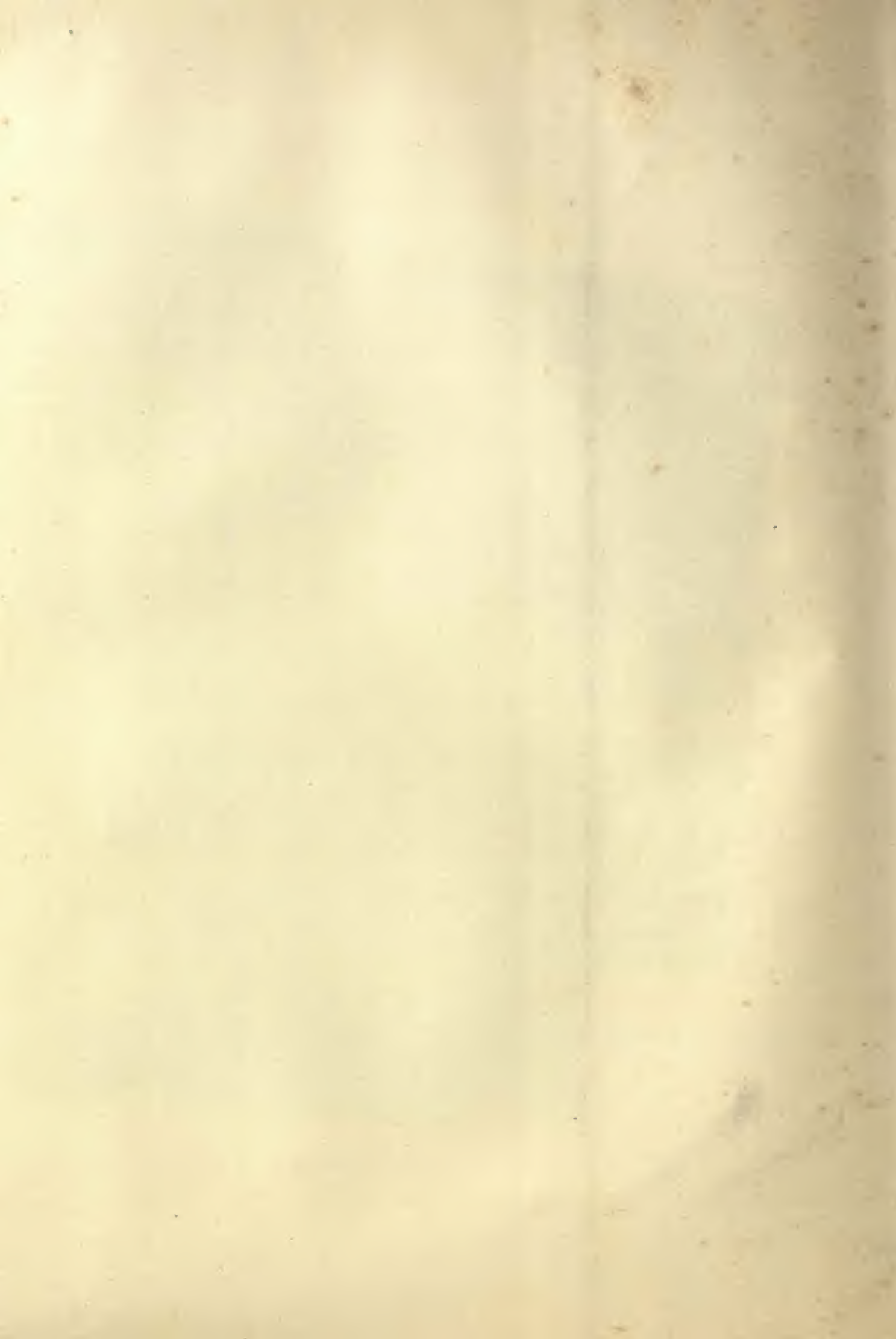
- 1 (A) देवनप्रिये प्रियद्रशि रज सव्रपषडनि प्रवजितनि गेहथनि च पुजेति दनेन  
विविधये च पुजये (B) नो चु तथ दन व पुज व
- 2 देवनप्रिये मज्जति अथ किति सलवढि सिय सव्रपषडन ति (C) सलवुढि तु  
बहुविध (D) तस चु इयं मुले अं वचगुति
- 3 किति अतप्रषडपुज व परपषडगरह व नो सिय अपकरणसि लहुक व सिय तसि  
तसि पकरणसि (E) पुजेतविय व चु परप्रषड तेन तेन
- 4 अकरेन (F) एवं करतं अत्वपषड वढं वढयति परपषडस पि च उपकरोति (G)  
तदंजथ करतं अतप्रषड च छणति परपषडस पि च
- 5 अपकरोति (H) ये हि केछि अत्वपषड पुजेति परपषड व गरहति सव्रे अत्व-  
पषडभतिय व किति अत्वपषड दिपयम ति . . . पुन तथ करतं
- 6 वढतरं उपहंति अत्वपषड (I) से समवये वो सधु किति अणमणस धमं श्रुण्ये  
च सुश्रुण्ये च ति (J) एवं हि देवनप्रियस इछ किति सव्रपषड बहुश्रुत च
- 7 कयणगम च हुवेयु ति (K) ए च तच तच प्रसन तेहि वतविये (L) देवनप्रिये नो  
तथ दनं व पुजं व मणति अथ किति सलवढि सिय सव्रपषडन
- 8 (M) बहुक च एतये अथूये वपुट धममहमच इस्त्रिजक्षमहमच वचभुमिक अजे च  
निकये (N) इयं च एतिस फले
- 9 यं अत्वपषडवढि च भोति धमस च दिपन

<sup>1</sup> *bhage* Bühler.<sup>2</sup> *-(bha)ta . . sa sa[mya]-sampaṭipati* Bühler.<sup>3</sup> *anarambhe* Bühler.<sup>4</sup> *bhatuna* Bühler.<sup>5</sup> *kaṭaviye* Bühler.<sup>6</sup> *karamtaṃ hida . . ka* Bühler.<sup>7</sup> *[ku?]* Bühler in foot-note 10.<sup>8</sup> *aradhe . . i* Bühler.

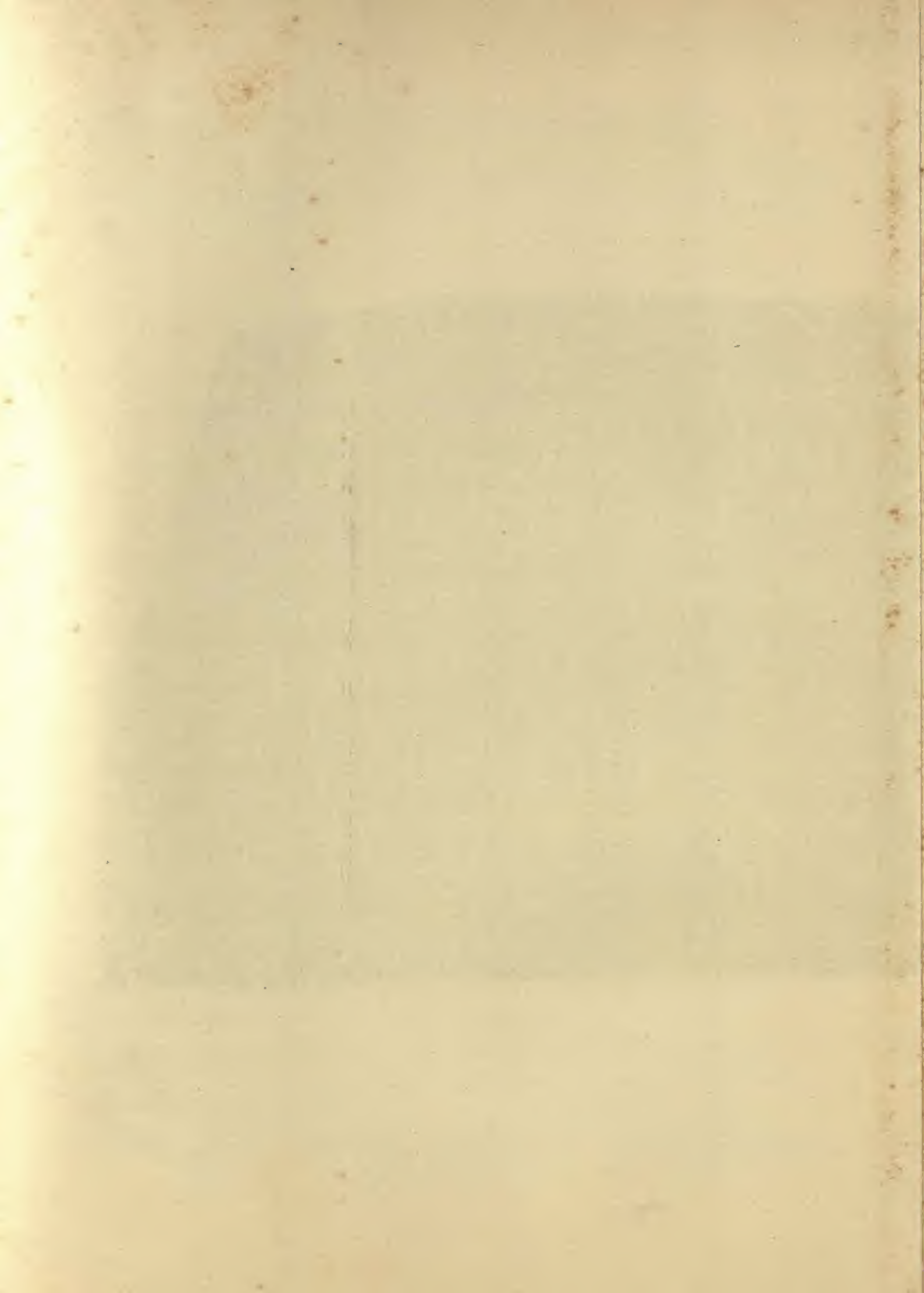




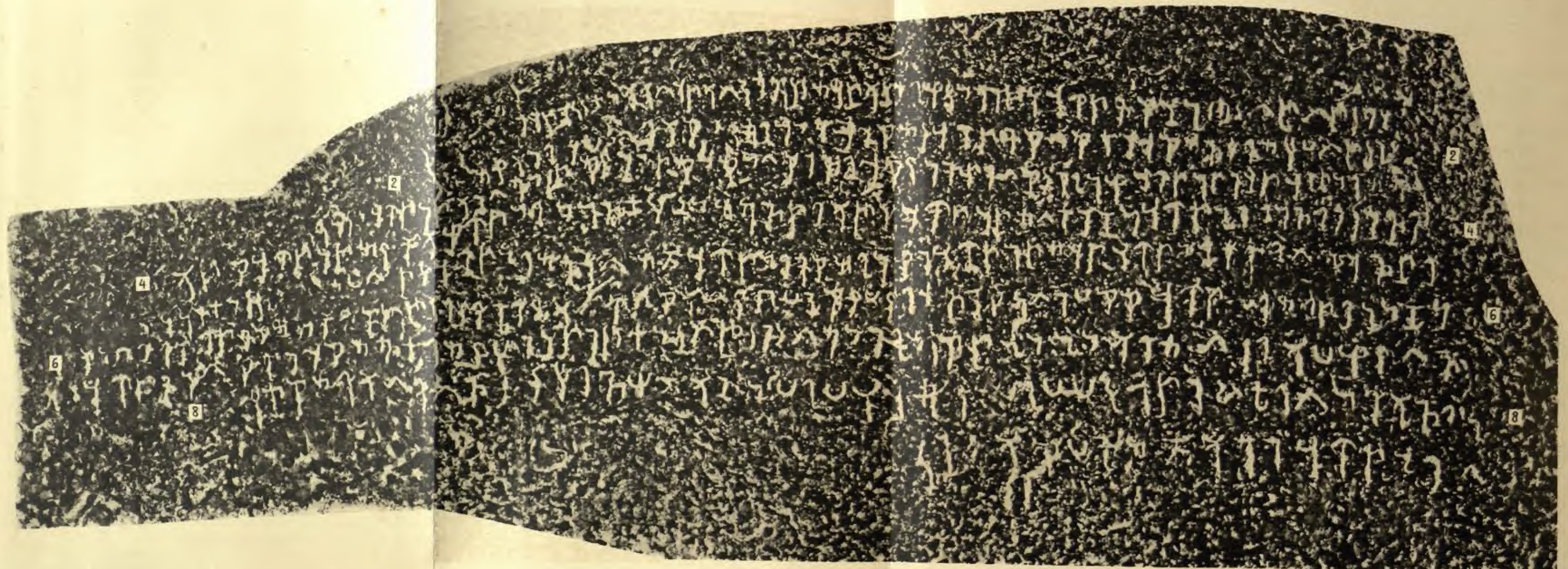














- 1 (A) Devanapriye Priyadraśi raja savra-pashaḍani [p]rava[ji]tani gehathani<sup>1</sup> cha  
pujeti danena vividhaye cha pujaye<sup>2</sup> (B) no chu tatha dana va puja va  
2 [De]vana[m]priye mañati atha kiti sala-vaḍhi siya savra-pashaḍana ti (C) sala-  
vrudhi t[u] bahuvidha (D) tasa chu iyañ mule añ vacha-guti  
3 kiti ata-prashaḍa-puja va para-pashaḍa-garaha va no siya apakaraṇasi lahuka va  
siya tasi tasi pakaraṇasi (E) pujetaviya va chu para-p[r]ashaḍa tena tena  
4 akarena (F) evañ karatañ atva-pashaḍa<sup>3</sup> badhañ vaḍhayati para-pashaḍasa pi cha  
upakaroti (G) tad-aññatha<sup>4</sup> karatañ ata-pashaḍa<sup>5</sup> cha chhañati para-pashaḍasa  
pi cha  
5 apakaroti (H) ye hi kechhi<sup>6</sup> atva-pashaḍa pujeti para-pashaḍa va garahati savre  
atva-pashaḍa-bhatiya va kiti atva-pashaḍa dipayama ti . . . . puna tatha  
karatañ  
6 badhatarañ<sup>7</sup> upahañti<sup>8</sup> atva-pasha[da] (I) se samavaye vo<sup>9</sup> sadhu ki[ti] aṇamaṇasa  
dhramañ śruṇ[e]y[u] cha suśrushe[ya] cha ti (J) evañ hi Devanapriyasa<sup>10</sup>  
ichha kiti savra-pashaḍa bahu-śruta cha  
7 kayanaḡama cha [hu]veyu<sup>11</sup> ti (K) e cha tatra tatra prasana tehi vataviye (L)  
Devanapriye no tatha danañ va puja[m] va mañati atha kiti sala-vaḍhi siya  
savra-pashaḍa[na]  
8 (M) [ba]huka cha etaye athraye vapuṭa dhrama-mahamatra istriyaksha-mahamatra<sup>12</sup>  
vracha-bh[u]mika añe cha nikay[e]<sup>13</sup> (N) iyañ cha etisa phale  
9 yañ atva-pashaḍa-vaḍhi cha bh[o]t[i] dhramasa cha [di]pana

## THIRTEENTH ROCK-EDICT: MANSEHRA

## D.—Third Inscribed Rock.

- 1 (A) अठवषभिसितस देवनप्रियस प्रियद्रशिने रजिने कलिंग विजित (B) दियढमचे  
प्रणशतस . . . . .  
2 मटे (C) ततो पच अधुन लधेषु कलिगेषु तिन्ने भ्रमवये . . . . .  
भ्रमनुशस्ति च देवनप्रि . . . . (D) . . . . .  
3 मरणे व अपवहे व जनस से बढ वेदनियमते गुरुमते च देवनप्रियस (F) इयं पि  
चु ततो . . . . .  
4 येसु विहित एष अयभुटिसुश्रुष मतपितुषु सुश्रुष गुरुसुश्रुष मिचसंस्तु . . . . .

<sup>1</sup> -prashaḍani pravrajitani gahathani Bühler.<sup>2</sup> pujaya Bühler.<sup>3</sup> Here, and in five other places of the same edict, Bühler read *atma-* for *atva-*. The second syllable of this word is identical in shape with the *tva* of *tadatvaye* in edict X, l. 9. I therefore read *atva-*, following Konow (SPAW, 1916, 804, n. 7), who quotes in support Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 277.<sup>4</sup> *tadaññatha* Bühler. The wavy line at the bottom of *da* need not be an Anusvāra, but may be a portion of *da* itself; see above, p. 77, n. 13.<sup>5</sup> *atma-* Bühler.<sup>6</sup> *kechi* Bühler.<sup>7</sup> *badhamitarañ* Bühler.<sup>8</sup> *hañti* looks like *añti*; *ha[na]ti* Bühler.<sup>9</sup> *v[a]* Bühler.<sup>10</sup> *Devana[m]priyasa* Bühler.<sup>11</sup> *haveyu* Bühler.<sup>12</sup> Read *istriyahaksha-*.<sup>13</sup> *nikaya* Bühler.



- 5 वधे व अभिरतनं व विनिक्रमणि (H) येषं व पि सुविहितनं सिनेहे अविपहिने ए  
तनं मिचसं .....
- 6 (I) ..... एष सव्रमनुशनं गुरुमते च देवनंप्रियस (J) नस्ति च से  
जनपदे यच नस्ति इमे निकय अजच योनेषु व्रमणे च अमणे .....  
पि जनपदसि यच .....
- 7 न नम प्रसदे (K) से यवतके जने तद कलिगेषु हते च ..... अपवुडे च  
ततो शतभगे व सहस्रभगे व अज गुरुमते व देवनंप्रियस (L) .....  
पक ..... मितवि .....
- 8 (M) .. पि च अटवि देवनंप्रियस विजितसि होति त पि अनुनयति  
अनुनिभूपयति (N) अनुतपे पि च प्रभवे देवनंप्रियस वुचति तेष कि  
..... (O) .. छ ..... वनप्रिय .....
- 9 (P) ..... सुखमुते विजये देवनंप्रियस ये ध्रमविजये (Q) से च पुन लधे  
देवनंप्रियस हिद च सव्रेषु च अंतेषु अ षषु पि योजनशतेषु .....  
तियोगे नम योनरज .....
- 10 अंते ..... नम मक नम अलिकमुदरे नम निच चोडपंडिय अ तंवपणिय (R)  
एवमेव हिद रजविषवसि योनकंबोजेषु नभकनभपंतिषु भोजपित्तिनिकेषु  
अधप .....
- 11 (S) यच पि दुत देवनंप्रियस न यंति ते पि श्रुतु देवनंप्रियस ध्रमवुत विधनं  
ध्रमनुशस्ति ध्रमं अनुविधियंति अनुविधियिशंति च (T) ये से लधे एतकेन  
होति सव्रच विजये .....
- 12 (W) परचिकमेव महफल मणति देवनंप्रिये (X) एतये च अथूये इयं ध्रमदिपि  
लिखित किति पुच प्रपोच मे असु नवं वि ..... तवियं मणेषु  
सय .....
- 13 (Y) .. हिदलोके परलोकिके (Z) सव च क निरति होतु य ध्रमरति (AA) स  
हि इअलोकिक परलोकिक

- 1 (A) [aṭha]-vashabhisita[sa] De[va]na[priyasa] Priyadrasīne rajine [Ka]liga  
[v]ijita (B) [di]ya[dha]-mat[r]e prāṇa-śata-sa .....
- 2 [ma]ṭe (C) [tato] pacha<sup>1</sup> adhuna la[dhe]shu Kaligeshu ti[vr]e dhrama[va]ye  
..... [dhra]manu[śa]sti [cha De]vana[pri] .... (D) .....
- 3 [maraṇe va apavahe va janasa] se [baḍham] vedaniya-mate guru-mate [cha  
Devanapriyasa] (F) [i]yaṁ [pi] chu tato .....
- 4 [ye]su [vihi]ta esha [a]grabhu[ti]-suśrūsha mata-pi[tu]sh[u] su[śru]sha guru-suśrūsha  
mit[r]a-sa[m]stu .....

<sup>1</sup> *pachha* Bühler. In this edict I am noting only verbal differences from Bühler's text, but not the numerous passages which he omitted because he was unable to make them out from the materials at his disposal.



- 5 [va]dh[e] va abh[iratanam] va vini[k]ramani<sup>1</sup> (H) yesha[m] va pi s[u]vih[itanam]<sup>2</sup>  
si[ne]he avipahin[e<sup>3</sup> e] ta[nam] mitra-[sam] . . . . .
- 6 (I) . . . . . [esha] savra-manuśanam<sup>4</sup> guru-mate cha Devanampriyasa (J)  
nasti cha se janapade yatra nasti ime ni[ka]ya a[nā]tra Yoneshu [bramaṇe<sup>5</sup>  
cha] śra[maṇe] . . . . . pi [janapada]si ya[t]ra . . . . .
- 7 na<sup>6</sup> nama prasade (K) se yavatake jane tada Kaligesh[u] hate<sup>7</sup> cha . . . . .  
apavudhe cha ta[to]<sup>8</sup> śata-bhāge va sahasra-bhāge va<sup>9</sup> aja guru-ma[te va]  
Devanapriya[sa] (L) . . . . . pa[ka] . . . . . [mi]tavi . . . . .
- 8 (M) . . [pi cha] aṭavi Devanapriyasa<sup>10</sup> vijitasi hoti [ta] pi a[nuna]ya[ti  
a]nu[nijha]paya[ti]<sup>11</sup> (N) [anu]tape pi cha prabhāve Devanapriyasa<sup>12</sup> vuchati  
[te]sha<sup>13</sup> [ki] . . . . . (O) . . chha . . . . . vanapri[ye] . . . . .
- 9 (P) . . . . . [mukha]-mute v[i]jaye D[e]vanapriyasa<sup>14</sup> ye dhrama-vijaye (Q) se cha  
[puna] la[dh]e [Deva]napri[ya]sa<sup>15</sup> hida cha sa[vr]eshu cha aṁteshu a shashu  
pi y[o]ja[na-śa]t[e]shu . . . . . tiyo[ge]<sup>16</sup> nama Yo[na]-[raja] . . . . .
- 10 Aṁt[e] . . . . [nama Ma]ka na[ma] Alikasudare nama nicha<sup>17</sup> Choda-Paṁdiya  
a Taṁbapa[m]niya<sup>18</sup> (R) evameva [hida] raja-vishava[si]<sup>19</sup> Y[o]na-  
Kaṁ[bojeshu] Nabhaka-[Na]bhapa[m]tishu<sup>20</sup> [Bh]o[ja-Pi]tini[ke]shu  
Adha-[Pa]<sup>21</sup> . . . . .
- 11 (S) [yatra pi du]ta [De]vanapriyasa na<sup>22</sup> yaṁti te pi śrutu Devanapriyasa<sup>23</sup>  
dhrama-vuta<sup>24</sup> vidhana[m] dhramanuśasti dhra[m]ma[m] anuvidhiyaṁti  
[a]nuvidhiy[iśaṁti<sup>25</sup> cha] (T) [ye se] ladhe e[ta]ke[na ho]ti savra[tra]<sup>26</sup>  
vi[jaye] . . . . .
- 12 (W) paratrikameva maha-phala [ma]ṇati De[va]napri[ye] (X) e[ta]ye cha<sup>27</sup>  
[a]thray[e] iyaṁ dhramma-dipi<sup>28</sup> li[khi]ta kiti putra prap[o]tra me a[su]  
nava[m]<sup>29</sup> v[i] . . . . . [tavi]yaṁ maṇ[i]shu saya] . . . . .
- 13 (Y) . . hidaloke paralokike (Z) sava<sup>30</sup> cha [ka]<sup>31</sup> nirati hotu ya dhrama-rati<sup>32</sup> (AA)  
sa hi [i]aloki[ka]<sup>33</sup> paraloki[ka]

## FOURTEENTH ROCK-EDICT: MANSEHRA

- 13 (A) इयं भ्रमदिपि देवनप्रियेन प्रिय . . . . . जिन लिखपित . . . . .
- 14 लिखिते लिखपेशमि चेव नि . . (D) अस्ति च अच पुन पुन लपिते तस तस  
अचूस् मधुरियये येन जने तथ पटिपजेयति (E) से सिय अच किछि . . . . .  
ति लिखित . . . . व संखय . . . . .

<sup>1</sup> °maṇe Bühler.<sup>4</sup> savraṁ manu° Bühler.<sup>7</sup> hate looks like aṁte.<sup>10</sup> Devanampri° Bühler.<sup>13</sup> [teshaṁ] Bühler.<sup>16</sup> . . . . yok . Bühler.<sup>19</sup> Visha-Vaj[ri]- Bühler.<sup>22</sup> no Bühler.<sup>26</sup> Bühler omitted this word.<sup>29</sup> nava Bühler.<sup>33</sup> [s]rama- Bühler.<sup>2</sup> samvi° Bühler.<sup>5</sup> yenesha [bramaṇa] Bühler.<sup>8</sup> [tata] Bühler.<sup>11</sup> °paye ti Bühler.<sup>14</sup> vanampri[ye] Bühler.<sup>17</sup> [ni]chaṁ cha Bühler.<sup>20</sup> [Nabha]ke [Na]bha° Bühler.<sup>23</sup> Devanampri° Bühler.<sup>24</sup> -vutaṁ Bühler.<sup>30</sup> savra Bühler.<sup>33</sup> [hida]lo° Bühler.<sup>3</sup> aviprahi[ne] Bühler.<sup>6</sup> no Bühler.<sup>9</sup> Bühler omitted va.<sup>12</sup> Deva[nam]pri° Bühler.<sup>15</sup> [De]vanampri° Bühler.<sup>18</sup> °paṁniya Bühler.<sup>21</sup> Aṁdha- Bühler.<sup>25</sup> °[saṁti] Bühler.<sup>28</sup> dhrama- Bühler.<sup>31</sup> Bühler omitted ka.



- 13 (A) [i]yaṁ dhrama-dipi De[va]napriyena Pri[ya] <sup>1</sup> . . . . . [jina likhapita]  
 . . . . .  
 14 [likhite likha]pe[śa]mi che[va] ni . . <sup>2</sup> (D) [asti chu a]tra puna puna la[pite] tasa  
 ta[sa] a[thra]sa [madhu]riyaye [ye]na jane ta[tha] paṭipaje[ya]ti (E) se [si]ya  
 atra ki[chhi] . . . . . [t]i likhi[t .] . . . . va [saṁkha]ya . . . . .

## V. THE DHAULI ROCK

### FIRST ROCK-EDICT: DHAULI

- 1 (A) . . . . . सि पवतसि देवानंपिय . . . . . ना लाजिना  
 लिखा . . . . . ीवं आलभितु पजोह . . . . .  
 2 (C) नो पि च समाजे . . . . . समाज . . . . . द . . . . . (E) . . . .  
 पि चु . . . . . तिया समाजा साधुमता देव . . . . .  
 3 पियदसिने लाजिने (F) . . . . . मह . . . . . पिय . . . . . नि  
 पानसत . . . . . आलभियिसु सूपठाये  
 4 (G) से अज अदा इयं धंमलिपी लिता ति . . . . . आलभिय . . . . .  
 तिनि पानानि पछा नो आलंभियसंति
- 1 (A) . . . . . [si<sup>3</sup> pava]tasi [D]e[v]ā[na]m̐p[iy] . . . . . [nā lājina l]i[khā]  
 . . . . . [i]vaṁ ālabhitu pajo[h] . . . . .  
 2 (C) [no pi cha sam]ā[je] . . . . . [samā]ja . . [d] . . . . . (E) . . . . [pi  
 chu] . . . . [t]i[y]ā [sam]ā[jā] s[ā]dhu-matā Dev . . . . .  
 3 [Piyadasine lā]j[inē] (F) . . . . . [mah] . . . . . Piy[a] . . . . . [n]i  
 [p]āna-[sa]ta . . . . . [ā]labhiyisu sūpaṭhāy[e]  
 4 (G) se a[ja] adā [iyaṁ dha]m̐[ma]-lipi likhitā tim̐ . . . . . [āla]bh[iy] . . . . .  
 [t]im̐ni pānāni pachhā n[o] ā[am̐]bhiyisa[m̐]t[i]<sup>4</sup>

### SECOND ROCK-EDICT: DHAULI

- 1 (A) सवत विजितसि देवानंपियस पियदसिने ल . . . . . अथा  
 . . . . . तियोके नाम योनलाजा  
 2 ए वा पि तस अंतियोक्स सामंता लाजाने सवत देवानंपियेन पियदसिना  
 . . . . . सा च पसुचिकिसा च (B) . . . . . धानि

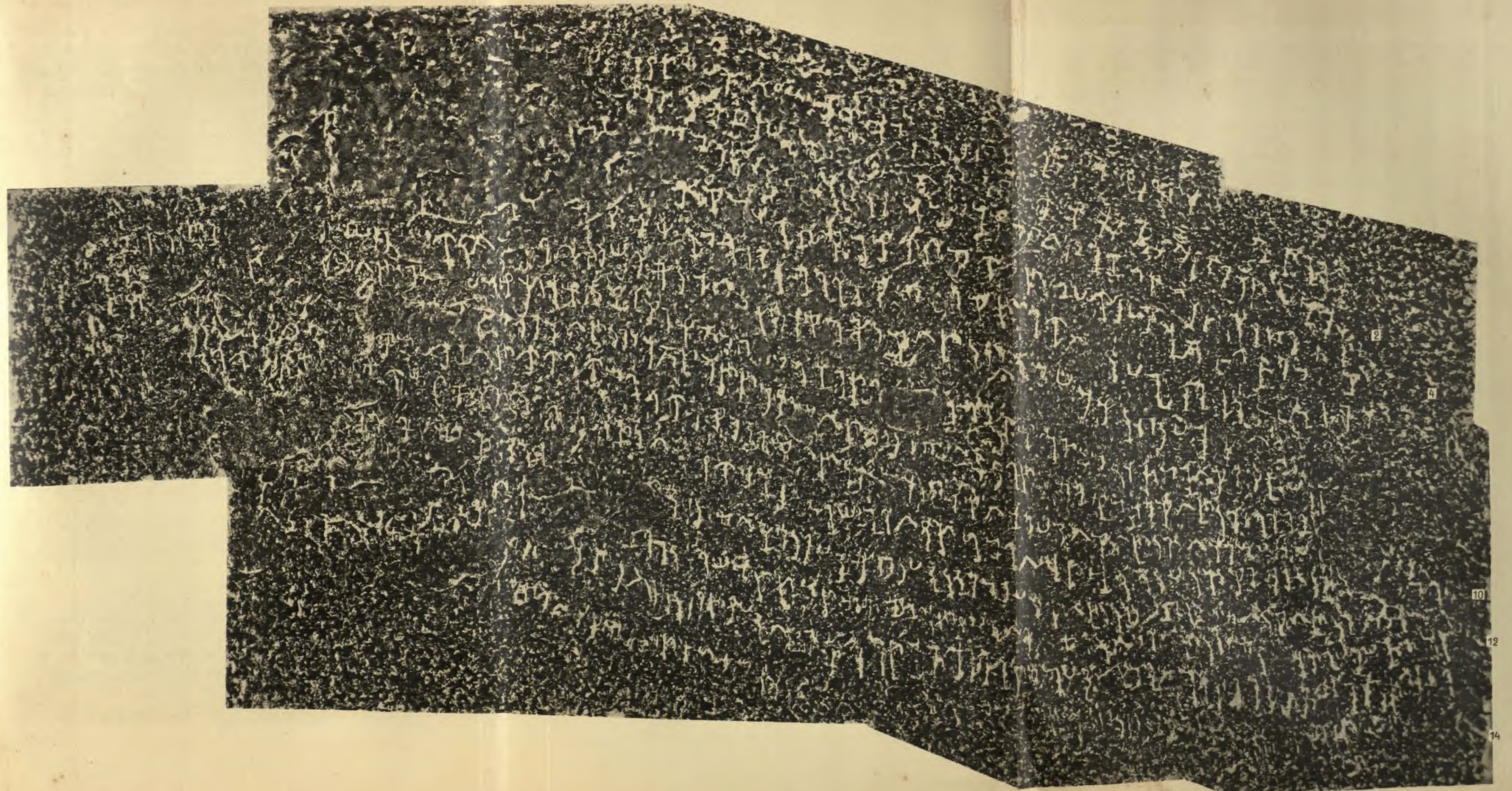
<sup>1</sup> Of this edict Bühler has read only the two words [*Devanam̐priyena Priyadraśina*]; see ZDMG, 44. 704.

<sup>2</sup> The actual reading was perhaps *nikam̐*, which would correspond to *nikyam̐* at Kālsī.

<sup>3</sup> The name of the hill on which the Dhauili record was engraved is lost. It cannot have been *Khepingala* as believed (and traced on his plate IX) by Cunningham, because this was the original name of the Jaugaḍa rock; see the Jaugaḍa edict I, A.

<sup>4</sup> *ālābhi*° Senart, *ālābhi*° Bühler.











- 3 आनि मुनिसोपगानि पसुओपगानि च अतत नथि सवत हालापिता च लोपापिता  
च (C) मूल ..... वत हालापिता च  
4 लोपापिता च (D) मगेसु उदुपानानि खानापितानि लुखानि च लोपापितानि  
पटिभोगाये ..... नं

- 1 (A) [sa]vata [v]i[ji]tasi [D]e[v]ānaṃpiyasa Piyadasi[ne l] ..... [athā]  
..... [t]iyoke nāma Yo[na]-lājā  
2 [e] vā [p]i [ta]sa Aṃtiyo[ka]sa sāmāntā lājāne savat[a D]evā[naṃp]i[ye]na  
P[i]yadasi[nā] ..... [s]ā cha p[asu-ch]i[k]is[ā] cha (B) .... dhāni  
3 ān[i m]u[nisopa]gāni pasu-opagān[i] cha atata na[thi savata hā]lāpit[ā] cha [lo]pāp[i]tā  
[cha] (C) mūl] ..... v[a]t[a] hālāpitā [cha]  
4 lo[p]āpitā cha (D) ma[g]e[su udu]pānāni khānāpitāni lukhāni cha lopā[p]itāni  
p[a]ṭibhogāye ..... [na]m

## THIRD ROCK-EDICT: DHAULI

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसी लाजा हेवं आहा (B) दुवादसवसाभिसितेन मे इयं  
आनापयि .. (C) .... त विजितसि मे युता लजुके .....  
2 पंचसु पंचसु वसेसु अनुसयानं निखमावू अथा अनाये पि कंमने हेवं इमाये  
धंमानुसयिये (D) साधु मातापितिसु सुसूसा म .....  
3 नातिसु च वंभनसमनेहि साधु दाने जीवेषु अनालंभे साधु अपचियता अपभंडता  
साधु (E) पलिसा पि च ..... नसि युतानि आनपयिसति हेतुते च  
वियंज .....

- 1 (A) Devānaṃpiye Piyadasi lājā hevaṃ āhā (B) duvādasa-vasābhisitena me  
iy[a]m ānāp[ay]i<sup>1</sup> .. (C) .... [ta v]i[ji]t[a]si m[e] yut[ā] la[j]u[k]e .....  
2 pañchasu pañchasu vasesu anusayānaṃ nikhamāvū athā aṇṇāye pi [ka]m[ma]ne  
hevaṃ imā[y]e [dham]mānus[ath]iy[e] (D) [s]ādh[u] māt[ā]-p[i]t[i]su su[s]ūs[ā  
m] .....  
3 nātisu cha vaṃbhana-samanehi sādhu dāne jīvesu anālambhe sādhu apa-viy[a]t[ā]<sup>2</sup>  
apa-bh[am]datā sādhu (E) p[a]lisā pi cha .... [nas]i y[u]t[ān]i ā[na]p[ay]is[a]ti  
[he]tut[e] ch[a] vi[yam]ja] .....  
<sup>1</sup> ānāpa . i Bühler.

## FOURTH ROCK-EDICT: DHAULI

- 1 (A) अतिकंतं अंतलं बहूनि वससतानि वढिते व पानालंभे विहिसा च भूतानं  
नातिसु असंपटिपति समनवाभनेसु असंपटिपति  
2 (B) से अज देवानंपियस पियदसिने लाजिने धंसचलनेन भेलिघोसं अहो  
धंसघोसं विमानदसनं हथीनि अगिकंधानि अनानि च दिवियानि

<sup>1</sup> ānāpa . i Bühler.<sup>2</sup> apaviyati Senart and Bühler.



- 3 लूपानि दसयितु मुनिसानं (C) आदिसे बहूहि वससतेहि नो हूतपुलुवे तादिसे  
अज वढिते देवानंपियस पियदसिने लाजिने धंमानुसयिया  
4 अनालंभे पानानं अविहिसा भूतानं नातिसु संपटिपति समनवाभनेसु संपटिपति  
मातिपितुसूसुसा वुढसूसुसा (D) एस अने च बहुविधे  
5 धंमचलने वढिते (E) वढयिसति चेव देवानंपिये पियदसी लाजा धंमचलनं इमं  
(F) पुता पि चु नति पनति . . च देवानंपियस पियदसिने लाजिने  
6 पवढयिसंति येव धंमचलनं इमं आकपं धंमसि सीलसि च चिठितु धंमं  
अनुसासिसंति (G) एस हि सेठे कंमे या धंमानुसासना (H) धंमचलने  
पि चु  
7 नो होति असीलस (I) से इमस अठस वढी अहीनि च साधू (J) एताये अठाये  
इयं लिखिते इमस अठस वढी युजंतू हीनि च मा अलोचयिसू  
8 (K) दुवादस वसानि अभिसितस देवानंपियस पियदसिने लाजिने यं इध लिखिते

- 1 (A) atikaṃtaṃ aṃtalaṃ bahūni vasa-satāni vaḍhite va pānā[la]mbhe vihisā cha  
bhūtānaṃ nātisu asaṃpaṭipati samana-bābha[ne]su asaṃpaṭipati  
2 (B) se aja Devānaṃpiyasa Piyadasine lājine dhamma-chalanena bheli-ghosaṃ  
a[h]o dhamma-[gho]saṃ vimāna-dasanaṃ hathīni [a]gi-kaṃdhāni aṃnāni cha  
[di]vi[y]āni  
3 lūpān[i] dasayitu munisānaṃ (C) ād[i]se b[a]hūhi vasa-sa[t]hehi no hūta-puluve tādisē  
aja va[ḍ]hite De[v]ānaṃpiyasa Piy[a]dasine lājin[e] dham[m]ānus[a]thi[y]ā  
4 an[āla]mbhe pānānaṃ avihisā bhūtānaṃ nātisu saṃpaṭipat[i] sama[na-b[ā]bhanesu  
saṃpaṭipati m[ā]t[i]-pitu-susūsā vu[ḍ]ha-susūsā (D) esa aṃne cha ba[h]uvidhe  
5 dh[a]mma-chalane vaḍhite (E) vaḍhayis[a]ti cheva Devānaṃpiye Piyada[s]i l[ā]jā  
dhamma-chalanaṃ imaṃ (F) putā pi chu<sup>2</sup> nati [panati] . . .<sup>3</sup> [cha] Devānaṃ-  
piyasa Piyadasine lājine  
6 pavaḍhayisaṃti yeva dhamma-chalanaṃ imaṃ ā-k[a]paṃ dhammasi [s]īlasi ch[a]  
ch[i]t[th]itu [dhammaṃ a]nus[ā]sisaṃ[t]i (G) esa h[i] se[ṭ]he kaṃme yā  
dhammānusāsanaṃ (H) dhamma-chalane pi chu  
7 no hoti asīlasi (I) se imasa aṭhasa v[a]dhī<sup>4</sup> ahīni ch[a] sād[hū]<sup>5</sup> (J) et[āy]e [aṭhāy]e  
iyaṃ likhite imasa aṭhasa vaḍhī yujantū hīni cha mā alochayisū<sup>6</sup>  
8 (K) duvādasa vasāni abhisitasa Devānaṃpi[ya]sa Piyadasine lājine yaṃ<sup>7</sup> [idha]  
likhite

## FIFTH ROCK-EDICT: DHAULI

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसी लाजा हेवं आहा (B) कयाने दुक्कले (C) . . . . .  
कयानस से दुक्कलं कलेति (D) से मे बहुके कयाने कटे (E) तं ये मे पुता व

<sup>1</sup> -baṃbhanesu Bühler.<sup>2</sup> The Kālsī version reads *panātikyā*.<sup>3</sup> *yisu* Senart and Bühler.<sup>4</sup> *cha* Senart and Bühler.<sup>5</sup> *vaḍhī* Bühler.<sup>6</sup> *sādhu* Senart and Bühler.<sup>7</sup> Read perhaps *iyaṃ*.



- 2 नती व . . . च तेन ये अपतिये मे आवकपं तथा अनुवतिसंति से सुकटं कछंति  
(F) ए हेत देसं पि हापयिसति से दुकटं कछति (G) पापे हि नाम
- 3 सुपदालये (H) से अतिकंतं अंतलं नो हूतपुलुवा धंममहामाता नाम (I) से  
तेदसवसाभिसितेन मे धंममहामाता नाम कटा (J) ते सवपासंडेसु
- 4 वियापटा धंमाधियानाये धंमवदिये हितसुखाये च धंमयुतस योनकंबोचगंधालेसु  
लठिकपितेनिकेसु ए वा पि अंने आपलंता (K) भटिमयेसु
- 5 बाभनिभियेसु अनाथेसु महालकेसु च हितसुखाये धंमयुताये अपलिबोधाये  
वियापटा से (L) बंधनवधस पटिविधानाये अपलिबोधाये मोखाये च
- 6 इयं अनुबंध पजा ति व कटाभीकाले ति व महालके ति व वियापटा से (M)  
हिद च बाहिलेसु च नगलेसु सवेसु सवेसु ओलोधनेसु मे ए वा पि भातीनं  
मे भगिनीनं व
- 7 अंनेसु वा नातिसु सवत वियापटा (N) ए इयं धंमनिसिते ति व धंमाधियाने ति  
व दानसयुते व सवपुठवियं धंमयुतसि वियापटा इमे धंममहामाता (O)  
इमाये अठाये
- 8 इयं धंमलिपी लिखिता चिलठितीका होतु तथा च मे पजा अनुवततु

- 1 (A) [Dev]ānaṃpiye Piyadasi lājā h[eva]m āhā (B) kayāne dukale (C) . . . . .  
k[a]y[ā]n[a]sa s[e] dukalam kal[e]ti (D) se me b[ah]uke kayāne kaṭe (E) tam ye  
me [p]ut[ā] va
- 2 n[a]t[ī]¹ va . . . . m cha t[e]na ye apatiye me āva-kapaṃ tathā anuvatisaṃti s[e]  
sukaṭaṃ kachh[am]ti (F) e heta d[esa]m pi hāpayisaṃti se dukaṭaṃ kachhati (G)  
pā[p]e hi [nāma]
- 3 supadālaye (H) s[e] at[ikaṃ]taṃ aṃtalaṃ no hūta-puluvā dhamma-mahāmātā nāma  
(I) se **tedasa-va[sā]bhisitena** me dhamma-mahāmātā nāma kaṭā (J) te  
sava-pāsaṃḍe[su]
- 4 v[i]y[ā]paṭā dhammādhithān[ā]ye dhamma-[va]dhiye hita-sukhāye [cha] dhamma-  
yuta[s]a **Yona-Kambocha-Gaṃdhālesu Laṭhika-[P]itenikesu** e vā pi aṃne  
āpalaṃtā² (K) bhaṭi[mayesu]
- 5 bābha[n]ibhi[yes]u anāthesu ma[hāla]kesu cha h[i]t[a]-sukhāye dhamma-yutāye  
a[p]alibodhāye viyā[p]aṭā se³ (L) baṃdhana-[ba]dhas[a] p[a]ṭi[vidhānā]ye  
apalib[o]dhāye mokhāye cha
- 6 iya[m] anubāṃdh[a] p[aj]ā⁴ [t]i [va ka]ṭābhikā[le] ti va mahālake ti va viyāpaṭā  
se (M) hida cha bāhilesu cha nāgalesu savesu s[a]vesu olodhanes[u me] e vā pi  
bhāt[i]naṃ⁵ me bhaginīnaṃ va

¹ nat[ī] Bühler.

² āpalaṃta Bühler.

³ Here, and at the end of section L, Franke (VOJ, 9. 349 f.) joins *viyāpaṭāse* into one word, and takes it as an equivalent of the Vedic nominative plural in *-āsaḥ*. In the pillar-edict VII, Y (twice) and CC, *viyāpaṭāse* actually occurs. But, as pointed out by Michelson (AJP, 32. 442 f.), the case may after all be different at Dhauri, because the other versions have *te* in the place of *se*.

⁴ pa[ja] Bühler.

⁵ bhātinaṃ Bühler.



- 7 amnesu vā [nāt]i[su sava]t[a] v[i]yāpaṭā (N) e iyaṁ dhamm[a-n]isite ti va  
dhammādhithāne ti va dāna-sayute va sava-puṭhaviyaṁ dha[m]ma-yutasi  
viyāpaṭā ime dhamma-mahām[ā]tā (O) [i]m[ā]ye aṭhāye  
8 iyaṁ dhamma-lip[i] li[kh]i[tā] chila-ṭhitik[ā] ho]tu t[athā] cha me pa[jā anu]vatatu

## SIXTH ROCK-EDICT: DHAULI

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसी लाजा हेवं आहा (B) अतिकंतं अंतलं नो हूतपुलुवे  
सवं कालं अठकंमे व पटिवेदना व (C) से ममया कटे (D) सवं कालं  
..... मानस मे  
2 अंते ओलोधनसि गभागालसि वचसि विनीतसि उयानसि च सवत पटिवेदका  
जनस अठं पटिवेदयंतु मे ति (E) सवत च जनस अठं कलामि हकं  
3 (F) अं पि च किंछि मुखते आनपयामि दापकं वा सावकं वा ए वा महामातेहि  
अतियायिके आलोपिते होति तसि अठसि विवादे व निभूती वा संतं  
पलिसाया  
4 आनंतलियं पटिवेदेतविये मे ति सवत सवं कालं (G) हेवं मे अनुसथे (H) नथि  
हि मे तोसे उठानसि अठसंतीलनाय च (I) कटवियमते हि मे सबलोकहिते  
5 (J) तस च पन इयं मूले उठाने च अठसंतीलना च (K) नथि हि कंमत ..  
सवलोकहितेन (L) अं च किंछि पलकमामि हकं किंति भूतानं आननियं  
येहं ति  
6 हिद च कानि सुखयामि पलत च स्वगं आलाधयंतू ति (M) एताये अटाये  
इयं धंमलिपी लिखिता चिलटितीका होतु तथा च पुता पपोता मे  
पलकमंतू  
7 सबलोकहिताये (N) दुकले चु इयं अनंत अगेन पलकमेन

- 1 (A) Dev[ānaṁp]iye Pi[yada]sī lājā [he]vaṁ [ā]hā (B) atikaṁ[taṁ a]m[ta]lāṁ no  
[h]ū[ta]-puluve s[a]vaṁ kālāṁ aṭha-ka[m]me va [pa]ṭiveda[n]ā va (C) se mamayā  
kaṭe (D) sa[va]m [kālaṁ] . . . [māna]sa<sup>1</sup> me  
2 ante olodh[a]nasi ga[bhā]g[ā]si v[achas]i [v]inītasi [u]y[ā]n[asi] cha sa]vata  
paṭivedakā janasa aṭhaṁ [pa]ṭived[a]yaṁtu m[e] ti (E) sava[ta] ch[a] j[a]nasa  
aṭhaṁ kalāmi h[aka]m  
3 (F) aṁ pi cha ki[m]chhi mukh[a]te ānapay[ā]mi dāpakaṁ v[ā] sāv[a]kaṁ vā e vā  
mahām[āte]h[i] atiyāyike ālopite hoti tasi aṭhasi v[i]vāde va [n]ijhatī vā saṁtaṁ  
palisāyā<sup>2</sup>  
4 āna[m]taliyaṁ paṭi[ve]detav[i]y[e] me ti savata savaṁ kālāṁ (G) heva[m] me  
anusathe (H) nath[i] hi m[e] [tos]e u[ṭhāna]si aṭha-saṁtilanāya cha (I) kaṭaviya-  
m[at]e hi me sava-loka-hite

<sup>1</sup> [mī]nasa Bühler.<sup>2</sup> palisāya Bühler.



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- 5 (J) tasa cha pana iyaṃ mūle [u]ṭhān[e cha a]ṭha-saṃtīl[a]n[ā] cha (K) nathi hi kaṃmata . . [sa]va-lo[ka]-hitena (L) [aṃ] ch[a kichhi] p[a]lakamāmi hakaṃ kiṃti bhūtānaṃ ā[na]niyaṃ yeha[m] ti
- 6 [h]i[da] cha [k]ān[i] sukhayāmi pal[a]ta cha svag[aṃ ā]lādhayaṃtū ti (M) et[ā]y[e aṭhāye i]yaṃ dhamma-lipī likhitā ch[i]la-ṭh[i]tikā hotu ta[th]ā cha putā papotā me palakama[m]t[ū]¹
- 7 [sava-loka]-hitāye (N) dukale chu iyaṃ aṃnat[a] a[g]en[a pa]lakamena

## SEVENTH ROCK-EDICT: DHAULI

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसी लाजा सवत इच्छति सवपासंडा वसेवू ति (B) सवे हि ते सयमं भावसुधी च इच्छति (C) मुनिसा च
- 2 उचावुचछंदा उचावुचलागा (D) ते सवं वा एकदेसं व कछंति (E) विपुले पि चा दाने अस नथि सयमे भावसुधी च नीचे बाढं
- 1 (A) [D]evānaṃ[p]iye Piy[a]dasī lājā savata ichhat[i sava-p]āsaṃ[dā va]sevū ti (B) save h[i] t[e sa]yamaṃ [bh]āv[a]-sudhī cha ichhaṃti (C) mun[i]sā ch[a]
- 2 [u]ch[ā]v[u]cha-[chha]m[d]ā uchāvucha-lāgā (D) te savaṃ vā ek[a]-de[sam va kachham]ti (E) vipul[e] pi chā² dāne asa n[athi sa]yame [bh]āva-sudhī cha nīche bāḍham

## EIGHTH ROCK-EDICT: DHAULI

- 1 (A) अतिकंतं अंतलं लाजाने विहालयातं नाम निखमिसु (B) . . त मिगविया अन्नानि च एदिसानि अभिलामानि हुवंति नं (C) से देवानंपिये
- 2 पियदसी लाजा दसवसाभिसिते निखमि संबोधि (D) तेनता धंमयाता (E) ततेस होति समनबाभनानं दसने च दाने च वुढानं दसने च
- 3 हिलंनपटिविधाने च जानपदस जनस दसने च धंमानुसथी च . . . . . पुछा च तदोपया (F) एसा भुये अभिलामे होति देवानंपियस पियदसिने लाजिने भागे अंने

- 1 (A) [atika]m[ta]m aṃt[ala]m lāj[ā]n[e] v[i]h[ā]la-yātaṃ nāma [n]i[kha]m[i]s[u] (B) . . [ta miga]viy[ā] a[m]nāni ch[a] edisāni a[bh]i[l]āmāni huvaṃti naṃ (C) se Devānaṃpiye
- 2 P[i]y[a]dasī lājā d[a]sa-[vas]ābhisi[t]e [n]ikhami Saṃbodh[i]³ (D) [t]e[na]tā dha[m]ma-yātā (E) [tat]esa [ho]ti samana-bābhanānaṃ d[a]s[a]n[e] ch[a] d[āne] cha v[u]dhānaṃ dasane cha

¹ °mātu Senart, °mamtu Bühler.

² cha Bühler; the reading chu is also possible, but less probable, because the Jaugada version has chā.

³ sambodhī Bühler.



- 3 h[i]lāma-p[a]tividhā[ne<sup>1</sup> cha jāna]padasa janasa [dasa]ne cha dhammānu[sath]i  
[cha] . . . . . [p]u[chh]ā cha [ta]d[o]payā (F) e[sā bhuy]e<sup>2</sup> abhilāme hoti  
Devānaṃpiyasa Piyada[s]ine lājine bhāge [am]ne

## NINTH ROCK-EDICT: DHAULI

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसी लाजा हेवं आहा (B) अथि जने उचावुचं मंगलं  
कलेति आबाध . . . . . वीवाह . . . . . जुपदाये पवाससि  
2 एताये अंनाये च हेदिसाये जने बहुकं मंगलं क . . . . . (C) . . . . . चु इथी बहुकं  
च बहुविधं च खुदं च निलठियं च मंगलं कलेति  
3 (D) से कटविये चेव खो मंगले (E) अपफले चु खो एस हेदिसे मंग . . . . . (F) . . . . . यं  
चु खो महाफले ए धंममंगले (G) ततेस दासभटकसि संम्यापटिपति  
4 गुलूनं अप . . . . . मे समनवाभनानं दाने एस अंने च . . . . .  
धंममंगले नाम (H) से वतविये पितिना पि पुतेन पि भातिना पि  
5 सुवामिकेन पि . . . . . ले आव तस अठस निफतिया (I) अथि च हेवं  
वुते दाने साधू ति (J) से नथि . . . . . अनुगहे वा  
6 आदिसे धंमदाने धंमानुगहे . . . . . (K) . . . . . मि . . . . . तिकेन सहायेन  
पि वियोवदित . . . . . ि तसि पकलनसि इयं . . . . .  
7 . . . . . लाधयितवे (L) . . . . . टव . . . . . स्वगस  
आलधी

- 1 (A) Devānaṃpiye Piyadasī lājā hevaṃ āhā (B) [athi ja]ne uchāvuchaṃ maṅgalaṃ  
kal[e]ti [āb]ādha<sup>3</sup> . . . . . [v]i[vāha] . . . . . [ju]padāye<sup>4</sup> pavās[a]si  
2 etāye aṃnāye ch[a] hedisāye j[a]n[e] bahukaṃ maṅgalaṃ k[a] . . . . . (C) . . . . .  
[chu]<sup>5</sup> ithī b[ahuka]ṃ cha [ba]hu[v]idh[am] ch[a kh]ud[am]<sup>6</sup> cha nilaṭṭhiyaṃ cha  
maṅgalaṃ kaleti  
3 (D) se kaṭ[a]viye che[va kh]o m[a]ṅgale (E) [a]pa-phale chu kho esa h[e]dise  
maṃ[ga] . . . . . (F) . . . . . [ya]ṃ [ch]u<sup>7</sup> kho mah[ā]-ph[a]le e [dha]mma-maṅgale (G)  
[ta]te[sa d]ā[sa-bhaṭakas]i saṃmyā-paṭipat[i]  
4 [gulū]naṃ a[pa] . . . . . [me] samana-bābhan[ā]naṃ dāne esa aṃne ch[a]  
 . . . . . [dhamma]-maṅga[le nāma] (H) [se]<sup>8</sup> vata[viye p]iṭ[inā pi pute]na  
pi bhātinā pi  
5 suvāmike[na p]i . . . . . [l]e [ā]va tasa aṭhas[a] niphatiy[ā] (I) [a]thi [cha]<sup>9</sup>  
heva]ṃ v[u]te dāne s[ā]dh[ū] ti (J) [s]e [na]thi . . . . . [anu]ga[h]e v[ā]  
6 [ād]ji[se dha]mma-dāne dham[mānugahe]<sup>10</sup> . . . . . (K) . . . . . [m]i . . . . . [t]i[k]ena  
sahāye[na p]i viyovadita<sup>11</sup> . . . . . i [tasi] pak[alana]si [iya]ṃ . . . . .  
7 . . . . . [l]ādhayitave (L) . . . . . ṭa[v] . . . . . [svagasa] āl[adh]i

<sup>1</sup> hīlāma- Senart and Bühler; -paṭi<sup>o</sup> looks like -peṭi<sup>o</sup>, and may be meant for -praṭi<sup>o</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> esa bhūye Bühler. For the nom. sing. masc. eṣā see above, p. 15, n. 7.

<sup>3</sup> ābādhe Senart and Bühler.

<sup>4</sup> [j]opadāye Bühler.

<sup>5</sup> [eta] tu Bühler.

<sup>6</sup> khuda[kam] Bühler.

<sup>7</sup> [cha] Bühler.

<sup>8</sup> tā Senart, [ta] Bühler.

<sup>9</sup> pa Senart, p[i] Bühler.

<sup>10</sup> dhamman<sup>o</sup> Senart and Bühler.

<sup>11</sup> Restore viyovaditaviye.



## TENTH ROCK-EDICT: DHAULI

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसी लाजा यसो वा किटी वा न ..... हं मंनते  
 ..... ि यसो वा किटी वा इच्छति तदत्वाये आ ..... जने  
 2 ..... सूसं सुसूतु मे धंम ..... मे (B) एतकाये यसो वा किटी  
 वा इ ..... ि पलकमति देवानंपिये पालतिकाये ..  
 3 किंति सकले अपपलिसवे हुवेया ति (D) पलिस ..... (E) दुकले  
 ..... त अगेन ..... न सवं च पलितिजितु  
 4 खुदकेन वा उसटेन वा (F) उसटेन चु दुकलतले

- 1 (A) [Devānaṃ]piye Piyad[a]s[ī] lājā yaso v[ā] [k]iṭī vā n ..... [ha]m  
 maṃn[ate] ..... i [yaso] vā k[iṭ]i [v]ā ichhati tadatvāye [ā] .....  
 [ja]ne  
 2 ..... [sūsa]m [susū]s[at]u [m]e dhamma ..... [me] (B) etakāye [yaso vā  
 kiṭī v]ā i ..... i [pa]lakama[t]i Devānaṃpiye pāl[atik]ā[y]e ..  
 3 kiṃti saka[le] apa-pal[isave] [hu]v[eyā] t[i] (D) pa[l]isa ..... (E) [du]ka[le]  
 ..... t[a] agena] ..... [na sa]vaṃ cha paliti[j]i[tu]  
 4 khudakena v[ā] usaṭena vā (F) u[saṭena] chu [dukalatale]

## FOURTEENTH ROCK-EDICT: DHAULI

- 1 (A) इयं धंमलिपी देवानंपियेन पियदसिना लाजिना लिखा .....  
 अथि मन्हिमेन ..... हि सवे सवत घटिते  
 2 (C) महंते हि विजये बहुके च लिखिते लिखियिस ..... (D) अथि  
 ..... वुते तस ..... याये  
 3 किंति च जने तथा पटिपजेया ति (E) ए पि चु हेत असमति लिखिते स ..... सं  
 .. लोचयितु ..... कला ..... ति

- 1 (A) iyaṃ dhamma-lipī De[v]ānaṃpiyena Piyada[sin]ā lāj[inā] likhā .....  
 athi ma[jhimena] ..... [h]i save sav[a]ta ghaṭite  
 2 (C) mahānte hi vijaye bahu[k]e cha likhite likhiyis<sup>1</sup> ..... (D) [a]thi  
 ..... [vu]te ta[sa] ..... [y]āy[e]  
 3 [k]iṃti cha j[a]ne tathā paṭipajeyā ti<sup>2</sup> (E) e pi chu heta asamati likhit[e s]<sup>3</sup> .....  
 saṃ .. [lochay]itu ..... k[a]l[ā] ..... [t]i

AT THE END OF THE SIXTH DHAULI ROCK-EDICT

सेतो

seto

<sup>1</sup> Restore *likhiyisāmi*.

<sup>2</sup> Or *paṭipajeyāti* may be *one* word, as suggested above, p. 71, n. 14.

<sup>3</sup> *saṃ* Senart and Bühler.



## TRANSLATION

The white one.<sup>1</sup>

## FIRST SEPARATE ROCK-EDICT: DHAULI

- 1 (A) देवानंपियस वचनेन तोसलियं महामात नगलवियोहालका
- 2 वतविय (B) अं किछि दखामि हकं तं इछामि किंति कंमन पटिपादयेहं
- 3 दुवालते च आलभेहं (C) एस च मे मोख्यमत दुवाल एतसि अठसि अं तुफेसु
- 4 अनुसथि (D) तुफे हि बहूसु पानसहसेसुं आयत पनयं गछेम सु मुनिसानं (E) सवे
- 5 मुनिसे पजा ममा (F) अथा पजाये इछामि हकं किंति सवेन हितमुखेन  
हिदलोकिक-
- 6 पाललोकिकेन यूजेवू ति तथा . . . . मुनिसेसु पि इछामि हकं (G) नो च  
पापुनाथ आवग-
- 7 मुके इयं अठे (H) केछ व एकपुलिसे . . . . नाति एतं से पि देसं नो सवं (I)  
देखत हि तुफे एतं
- 8 सुविहिता पि (J) नितियं एकपुलिसे पि अथि ये बंधनं वा पलिकिलेसं वा  
पापुनाति (K) तत होति
- 9 अकस्मा तेन बधनंतिक अंने च . . . . . हु जने दविये दुखीयति (L) तत  
इछितविये
- 10 तुफेहि किंति मभं पटिपादयेमा ति (M) इमेहि चु जातेहि नो संपटिपजति  
इसाय आसुलोपेन
- 11 निटूलियेन तूलनाय अनावूतिय आलसियेन किलमथेन (N) से इछितविये  
किंति एते
- 12 जाता नो हुवेवु ममा ति (O) एतस च सवस मूले अनासुलोपे अतूलना च  
(P) नितियं ए किलंते सिया
- 13 न ते उगछ संचलितविये तु वटितविये एतविये वा (Q) हेवंमेव ए दखेय तुफाक  
तेन वतविये
- 14 आनंने देखत हेवं च हेवं च देवानंपियस अनुसथि (R) से महाफले ए तस  
संपटिपाद
- 15 महाअपाये असंपटिपति (S) विपटिपादयमीने हि एतं नथि स्वगस आलधि नो  
लाजालधि

<sup>1</sup> As stated by Bühler (ZDMG, 39. 490), this word refers to the figure of an elephant representing the Buddha, which is carved at the top of the Dhauli rock. Cf. the similar labels at Girnār and Kālsī, above, pp. 26 f. and 50.



- 16 (T) दुआहले हि इमस कंस मे कुते मनोअतिलेके (U) संपटिपजमीने चु  
एतं स्वगं
- 17 आलाधयिसथ मम च आननियं एहथ (V) इयं च लिपि तिसनखतेन सोतविया
- 18 (W) अंतला पि च तिसेन खनसि खनसि एकेन पि सोतविय (X) हेवं च  
कलंतं तुफे
- 19 चघथ संपटिपादयितवे (Y) एताये अठाये इयं लिपि लिखित हिद एन
- 20 नगलवियोहालका सस्वतं समयं यूजेवू ति ..... नस अकस्मा पलिवोधे व
- 21 अकस्मा पलिकिलेसे व नो सिया ति (Z) एताये च अठाये हकं ..... मते  
पंचसु पंचसु वसे-
- 22 सु निखामयिसामि ए अखखसे अचंडे सखिनालंभे होसति एतं अठं जानितु  
..... तथा
- 23 कलंति अथ मम अनुसथी ति (AA) उजेनिते पि चु कुमाले एताये व अठाये  
निखामयिस .....
- 24 हेदिसमेव वगं नो च अतिकामयिसति तिंनि वसानि (BB) हेमेव तखसिलाते  
पि (CC) अदा अ .....
- 25 ते महामाता निखमिसंति अनुसयानं तदा अहापयितु अतने कंस एतं पि  
जानिसंति
- 26 तं पि तथा कलंति अथ लाजिने अनुसथी ति

- 1 (A) [Devāna]m[pi]y[asa vacha]nena Tosaliyam ma[hā]māta [naga]la-  
[v]i[yo]hālak[ā]
- 2 [va]taviya (B) [am kichhi dakhā]mi hakaṁ taṁ ichhāmi k[i]m[t]i kaṁ[mana  
pa]ṭi[pāday]eham<sup>1</sup>
- 3 duvālate cha ālabheham (C) esa cha me mokhya-mata duvā[la etasi aṭha]si am  
tuph[esu]
- 4 anusathi (D) tuphe hi bahūsu pāna-sahasasuṁ<sup>2</sup> ā[yata]<sup>3</sup> p[a]na[yaṁ ga]chh[e]ma  
su munisānam (E) save
- 5 munise pajā mamā (F) ath[ā] pajāye ichhāmi h[a]ka[m kiṁti sa]ve[na hi]ta-sukhena  
hidalo[kika]
- 6 pālalokike[na]<sup>4</sup> y[ūjev]u [t]i [tathā . . . muni]sesu<sup>5</sup> pi [i]chhāmi [ha]ka[m] (G) no  
cha pāpunātha āv[a]-ga-
- 7 [m]u[k]e<sup>6</sup> [iyaṁ aṭhe] (H) [k]e[chha] v[a] eka-pulī[se] . . . nāti<sup>7</sup> e[ta]m se pi  
desam no savam (I) de[kha]t[a hi t]u[phe] etam
- 8 suvi[hi]tā pi (J) [n]itiyam<sup>8</sup> eka-pulise [pi athi] y[e] baṁdhanam vā p[a]likilesam vā  
pāpunāti (K) tata hoti

<sup>1</sup> paṭiveda<sup>o</sup> Senart and Bühler.

<sup>2</sup> āyatā Senart and Bühler.

<sup>3</sup> Restore sava-munisese.

<sup>7</sup> Read pāpunāti, as at Jaugada.

<sup>2</sup> °sesu Senart and Bühler.

<sup>4</sup> °lokikāye Senart and Bühler.

<sup>5</sup> āvā-gamake Senart and Bühler.

<sup>8</sup> niti iyaṁ Senart and Bühler.



- 9 akasmā tena badhana[m]tik[a]<sup>1</sup> amne cha . . . . . hu jane da[v]iye dukhīyati (L)  
tata ichhitaviye
- 10 tuphehi kiṃti m[a]jhaṃ paṭipādayemā ti (M) imeh[i] chu [jāteh]i no saṃpaṭipajati  
isāya āsulopena
- 11 ni[ṭhū]liyena<sup>2</sup> tūlanā[ya] anāvūtiya ālasiyena k[i]lamathena (N) se ichhitaviye  
kitim<sup>3</sup> ete
- 12 [jātā no] huvevu ma[m]ā ti (O) etasa cha sava[sa] mūle anāsulope a[tū][a]nā cha  
(P) niti[ya]m e kilamte siyā
- 13 [na] te uga[chha]<sup>4</sup> saṃchalitaviy[e] tu va[ṭ]ita[v]iy[e] etaviye vā (Q) hevaṃmeva e  
da[kheya]<sup>5</sup> t[u]phāk[a] tena vataviye
- 14 ānaṃne<sup>6</sup> dekhata hevaṃ cha hev[a]m cha (D) evānaṃpiyasa anusathi (R) se  
mah[ā-pha]le [e] t[a]sa [saṃpa]ṭipāda
- 15 mahā-apāye asaṃpaṭipati (S) [vi]paṭ[i]pādayamine hi<sup>7</sup> etaṃ nathi svagasa [ā]l[a]dhi  
no lāj[ā]la[dh]i
- 16 (T) duā[ha]le hi i[ma]sa kaṃm[asa] m[e] kute man[o]-atileke<sup>8</sup> (U) sa[m]paṭi-  
pajam[i]n[e] chu [etaṃ] svaga[m]
- 17 ālādha[yi]sa[tha] mama cha<sup>9</sup> ānaniyaṃ ehatha (V) iyaṃ cha l[i]p[i]<sup>10</sup> t[i]sa-  
na[kha]tena so[ta]viy[ā]<sup>11</sup>
- 18 (W) aṃta[l]ā [p]i cha [t]i[s]e[na]<sup>12</sup> kha[nasi] kha[nas]i ekena pi sotaviya (X) hevaṃ  
cha kalaṃtaṃ tuphe
- 19 chaghatha saṃpa[ṭi]pād[a]y[i]tave (Y) [e]t[ā]ye aṭhāye<sup>13</sup> iya[m] l[i]p[i] likhit[a]  
h]ida ena
- 20 nagala-vi[y]o[hā]lakā sas[v]ataṃ samayaṃ yūjevū<sup>14</sup> t[i] . . . . . [na]sa<sup>15</sup> akasmā  
[pa]libodhe va
- 21 [a]k[a]smā paliki[l]e[s]e va no siyā ti (Z) etāye cha aṭhāye haka[m] . . . . mate<sup>16</sup>  
p[a]mchasu paṃchasu [va]se-
- 22 su [n]i[khā]may[i]sāmi e akhakhase a[chaṃ]d[e] s[a]khinālaṃbhe hosati etaṃ  
aṭhaṃ jānitu . . . . . [ta]thā
- 23 kala[m]ti atha mama anusathī ti (AA) Ujenite pi chu kumāle etāye v[a] aṭhāye  
[ni]khāma[yisa] . . . . .
- 24 hedisaṃmeva<sup>17</sup> vagaṃ no cha atikāmayisati tiṃni vasāni (BB) hemeva T[a]kha[s]ulāte  
pi (CC) [a]dā a . . . . .
- 25 te mahāmātā nikhamisaṃti anusayānaṃ tadā ahāpayitu atane kaṃmaṃ etaṃ pi  
jānisaṃti
- 26 taṃ pi ta[th]ā kalaṃti a[tha] lājine anusathī ti

<sup>1</sup> *bandha*° Senart and Bühler.<sup>2</sup> *nithūli*° Senart and Bühler.<sup>3</sup> Read *kiṃti*, which is Senart's reading; *kiti* Bühler.<sup>4</sup> Read *ugachhe*.<sup>5</sup> *dakhiye* Senart and Bühler.<sup>6</sup> *annaṃ ne* Senart and Bühler.<sup>7</sup> Lüders (SPAW, 1913. 1013, n. 1) has shown that *hi* must be a separate word on the analogy of section U, below, and of the Jaugada separate edict I, T. Senart and Bühler read °*mīnehī*.<sup>8</sup> *mana-* Senart, *mane-* Bühler.<sup>9</sup> *t . . . . .* for *mama cha* Senart, *[ta]* . . . . Bühler.<sup>10</sup> *liṭi* Bühler.<sup>11</sup> °*viyaṃ* Senart, °*viya* Bühler.<sup>12</sup> *[tis]e* Bühler.<sup>13</sup> *aṭhāye* Senart and Bühler.<sup>14</sup> *yūjevū* Senart and Bühler.<sup>15</sup> Restore *ena janasa*; *nagala-janasa* Senart and Bühler, which is visible (evidently owing to retouching) on Burgess' plate, but not on my materials.<sup>16</sup> Read *mahāmātā*; *dhammate* Senart and Bühler.<sup>17</sup> *hedisaṃmeva* Senart and Bühler.



Sep. ed. I

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## TRANSLATION

(A) At the word of *Dēvānāmpriya*, the *Mahāmātras* at *Tōsali*,<sup>1</sup> (who are) the judicial officers of the city,<sup>2</sup> have to be told (thus).

(B) Whatever I recognize (to be right), that I strive to carry out by deeds, and to accomplish by (various) means.<sup>3</sup>

(C) And this is considered by me the principal means for this object, viz. (to give) instruction to you.

(D) For you are occupied with many thousands of men,<sup>4</sup> with the object of gaining the affection of men.<sup>5</sup>

(E) All men are my children.

(F) As on behalf of (my own) children I desire that they may be provided with complete welfare and happiness in this world and in the other world, the same I desire also on behalf of [all] men.<sup>6</sup>

(G) And you do not learn<sup>7</sup> how far this (my) object reaches.<sup>8</sup>

(H) Some single person<sup>9</sup> only learns this, (and) even he (only) a portion,<sup>10</sup> (but) not the whole.

(I) Now you must pay attention to this, although you are well provided for.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Two copper-plate inscriptions from the Cuttack district, Orissa, mention the two districts of Northern and Southern Tōsali; see EI, 9. 286, and 15. 1. Prinsep (JASB, 7. 449) identified Tōsali with the *Τωσαλει μητρόπολις* of Ptolemy; but the latter is stated to have been situated beyond the Ganges. See Lassen, *Ind. Alt.*, 2 (sec. ed.) 252, n. 2; Burnouf, *Lotus*, p. 673; Kern, JRAS, 1880. 384 f.; IA, 13. 382.

<sup>2</sup> With *nagala-viyohālaka* cf. *paura-vyāvahārika* in the *Kauṭīliya*, p. 20, l. 13; see SPAW, 1914. 855.

<sup>3</sup> The correct translation of this section is due to Senart; see Franke, GN, 1895. 537, and cf. a quite similar construction in the Calcutta-Bairāt rock-inscription, E.

<sup>4</sup> Here, and in the pillar-edicts (IV, C; VII, M, N), the participle *āyata* (= Skt. *āyatta*) seems to be used in the sense of *vyāpṛita*. Cf. the rock-edict V, J to N, and the pillar-edict VII, Y to AA.

<sup>5</sup> Previous translators took *sumunisānam* to be one word: 'of good men'. As, however, in the two next sections the king is concerned with 'all men', Lüders is no doubt right in explaining *su* = Skt. *svit*; see SPAW, 1914. 856, and cf. *su* in the Dhauli separate edict II, F.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. *Aśvaghoṣa's Buddhacharita*, II, 35: *स्वाम्भ्यः प्रजाभ्यो हि यथा तथैव सर्वप्रजाभ्यः शिवमाशंसि*; 'as for his own children, even so (king Śuddhōdana) desired welfare for all (his) subjects.'

<sup>7</sup> Bühler rendered *pāpunātha* by 'understand', and Lüders (SPAW, 1914. 857) more closely by 'learn'. The verb has the same meaning three times in the second separate edict. In section J of the first edict it means 'to suffer'; see my note on the Jaugada separate edict I, K.

<sup>8</sup> Bühler translated *āva-gamuke iyaṁ aṭhe* by '(all) that the sense (of these words) implies', and Lüders by 'how far this matter reaches', i.e. 'how far this matter is attended to'. Cf. *ava ite pi cha me āvuti* in the Delhi-Tōprā pillar-edict IV, l. 15.

<sup>9</sup> This seems to refer to the judge who happens to decide an individual case. Senart compared *eka-pulise* (= *eka-munise* at Jaugada) with the Buddhist term *prithagjana* (see Childers, s.v. *puthujjano*), and Bühler rendered it by 'a private person'; see ZDMG, 41. 15. The expression *eka-pulise* or *eka-munise*, 'a single person', occurs again in section J (= K at Jaugada), where it is opposed to 'many other people' in section K (= L at Jaugada). In section W 'a single (person)' is contrasted with the whole body of officers in section V; see also the second separate edict, N and O.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. the rock-edict V, F, and VII, D.

<sup>11</sup> See above, p. 47, n. 6.



(J) It happens in the administration (of justice)<sup>1</sup> that a single person suffers either imprisonment or harsh treatment.<sup>2</sup>

(K) In this case (an order) cancelling the imprisonment<sup>3</sup> is (obtained) by him<sup>4</sup> accidentally, while [many] other people continue to suffer.

(L) In this case you must strive to deal (with all of them) impartially.

(M) But one fails to act (thus) on account of the following dispositions:<sup>5</sup> envy, anger,<sup>6</sup> cruelty, hurry, want of practice,<sup>7</sup> laziness, (and) fatigue.

(N) (You) must strive for this, that these dispositions may not arise to you.

(O) And the root of all this is the absence of anger and the avoidance of hurry.

(P) He who is fatigued in the administration (of justice), will not rise; but one ought to move, to walk, and to advance.

(Q) He who will pay attention to this, must tell you:<sup>8</sup> 'See that (you) discharge the debt (which you owe to the king);<sup>9</sup> such and such is the instruction of *Dēvānāmpriya*.'

(R) The observance of this produces great fruit, (but its) non-observance (becomes) a great evil.<sup>10</sup>

(S) For if one fails to observe this,<sup>11</sup> there will be neither attainment of heaven nor satisfaction of the king.<sup>12</sup>

(T) For how (could) my mind be pleased if one badly fulfils this duty?<sup>13</sup>

<sup>1</sup> As recognized by Lüders (SPAW, 1914, 859), *nīti* is here = *daṇḍa-nīti*. I connect the locative *nītyām* with *astī*; at Jaugaḍa it is replaced by *bahuka*, 'frequently'.

<sup>2</sup> Bühler translated *palikileśa* by 'trouble'. Senart and Lüders (SPAW, 1914, 841, n. 1, and 857) render it by 'torture'. But in the *Kauṭīliya* the technical term for 'torture' is *karman*, and *pariklīṣayataḥ*, which occurs on p. 223, l. 16, cannot have the same meaning as *karma kārayataḥ* in the next preceding line.

<sup>3</sup> The correct explanation of *ba[m\*]dhanamitika* and *daviye* is due to Lüders; see SPAW, 1914, 861 f.

<sup>4</sup> As stated by Bühler (ZDMG, 41. 16), one would expect *tasa* for *tena*. He proposed to supply *prāptam*.

<sup>5</sup> As Senart remarks, this unusual meaning of *jātāni* is justified by etymology; see IA, 19. 89.

<sup>6</sup> For *āsulopa*, 'anger' (literally: 'quick infatuation'), see Bühler, ZDMG, 48. 60 f.

<sup>7</sup> With Bühler (ZDMG, 41. 16) I take *āvūti* (Dhauḷi) or *āvuti* (Jaugaḍa) = Skt. *āvṛitti*, 'repetition'. In the pillar-edict IV, L, *āvuti* corresponds to Skt. *āyukti*, 'an order'.

<sup>8</sup> Hitherto the construction and bearing of this sentence have been misunderstood. The relative *e* corresponds to the demonstrative *tena*, and the subject is probably one of the controlling officers who are mentioned at the end of the edict.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. below, section U. Previous translators failed to make out the actual meaning of this sentence because they read *amnamne*, which they divided into *amnam ne* = Skt. *ājñām naḥ* (Senart and Bühler) or *anyat + naḥ* (Lüders).

<sup>10</sup> Both at Dhauḷi and at Jaugaḍa, the predicate is a masculine or neuter, although the subject is a feminine. Cf. above, p. 49, n. 1.

<sup>11</sup> As *vīpaṭipādayamīne* corresponds to *vīpaṭipātayaṁtaṁ* at Jaugaḍa, it must be a nominative singular absolute. The same applies to *samṭipājayamīne* in section U, below, to *anuvekhamāne* in the Delhi-Tōprā pillar-edict VII, P, and to *vijīnamane* in the Kālsī edict XIII, E. Cf. below, p. 97, n. 3, and Lüders, SPAW, 1913, 1011 ff.

<sup>12</sup> For *āladhi* (= *\*ārāddhi*) see above, p. 19, n. 16.

<sup>13</sup> In the translation of this difficult passage I follow Franke, GN, 1895, 537 f., but explain *duāhale* as a nominative absolute, because in the Māgadhā dialect the locative would end in *-asī*.



(U) But if (you) observe this, you will attain heaven, and you will discharge the debt (which you owe) to me.<sup>1</sup>

(V) And this edict must be listened to (by all) on (every day of) the constellation Tishya.<sup>2</sup>

(W) And it may be listened to even by a single (person) also on frequent (other) occasions between (the days of) Tishya.

(X) And if (you) act thus,<sup>3</sup> you will be able<sup>4</sup> to fulfil (this duty).

(Y) For the following purpose has this rescript been written here, (viz.) in order that the judicial officers of the city may strive at all times<sup>5</sup> (for this), [that] neither undeserved fettering<sup>6</sup> nor undeserved harsh treatment are happening to [men].

(Z) And for the following purpose I shall send out every five years<sup>7</sup> [a *Mahāmātra*] who will be neither harsh<sup>8</sup> nor fierce, (but) of gentle actions, (viz. in order to ascertain) whether (the judicial officers),<sup>9</sup> paying attention to this object, . . . . are acting thus, as my instruction (implies).

(AA) But from Ujjayinī also the prince (governor) will send out for the same purpose . . . . a person of the same description,<sup>10</sup> and he will not allow (more than) three years to pass (without such a deputation).

(BB) In the same way (an officer will be deputed) from Takshaśilā also.

(CC) When . . . . these *Mahāmātras* will set out on tour, then, without neglecting their own duties, they will ascertain this as well, (viz.) whether (the judicial officers) are carrying out this also thus, as the instruction of the king (implies).

## SECOND SEPARATE ROCK-EDICT: DHAULI

- 1 (A) देवानंपियस वचनेन तोसलियं कुमाले महामाता च वतविय (B) अं किछि दखामि हकं तं इ . . . . .
- 2 दुवालते च आलभेहं (C) एस च मे मोख्यमत दुवाला एतसि अठसि अं तुफेसु . . . . . मम

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the Dhauli separate edict II, L.

<sup>2</sup> i. e. three times per year; see the Dhauli separate edict II, N.

<sup>3</sup> The forms *kalāntam* (here and in II, L and P), *°pātayāntam* (Jaugada separate edict I, S and T), *sañtam* (II, Q, and pillar-edict IV, I), *nāsañtam* (pillar-edict IV, M), and *°pajāntam* (Delhi-Tōprā pillar-edict VII, PP) are nominatives singular absolute. Cf. above, p. 35, n. 9.

<sup>4</sup> Franke (VOJ, 9. 340 ff.) has shown that *chaghati* is the future of *chak*, a variant of the root *śak*. Cf. *chakiye* in the Dhauli separate edict II, l. 5, in the Sahasrām rock-inscription, l. 3, and in the Bairāt rock-inscription, l. 5; also *chakye*, *ibid.*, l. 6.

<sup>5</sup> In the translation of *sasvatam samayam* I follow Kern (JRAS, 1880. 391) and Lüders (SPAW, 1914. 864).

<sup>6</sup> See above, p. 33, n. 8.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. the rock-edict III, C.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Dhammapada, verse 408:

akakkasam viññāpanim giram sachcham udiraye |  
yāya nābhisaje kañchi tam aham brūmi brāhmaṇam ||

<sup>9</sup> The context shows that these are meant here, and that the *Mahāmātras* were directed by the king to control them; see SPAW, 1914. 865 f.

<sup>10</sup> See above, p. 40, n. 2.



- 3 (E) अथ पजाये इछामि हकं किंति सवेन हितसुखेन हिदलोकिकपाललोकिकाये  
युजेवू ति हेवं . . . . .
- 4 (F) सिया अंतानं अविजितानं किछंदे सु लाज अफेसु . . (G) . . . . . मव इछ  
मम अंतेसु . . ि पापुनेवु ते इति देवानंपिय . . . . . अनुविगिन ममाये  
5 हुवेवू ति अस्वसेवु च सुखंमेव लहेवु ममते नो दुखं हेवं . . पुनेवू इति खमिसति  
ने देवानंपिये अफाका ति ए चकिये खामतवे मम निमित्तं व च  
धमं चलेवू
- 6 हिदलोक पललोकं च आलाधयेवू (H) एतसि अठसि हकं अनुसासामि तुफे  
अनने एतकेन हकं अनुसासितु छंदं च वेदितु आ हि धिति पटिजा  
च ममा
- 7 अजला (I) से हेवं कटु कंमे चलितविये अस्वास . . . . ि च तानि एन  
पापुनेवू इति अथ पिता तथ देवानंपिये अफाक अथा च अतानं हेवं  
देवानंपिये अनुकंपति अफे
- 8 अथा च पजा हेवं मये देवानंपियस (J) से हकं अनुसासितु छंदं च वेदितु तुफाक  
देसावुतिके होसामि एताये अठाये (K) पटिवला हि तुफे अस्वासनाये  
हितसुखाये च तेस
- 9 हिदलोकिकपाललोकिकाये (L) हेवं च कलंतं तुफे स्वगं आलाधयिसथ मम  
च आननियं एहथ (M) एताये च अठाये इयं लिपि लिखिता हिद एन  
महामाता स्वसतं सम
- 10 युजिसंति अस्वासनाये धमचलनाये च तेस अंतानं (N) इयं च लिपि अनु-  
चातुंमासं तिसेन नखतेन सोतविया (O) कामं चु खणसि खनसि अंतला  
पि तिसेन एकेन पि
- 11 सोतविय (P) हेवं कलंतं तुफे चघथ संपटिपादयितवे

- 1 (A) Devānaṃpiyas[a] vachanena Tosaliyaṃ kumāle mahāmātā cha vataviya (B)  
aṃ kichhi dakhāṃ[i] h[akam taṃ i] . . . . .
- 2 duvālate cha ālabhehaṃ (C) esa cha me mokhya-mata duvālā etasi aṭhasi aṃ  
tuphe[s]u . . . . . mama
- 3 (E) ath[a] pajāye ichhāmi hakaṃ ki[m]ti savena hi[ta-sukhe]na hidalokika-  
pālalokikāye<sup>1</sup> yujevū ti h[e]v[aṃ] . . . . .
- 4 (F) siyā aṃtānaṃ avijitānaṃ ki-chha[mde] su lāja [aphesu] . . (G) . . . . m[a]va<sup>2</sup>  
ichha mama aṃtesu . . . i<sup>3</sup> [p]ā[p]unevu te iti Devānaṃp[iy] . . . . .  
[anu]v[i]g[ina] mamāye
- 5 huvevū ti asvasevu cha sukhaṃmeva lahevu mamat[e] no dukha[m] h[e]va[m]

<sup>1</sup> Read *-pālalokikena*, as in the first separate edict, F.

<sup>2</sup> *move* Bühler; read perhaps *hevameva*.

<sup>3</sup> Restore *kiṃti*.



- ... un[e]vū<sup>1</sup> iti khamisati<sup>2</sup> ne **Devānāmpīye** [aph]ākā<sup>3</sup> ti e chakiye  
khamitave mama nimitam [va]<sup>4</sup> cha dhammam chalevū
- 6 hidaloka palaloka[m] cha ālādhayevū (**H**) etasi aṭhasi haka[m] anusāsāmi tuphe  
ana[n]e [e]takena haka[m] anusāsitu chhamdam cha veditu ā [hi] dhi[t]i paṭimā  
cha mamā
- 7 [a]jalā (**I**) s[e] heva[m] kaṭu kaṁme chal[i]t[a]v[i]ye asv[āsa] ..... i<sup>5</sup> [cha] tāni  
ena pāpunevū iti atha pitā tatha **Devānāmpiy[ē]** aphāka athā cha atānam<sup>6</sup>  
heva[m] **Devānāmpīye** [a]nukampati aphe
- 8 athā cha pajā<sup>7</sup> heva[m] may[e] **D[e]vānāmpiyasa** (**J**) se haka[m] anusāsitu  
[chha]mda[m] ch[a veditu tu]phāk[a] desāvutike hosāmi etāye aṭhāye<sup>8</sup> (**K**)  
paṭibalā hi tuph[e] asvāsanāye hita-sukhāye cha [tesa]
- 9 hidalokika-pālalo[ki]kāye (**L**) heva[m] cha kalamtam tuphe svagam ālādha[yi]satha  
mama ch[a] ānaniyam eatha (**M**) etāye cha aṭhāye iya[m] lipi likhitā hida e[na  
ma]hāmātā svasata[m] sa<sup>9</sup> ma<sup>9</sup>
- 10 yujisaṁti as[vā]s[a]nāye dhamma-chala[n]āye cha tes[a] amānam (**N**) iya[m] cha lipi  
[anu]chātummasa[m] tisenā nakhatena sotaviyā (**O**) kāmam chu<sup>10</sup> [kha]ṇas[i]<sup>11</sup>  
khanasī amātalā pi tisenā ekena [p]i
- 11 [so]taviya (**P**) heva[m] kala[m]tam [t]uphe chaghatta sampaṭipādayitave

## TRANSLATION

(A) At the word of **Dēvānāmpriya**, the prince (governor) and the *Mahāmātras* at **Tōsali** have to be told (thus).

(B) Whatever I recognize (to be right), that ..... and to accomplish by (various) means.

(C) And this is considered by me the principal means for this object, viz. .... to you.

(D) ..... my .....

(E) As on behalf of (my own) children I desire that they may be provided with complete welfare and happiness in this world and in the other world, thus .....

(F) It might occur<sup>12</sup> to (my) unconquered borderers<sup>13</sup> (to ask): 'What does the king desire<sup>14</sup> with reference to us?'

(G) [This] alone is my wish with reference to the borderers, that they may learn that **Dēvānāmpriya** ..... that they may not be afraid of me, but may have

<sup>1</sup> Restore *pāpunevū*.

<sup>2</sup> The syllable *sa* is entered above the line.

<sup>3</sup> *aphāka* Senart and Bühler.

<sup>4</sup> Senart and Bühler omit *va*.

<sup>5</sup> Restore *asvāsaniyāni*.

<sup>6</sup> The syllable *nam* is entered above the line.

<sup>7</sup> *pajā* Bühler.

<sup>8</sup> *aṭhāye* Senart and Bühler.

<sup>9</sup> Read *sasvatam samayam*.

<sup>10</sup> *cha* Senart and Bühler.

<sup>11</sup> The syllable *si* is entered above the line.

<sup>12</sup> Lüders showed that *siyā* is not the last word of section E, as previous translators thought, but opens section F, and is used in the same way as *huthā* in the Delhi-Tōprā pillar-edict VII, D and J. He also pointed out the correct construction of sections F and G, which had been curiously misunderstood; see SPAW, 1914. 866 ff.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. the Kālsī rock-edict H, A; V, J; XIII, Q.

<sup>14</sup> Kern (JRAS, 1880. 381) explained *su* by Skt. *svit*. Cf. *gachhema su* in the Dhauli separate edict I, D, and *kinasu* in the Delhi-Tōprā pillar-edict VII, F, G, H.



confidence (in me); that they may obtain only happiness from me,<sup>1</sup> not misery; that they may [learn] this, that **Dēvānāmpriya** will forgive them<sup>2</sup> what can be forgiven;<sup>3</sup> that they may (be induced) by me (to) practise morality; (and) that they may attain (happiness in) this world and (in) the other world.

(H) For the following purpose I am instructing you, (viz. that) I may discharge the debt (which I owe to them)<sup>4</sup> by this, that I instruct (you) and inform (you) of (my) will, i. e. my unshakable<sup>5</sup> resolution and vow.

(I) Therefore, acting thus, (you) must fulfil (your) duty and must inspire confidence to them,<sup>6</sup> in order that they may learn that **Dēvānāmpriya** is to them like a father, that **Dēvānāmpriya** loves them like himself, and that they are to **Dēvānāmpriya** like (his own) children.

(J) Therefore, having instructed (you), and having informed you of (my) will, I shall have (i. e. entertain) officers in (all) provinces<sup>7</sup> for this object.

(K) For you are able to inspire confidence to those (borderers) and (to secure their) welfare and happiness in this world and in the other world.

(L) And if (you) act thus, you will attain heaven, and will discharge the debt (which you owe) to me.

(M) And for the following purpose has this rescript been written here, (viz.) in order that the *Mahāmātras* may strive at all times to inspire confidence to those borderers (of mine) and (to induce them) to practise morality.

(N) And this rescript must be listened to (by all) every four months<sup>8</sup> on (the day of) the constellation Tishya.<sup>9</sup>

(O) But if desired, it may be listened to even by a single (person)<sup>10</sup> also on frequent (other) occasions between (the days of) Tishya.

(P) If (you) act thus, you will be able to carry out (my orders).

<sup>1</sup> Here and at Jaugaḍa, Senart and Bühler wrongly read *mama te* (in two words) instead of *mamate*, which, as Kern recognized, corresponds to the Prākṛit ablative *mamatto*. See JRAS, 1880. 380, 382, 383; SPAW, 1914. 868; Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 415 f.

<sup>2</sup> As Bühler (ASSI, 1. 128, n. 24) remarked, either *ne* or *aphākā* is superfluous.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. the Shāhbāzgarhi rock-edict XIII, L. For *chakiye* see above, p. 97, n. 4.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. the rock-edict VI, L.

<sup>5</sup> *ajala* corresponds to *achala* at Jaugaḍa, as *loga* (Jaugaḍa separate edict II, ll. 7 and 13) to *loka*, *libi* (Delhi-Tōprā pillar-edict VII, QQ and SS) to *lipi*, *hida* (Kālsī, V, J and K) to *hita*, and *dose* (Kālsī, VI, H) to *tose*.

<sup>6</sup> The neuter *tāni* is improperly used for the masculine *te*, which is the reading of the Jaugaḍa version.

<sup>7</sup> Kern (JRAS, 1880. 384) translated: 'I will entrust the country to your care.' For the difficult term *desāvutika* (Dhauḷi) or [*saka*]la-desā-āy[ut]ika (Jaugaḍa) see Bühler (ZDMG, 41. 28), who took *āyuti* = Skt. *āyuktin*, 'an official'. Cf. *āvuti* = Skt. *āyukti*, 'an order', in the pillar-edict IV, L. The provincial officers who are here referred to, are perhaps identical with the *Mahāmātras* whom Aśoka ordered to be deputed on inspection duty from Pāṭaliputra, Ujjayini, and Takshasīlā; see the four last sections of the Dhauḷi separate edict I.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. *chātummāsī* in the Delhi-Tōprā pillar-edict V, ll. 11, 16, 18.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. the Dhauḷi separate edict I, V.

<sup>10</sup> See above, p. 95, n. 9.



VII

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VIII

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## VI. THE JAUGADA ROCK

## FIRST ROCK-EDICT: JAUGADA

- 1 (A) इयं धंमलिपी खेपिंगलसि पवतसि देवानंपियेन पियदसिना लाजिना  
लिखापिता (B) हिद नो किछि जीवं आलभितु पजोहितविये  
2 (C) नो पि च समाजे कटविये (D) बहुकं हि दोसं समाजस द्रखति देवानंपिये  
पियदसी लाजा (E) अथि पि चु एकतिया समाजा साधुमता देवानंपियस  
3 पियद्रसिने लाजिने (F) पुलुवं महानससि देवानंपियस पियदसिने लाजिने  
अनुदिवसं बहूनि पानसतसहसानि आलभियिसु सूपठाये  
4 (G) से अज अदा इयं धंमलिपी लिखिता तिंनि येव पानानि आलंभियंति  
दुवे मजूला एके मिगे से पि चु मिगे नो धुवं (H) एतानि पि चु तिंनि  
पानानि  
5 पछा नो आलभियिसंति

- 1 (A) iyaṃ dhamma-lipī Khēpi[m̐]galasi<sup>1</sup> pavatasi Devānaṃpiyena Piyadasinā  
lājinaṃ likhāpitā (B) hida no kichhi jīvaṃ ālabhi[t̐]u pajohitaviye  
2 (C) no pi cha samāje kaṭaviye (D) bahukaṃ hi dosam samājasa<sup>2</sup> drakhati<sup>3</sup>  
Devānaṃpiye Piyadasī lājā (E) athi pi chu ekatiyā samājā sādhu-matā  
Devānaṃpiyasa  
3 Piyadrasine<sup>4</sup> lājine (F) puluvaṃ mahā[nasa]si Devānaṃpiyasa Piyadasine  
lājine anudivasam bah[ū]ni pāna-sata-sah[a]sāni ālabhiyisu sūpa[th̐]āye  
4 (G) se aja adā iyaṃ dhamma-lipī likhitā tiṃni yeva pānāni āla[m̐]bhiyaṃti<sup>5</sup> duve  
majūlā eke mige se pi chu mige no dhuvaṃ (H) etāni pi chu tiṃni pānāni  
5 pachhā no āla[bh̐]iyisaṃti

## TRANSLATION

✓ (A) This rescript on morality has been caused to be written on the **Khēpiṅgala**<sup>6</sup> mountain by king **Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin**.

(B) Here no living being must be killed and sacrificed.

(C) And also no festival meeting must be held.

(D) For king **Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin** sees much evil in festival meetings.

(E) But there are also some festival meetings which are considered meritorious by king **Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin**.

<sup>1</sup> *Khapiṅgalasi* Bühler, but the *e* of *khe* is perfectly distinct.

<sup>2</sup> *samājasi* Bühler.

<sup>3</sup> A horizontal stroke, which may be meant for *r*, seems to be attached both at the top and at the bottom of *da*; *dakhati* Senart and Bühler.

<sup>4</sup> *Piyadasine* Senart and Bühler. The curve at the bottom of *da* is probably intended for *r*.

<sup>5</sup> *ālabhiyaṃti* Senart and Bühler.

<sup>6</sup> The etymological meaning of this name is: '(which appears) brown in the air'; see Bühler, ZDMG, 37. 92.



(F) Formerly in the kitchen of king **Devānāmpriya Priyadarśin** many hundred thousands of animals were killed daily for the sake of curry.

(G) But now, when this rescript on morality is written, only three animals are being killed (daily), (viz.) two peacocks (and) one deer, but even this deer not regularly.

(H) But even these three animals shall not be killed in future.

## SECOND ROCK-EDICT: JAUGADA

- 1 (A) सवत विजितसि देवानंपियस पियदसिने लाजिने ए वा पि अंता अथा  
चोडा पंडिया सतियपुते ..... १ अंतियोके नाम
- 2 योनलाजा ए वा पि तस अंतियोकस सामंता लाजाने सवत देवानंपियेन  
पियदसिना लाजि ..... चिकिसा च
- 3 पसुचिकिसा च (B) ओसधानि आनि मुनिसोपगानि पसुओपगानि च अतत  
नथि सवत ..... च अतत नथि
- 4 सवच हालापिता च लोपापिता च (D) मगेसु उदुपानानि खानापितानि  
लुखानि च .....

- 1 (A) savata vijitasi Devānāmpiyasa Piyadasine lājine e vā pi aṁtā athā Choḍā  
Paṁḍiyā Satiyapu[t]e ..... ī Aṁtiyoke nāma
- 2 Yona-lājā [e] vā pi tasa Aṁtiyokasa sāmāntā lājāne savata Devānāmpiyena  
Piyadasinā lāji : ..... [ch]ikisā cha
- 3 pasu-chikisā cha (B) osadhāni āni munisopagāni pasu-opagāni cha atata nathi  
sava[ta] ..... cha atata nathi
- 4 s[a]vatra<sup>1</sup> hālāpitā cha lopāpitā cha (D) magesu udupānāni khānāpitāni lukhāni  
cha .....

## TRANSLATION (DHAULI AND JAUGADA)

✓ (A) Everywhere in the dominions of king **Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin**, and also (of those) who (are his) borderers, such as the **Chōḍas**, the **Pāṇḍyas**, the **Satiyaputa**, ..... the **Yōna** king named **Antiyoka**, and also the kings who are the neighbours of this **Antiyoka**,—everywhere [two (kinds of) medical treatment were established] by king **Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin**, (viz.) medical treatment [for men] and medical treatment for cattle.

(B) Wherever there were no herbs that are beneficial to men and beneficial to cattle, everywhere they were caused to be imported and to be planted.<sup>2</sup>

(C) Wherever there were no roots and [fruits], everywhere they were caused to be imported and to be planted.

(D) On the roads wells were caused to be dug, and trees were caused to be planted for the use of [cattle and men].

<sup>1</sup> *sāvata* Senart, *savatu* Bühler.

<sup>2</sup> The last words of this section are missing at Jaugada, but are preserved at Dhauli. Henceforth I shall use straight brackets in the translation only if words are lost in both of these versions of the rock-edicts.



## THIRD ROCK-EDICT: JAUGADA

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसी लाजा हेवं आहा (B) दुवादसवसाभिसितेन मे इयं  
आ ..... च पादेसिके च
- 2 पंचसु पंचसु वसेसु अनुसयानं निखमावू अथा अंनाये पि कंमने .....  
सा मितसंथुतेस ..
- 3 नातिसु च वंभनसमनेहि साधु दाने जीवेसु अनालंभे साधु .....  
यि .....
- 4 हेतुते च वियंजनते च
- 1 (A) Devā[na]m piye Piyadasī lājā hevaṃ āhā (B) duvādasa-vasābhisitena me  
iyaṃ [ā] ..... cha pād[e]sike cha
- 2 pañchasu pañchasu vasesu anusayānaṃ nikhamāvū athā aṇṇāye pi kamma[n]e  
..... [s]ā mita-saṃthute[s] ...
- 3 nātisu ch[a] baṃbhana-samanehi sādhu dāne jīvesu [a]nālambhe sādhu .....  
[y]i .....
- 4 hetute cha viyaṃjanate cha

## TRANSLATION (DHAULI AND JAUGADA)

- (A) King Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin speaks thus.
- (B) (When I had been) anointed twelve years, the following was ordered by me.
- (C) [Everywhere] in my dominions the *Yuktas*, the *Lajuka*, and the *Prādēśika* shall set out on a complete tour (throughout their charges) every five years, just as for other business, even so for the following instruction in morality.
- (D) 'Meritorious is obedience to mother and father, to friends and acquaintances, and to relatives. Liberality to Brāhmaṇas and Śramaṇas is meritorious. Abstention from killing animals is meritorious. Moderation in expenditure (and) moderation in possessions are meritorious.'
- (E) And the council (of *Mahāmātras*) also shall order the *Yuktas* to register (these rules) both with (the addition of) reasons and according to the letter.

## FOURTH ROCK-EDICT: JAUGADA

- 1 (A) अतिकंतं अंतलं बहूनि वससतानि वढिते व पानालंभे .....
- 2 (B) से अज देवानंपियस पियदसिने लाजिने धंमचलनेन भेल .....
- 3 दिवियानि लूपानि द्रसयितु मुनिसानं (C) आदिसे बहूहि वससते .....
- 4 धंमानुसयिया अनालंभे पानानं अविहिता भूतानं नातिसु संप .....
- 5 (D) एस अंने च बहुविधे धंमचलने वढिते (E) वढयि .....
- 6 पियदसिने लाजिने पवढयिसंति येव धंमचल .....
- 7 (H) धंमचलने पि चु नो होति .....
- 8 हीनि च मा अलोचयि .....



- 1 (A) a[t]ikaṁtaṁ aṁtalaṁ bahūni vasa-satāni vaḍhite va pānālabhe . . . . .
- 2 (B) se aja **Devānāṁpiyasa Piyadasine lājine** dhamma-chalanena bhe[l] . . . . .
- 3 divi[y]āni lūpāni drasayitu<sup>1</sup> munisānaṁ (C) ādisa bahūhi vasa-sate . . . . .
- 4 dhammānusathiyā anālabhe pānānaṁ avihisā bhūtānaṁ nātisu [saṁpa] . . . . .
- 5 (D) esa aṁne cha bahavidhe dhamma-chalane vaḍhite (E) va[ḍhay]i . . . . .
- 6 **Piyadasine lājine** pavaḍhayi[sa]m[t]i [y]e[va] dhamma-cha[la] . . . . .
- 7 (H) dhamma-chalane pi chu no ho[t]i . . . . .
- 8 [hī]ni cha mā aloch[ay]i . . . . .

TRANSLATION (DHAULI AND JAUGADA)

(A) In times past, for many hundreds of years, there had ever been promoted the killing of animals and the hurting of living beings, discourtesy to relatives, (and) discourtesy to Śramaṇas and Brāhmaṇas.

(B) But now, in consequence of the practice of morality on the part of king **Dēvānāṁpriya Priyadarśin**, the sound of drums has become the sound of morality, showing the people representations of aerial chariots, elephants, masses of fire, and other divine figures.

(C) Such as they had not existed before for many hundreds of years, thus there are now promoted, through the instruction in morality on the part of king **Dēvānāṁpriya Priyadarśin**, abstention from killing animals, abstention from hurting living beings, courtesy to relatives, courtesy to Śramaṇas and Brāhmaṇas, obedience to mother and father, (and) obedience to the aged.

(D) In this and many other ways is the practice of morality promoted.

(E) And king **Dēvānāṁpriya Priyadarśin** will ever promote this practice of morality.

(F) But also the sons, grandsons, and great-grandsons of king **Dēvānāṁpriya Priyadarśin** will ever promote this practice of morality until the æon (of destruction of the world), (and) will instruct (people) in morality, abiding by morality and by good conduct.

(G) For this is the best work, viz. instruction in morality.

(H) But the practice of morality also is not (possible) for (a person) devoid of good conduct.

(I) Therefore promotion and not neglect of this object is meritorious.

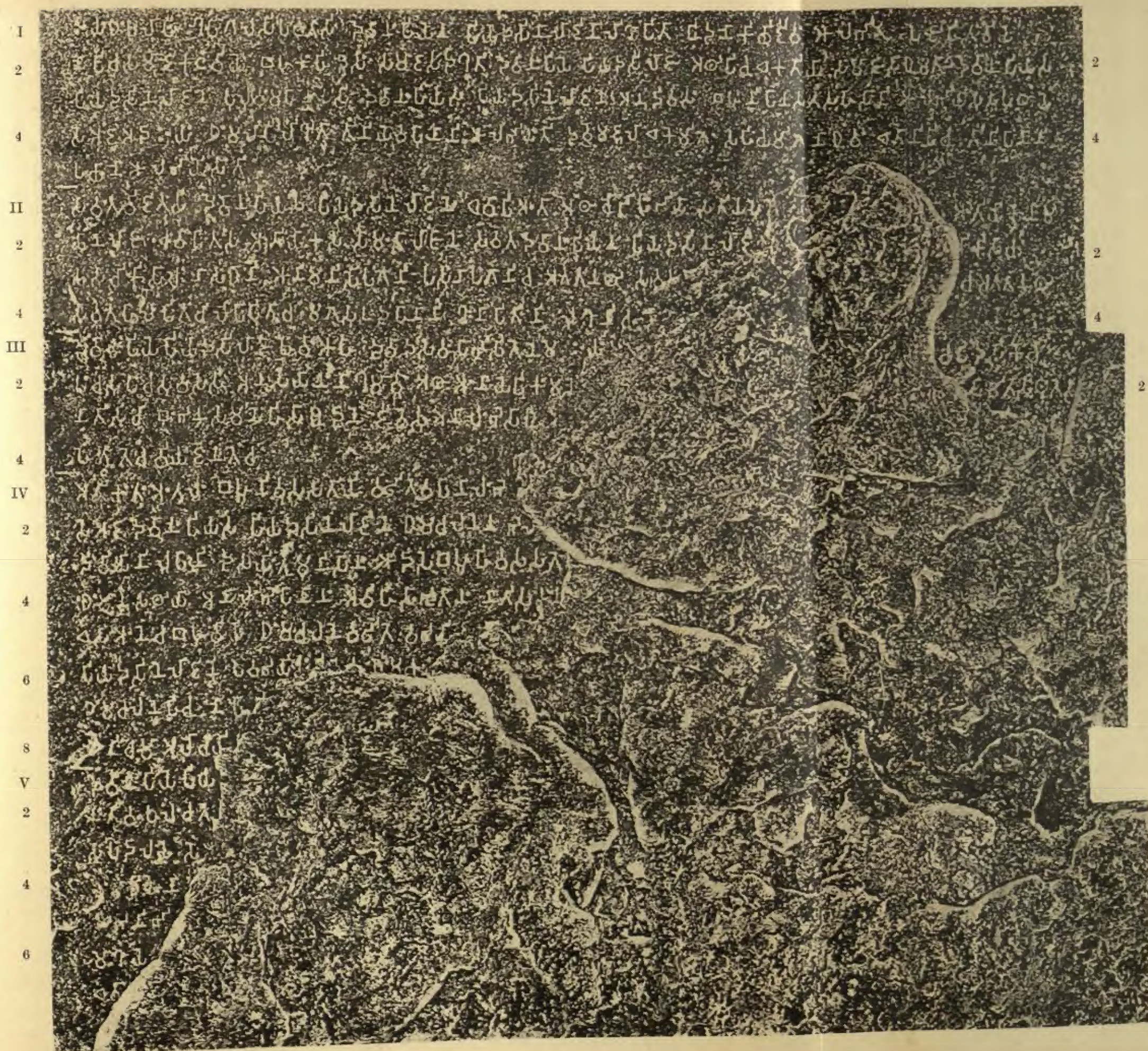
(J) For the following purpose has this been written, (viz. in order that) they should devote themselves to the promotion of this practice, and that they should not approve<sup>2</sup> the neglect (of it).

(K) This has been written here by king **Dēvānāṁpriya Priyadarśin** (when he had been) anointed twelve years.

<sup>1</sup> *dasayitu* Senart, *dasayitu* Bühler.

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. 31, n. 7.











## FIFTH ROCK-EDICT: JAUGADA

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये पियद . . . . .
- 2 नती व पलं च ते . . . . .
- 3 सुपदालये (H) से अ . . . . .
- 4 धंमाधिधाना . . . . .
- 5 . . भनिभि . . . . .
- 6 मोखाये . . . . .
- 7 ए वा . . . . .
- 8 . . . . .

- 1 (A) Devā[na]m̐piye Piya[da] . . . . .
- 2 nat[i]<sup>1</sup> va palam̐ cha te . . . . .
- 3 s[u]padālaye (H) se [a] . . . . .
- 4 [dha]m̐[m]ā[dh]i[th]ānā<sup>2</sup> . . . . .
- 5 . . bhanibhi . . . . .
- 6 mokhāye . . . . .
- 7 e [v]ā . . . . .
- 8 . . . . .

## TRANSLATION (DHAULI AND JAUGADA)

- ✓ (A) King Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin speaks thus.
- (B) It is difficult to perform virtuous deeds.
- (C) He [who starts performing] victorious deeds accomplishes something difficult.
- (D) Now, by me many virtuous deeds have been performed.
- (E) Therefore (among) my sons and grandsons, and (among) my descendants (who shall come) after them until the æon (of the destruction of the world), those who will conform to this (duty) will perform good deeds.
- (F) He who will neglect even a portion of this (duty) will perform evil deeds.
- (G) For sin indeed steps fast.<sup>3</sup>
- (H) Now in times past, (officers) called *Mahāmātras* of morality did not exist before.
- (I) But (the officers) called *Mahāmātras* of morality were appointed by me (when I had been) **anointed thirteen years**.
- (J) These are occupied with all sects in establishing morality, in promoting morality, and for the welfare and happiness of those who are devoted to morality (even) among the **Yōnas**, **Kambōchas**, and **Gandhālas**, among the **Laṭhikas** and **Pitōnikas**, and whatever other western borderers (of mine there are).
- (K) They are occupied with servants and masters, with Brāhmaṇas and Ibhyas,

<sup>1</sup> *nan̐ti* Senart, *nati* Bühler.<sup>2</sup> *°thānā* Bühler.<sup>3</sup> See above, p. 33, n. 3.



with the destitute, and with the aged, for the welfare and happiness of those who are devoted to morality,<sup>1</sup> (and) in releasing (them) from the fetters (of worldly life).<sup>2</sup>

(L) They are occupied in supporting prisoners (with money), in causing (their) fetters to be taken off, and in setting (them) free, if (one has) children, or is bewitched, or aged, respectively.

(M) They are occupied everywhere, both here and in all the outlying towns, in all the harems of myself, of my brothers, and of (my) sisters, and with (my) other relatives.

(N) These *Mahāmātras* of morality are occupied on the whole earth with those who are devoted to morality, (in order to ascertain) whether one is eager for morality, or established in morality, or furnished with gifts.

(O) For the following purpose has this rescript on morality been written, (viz. that) it may be of long duration, and (that) my descendants may conform to it.

### SIXTH ROCK-EDICT: JAUGADA

- 1 (A) . . . . नंपिये पियदसी लाजा हेवं आहा (B) अतिकंतं अंतलं नो हूतपुलुवे  
सवं कालं अठकंमे पटिवेदना व (C) से ममया कटे (D) सवं कालं  
2 . . . . . स मे अंते ओलोधनसि गभागालसि वचसि विनीतसि उयानसि च  
सवत पटिवेदका जनस अठं प्रटिवेदयंतु मे ति (E) सवत च जनस  
3 . . . . . कं (F) अं पि च किंछि मुखते आनपयामि दापकं वा सावकं  
वा ए वा महामातेहि अतियायिके आलोपिते होति तसि अठसि  
विवादे व  
4 . . . . . लिसायं आनंतलियं पटिवेदेतविये मे ति सवत सवं कालं (G)  
हेवं मे अनुसथे (H) नथि हि मे तोसे उठानसि अठसंतीलनाय च  
5 (I) . . . . . मे सवलोकहिते (J) तस च पन इयं मूले उठाने च  
अठसंतीलना च (K) नथि हि कंमतला सवलोकहितेन (L) अं च किंछि  
पलकमामि हकं  
6 . . . . . नियं येहं ति हिद च कानि सुखयामि पलत च स्वगं आलाधयंतू  
ति (M) एताये अठाये इयं धंमलिपी लिखिता चिलटितीका होतु  
7 . . . . . ता मे पलकमंतु सवलोकहिताये (N) दुकले चु इयं अनंत अगेन  
पलकमेन

- 1 (A) . . . . [na]m̐piye Piyadasī lājā hevaṁ āhā (B) atikaṁtaṁ aṁtalaṁ no hūta-  
puluve savaṁ kālaṁ aṭha-kaṁm[e] paṭivedanā va (C) se mamayā kaṭe (D)  
savaṁ kālaṁ  
2 . . . . . [sa m̐]e aṁte olodhanasi gabhāgālasī vachasi vinītaṣ[i] uyānasi cha savata  
paṭivedakā janasa aṭhaṁ praṭivedayaṁtu <sup>3</sup> me ti (E) savata cha janasa

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 33, n. 7.

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. 33, n. 8.

<sup>3</sup> The *r* is expressed by a horizontal stroke before *pa*, which therefore looks like *pe*; *paṭi* Senart and Bühler.



- 3 ..... [ka]m̐ (F) am̐ pi cha kimchhi mukhate ānapayāmi dāpakam̐ vā sāvakam̐  
vā e v[ā] mah[ā]mātehi a[t]i[yā]yike [ā]lopīte hoti tasi aṭhasi vivāde va
- 4 ..... lisāy[am̐<sup>1</sup> ā]nam̐[ta]liyam̐ paṭivedetaviye me ti savata savam̐  
kālam̐ (G) hevam̐ me anusathe (H) nathi hi me tose uṭhānasi aṭha-  
saṁtilan[ā]y[a] cha
- 5 (I) ..... me sava-loka-hite (J) tasa cha pana iyam̐ mūle uṭhāne cha aṭha-  
saṁtilanā cha (K) nathi hi k[am̐]matalā sava-loka-hiten[a] (L) am̐ cha kichhi  
p[a]lakamāmi hakam̐
- 6 ..... [n]iyam̐ yeham̐ ti hida cha kāni su[kha]yāmi palata cha svagam̐  
ālādhayaṁtū ti (M) etāye aṭhāye i[ya]m̐ dharima-lipī likhitā chila-ṭhitikā  
hotu<sup>2</sup>
- 7 ..... [t]ā<sup>3</sup> me [pa]lakamaṁtu sava-loka-hitāye (N) dukale chu i[ya]m̐ am̐nata  
agena palakamena

## TRANSLATION (DHAULI AND JAUGADA)

- (A) King Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin speaks thus.
- (B) In times past neither the disposal of affairs nor the submission of reports at all times did exist before.
- (C) But I have made (the following arrangement).
- (D) Reporters have to report to me the affairs of the people at any time (and) anywhere, while I am [eating], within<sup>4</sup> the harem, in the inner apartment, at the cowpen, in the palanquin, and in the park.
- (E) And everywhere I am disposing of the affairs of the people.
- (F) And also, if in the council (of *Mahāmātras*) a dispute arises, or an amendment is moved, in connexion with any donation or proclamation which I am ordering verbally, or (in connexion with) an emergent matter which has been delegated to the *Mahāmātras*, it must be reported to me immediately, anywhere, (and) at any time.
- (G) Thus I have ordered.
- (H) For I am never satisfied in exerting myself and in dispatching business.
- (I) For I consider it my duty (to promote) the welfare of all men.
- (J) But the root of that (is) this, (viz.) exertion and the dispatch of business.
- (K) For no duty is more important than (promoting) the welfare of all men.
- (L) And whatever effort I am making, (is made) in order that I may discharge the debt (which I owe) to living beings, (that) I may make them happy in this (world), and (that) they may attain heaven in the other (world).
- (M) For the following purpose has this rescript on morality been written, (viz. that) it may be of long duration, and (that) my sons (and) great-grandsons may display the same zeal for the welfare of all men.
- (N) But it is difficult to accomplish this without great zeal.

<sup>1</sup> *sāya* Senart and Bühler.<sup>2</sup> *hotū* Bühler.<sup>3</sup> On plate 68 of ASSI, vol. I, a portion of the syllable *pō* is visible before *tā*.<sup>4</sup> The preposition *ante*, 'within', is used with the locative, just as *anto* in Pāli; see Childers, *Pāli Dictionary*, p. 39 b.



## SEVENTH ROCK-EDICT: JAUGADA

- 1 (A) ..... दसी लाजा सवत इच्छति सवपासंडा वसे \* \* ति (B) सवे हि  
ते सयमं भावमुधी च इच्छति (C) मुनिसा च उचावुचछंदा उचावुचलागा  
2 (D) ..... सं व कच्छति (E) विपुले पि चा दाने ..... धी  
च नीचे बाढं

- 1 (A) ..... da[sī]<sup>1</sup> lājā savata ichhati sava-p[ā]saṁḍā va[s]e . . [t]i (B) [sav]e  
hi te sa[yama]m bhāva-[su]dhī cha ichhamti (C) munisā cha uchāvucha-chhamdā  
uchāvuch[a]-lāgā  
2 (D) ..... [sa]m<sup>2</sup> va kachhamti (E) [v]i[pul]e [p]i chā<sup>3</sup> [d]ā[ne] . . . . .  
[dhī] cha niche [b]āḍham

## TRANSLATION (DHAULI AND JAUGADA)

- (A) King Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin desires (that) all sects may reside everywhere.  
(B) For all these desire self-control and purity of mind.  
(C) And men possess various desires (and) various passions.  
(D) They will fulfil either the whole or (only) a portion (of their duties).  
(E) And even one who (practises) great liberality, (but) does not possess self-control and purity of mind, is very mean.

## EIGHTH ROCK-EDICT: JAUGADA

- 1 ..... विया अन्नानि च एदि ..... मानि हुवंति नं (C) से  
देवानंपिये  
2 पिय ..... दस ..... ता (E) ततेस होति स .....  
च दाने च वुढानं दसने च  
3 हिलंनपटिविधाने च ..... धंमपलिपुच्छा ..... िलामे  
होति देवानंपियस  
4 पियदसिने लाजिने भागे अ ...

- 1 \* ..... [v]i[y]ā [a]mnāni cha e[d]i ..... [m]āni huvaṁti nam (C) se  
Devānaṁpiye  
2 [Piya] ..... [dasa]<sup>5</sup> ..... [tā] (E) [ta]tesa hoti [sa] ..... cha  
dāne<sup>6</sup> cha vuḍhānam dasane cha  
3 hilaṁna-paṭiv[i]dh[ā]ne [cha] ..... [dha]mima-p[al]i[puchh]ā<sup>7</sup> .....  
ilāme hoti De[v]ānaṁpiyasa  
4 Piyadasine lājine bhāge [a] ...

<sup>1</sup> On plate 68 of ASSI, vol. I, the two syllables [Piya] are visible before *dasi*.

<sup>2</sup> The same plate reads [va] *eka-desam*.

<sup>3</sup> *cha* Senart and Bühler.

<sup>4</sup> At the beginning of this line, plate 68 of ASSI, vol. I, reads [a\*][ti] *kaṁṭam amṭalam lājā*.

<sup>5</sup> The same plate reads *Piyadasi* [lājā dasa].

<sup>6</sup> *cha* looks almost like *chu*, and *dāne* like *dāno*.

<sup>7</sup> -*pālī* Senart and Bühler.



## TRANSLATION (DHAULI AND JAUGADA)

(A) In times past, kings used to set out on so-called pleasure-tours.

(B) On these (tours) hunting and other such pleasures were (enjoyed).<sup>1</sup>

(C) But when king *Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin* had been anointed ten years, he went out to *Sambōdhi*.

(D) Therefore tours of morality (were undertaken) here.

(E) On these (tours) the following takes place, (viz.) visiting Śramaṇas and Brāhmaṇas and making gifts (to them), visiting the aged and supporting (them) with gold, visiting the people of the country, instructing (them) in morality, and questioning (them) about morality, as suitable for this (occasion).

(F) This second period (of the reign) of king *Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin* becomes a pleasure in a higher degree.

## NINTH ROCK-EDICT: JAUGADA

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसी लाजा . . . . . पजुपदाये पवाससि एताये  
अंनाये च  
2 हेदिसाये जने बहुकं . . . . . च मंगलं कलेति (D) से कटविये चेव  
खो मंगले  
3 (E) अपफले चु खो एस हेदिसे म . . . . . (F) इयं चु . . . . . सभटकसि  
संम्यापटिपति गुलूनं अपचिति पानेसु सयमे  
4 समनवाभनानं दाने एस अंने . . . . . पित्तिना पि पुतेन पि भातिना  
पि सुवामिकेन पि इयं साधु इयं कटविये  
5 . . . . . से दाने अनुगहे वा आदिसे धंमदाने धंमानुगहे च (K) से चु  
खो मितेन  
6 . . . . . यं साधू इमेन सकिये स्वगे आलाधयितवे (L) किं हि इमेन  
कटवियतला  
7 . . . . .

- 1 (A) Devān[am]piye Piyadasī lā[jā] . . . . . [pa]jupadāye pavāsasi etāye  
amnāye cha  
2 hedisāye jane [ba]hu[kam] . . . . . [cha ma]m[ga]lā[m] k[a]leti (D) se kaṭaviye  
cheva kho maṅgale  
3 (E) apa-[pha]le chu [kh]o e[sa] he[d]ise ma . . . . . (F) i[ya]m [chu]<sup>2</sup> . . . . .  
[sa-bha]ṭakasi saṁmyā-paṭipati gulūnaṁ apachiti pānesu say[a]me  
4 saman[a]-bābha[n]ā[nam d]ā[n]e [esa a]m[n]e . . . . . [pi]tinā pi putena pi  
bhātinaṁ pi suvāmike[na] pi iyaṁ sādhu iyaṁ kaṭaviye

<sup>1</sup> With *huvaṁti nam* cf. *eteḥi na* in the Kārī and Nāsik inscriptions (EI, 7. 64, text l. 4; 8. 65, text l. 14; 71, text l. 4; 73, text l. 11). In the Jaina Prākṛit, *nam* is used as an enclitical particle, and in Śaurasēnī, according to the grammarians, in the sense of *nanu*. Pischel (*Grammatik*, § 150) derives it from Skt. *nānam*.

<sup>2</sup> These two words are invisible on plate 68 of ASSI, vol. I.



5 .....[s]e dāne anugah[e] vā ādi[s]e dhamma-dāne dhammānugahe cha (K)  
se chu kho mītena  
6 .....yam sād[h]ū imena sakiye svage ālādhayitave (L) kim hi imena  
kaṭaviyatalā  
7 .....

## TRANSLATION (DHAULI AND JAUGADA)

(A) King Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin speaks thus.

(B) Men are practising various ceremonies during illness . . . . . at the marriage of a daughter, at the birth of a child,<sup>1</sup> (and) when setting out on a journey; on these and other such (occasions) men [are practising] many ceremonies.

(C) But . . . . . women are practising many and various vulgar and useless ceremonies.

(D) Now ceremonies should certainly be practised.

(E) But such ceremonies as these bear little fruit indeed.

(F) But the following bears much fruit indeed, viz. the practice of morality.

(G) Herein the following (are comprised), (viz.) proper courtesy to slaves and servants, reverence to elders, gentleness to animals, (and) liberality to Śramaṇas and Brāhmanas; these and other [such] (virtues) are called the practice of morality.

(H) Therefore a father, or a son, or a brother, or a master ought to say :—' This is meritorious. This [practice] should be observed until the (desired) object is attained.'

(I) And it has been said thus :—' Gifts are meritorious.'

(J) But there is no [such] gift or benefit as the gift of morality and the benefit of morality.

(K) Therefore a friend . . . . . [a relative], and a companion should indeed admonish (another) on such and such an occasion :—‘ This . . . . . this is meritorious. By this (practice) it is possible to attain heaven.’

(L) For what is more desirable than this, [viz.] the attainment of heaven?

## TENTH ROCK-EDICT: JAUGADA

1 (A) ..... यसो वा किटी वा इच्छति तदत्वाये आयातिये च जने धम्मसुसूसं  
सुसूसत्तु मे

२ ..... ति देवानंपिये पालतिकाये वा किंति सकले अपपलिसवे  
हवेया ति

3 (D) ..... लितिजितु खुदकेन वा उसटेन वा (F) उसटेन च दुकलतले

1 (A) . . . . . [ya]so vā ki[t̪]i vā ichh[a]ti tadatvāye ā[ya]tiye cha jane dhamma-  
susūsaṃ susūsatu me

<sup>2</sup> . . . . . [t]i Devānampīye pālatikāye vā ki[m̐]ti [sa]kale apa-palisave  
[h]uveyā ti

3 (D) . . . . . [l]itijit[u] khudakena [v]ā u[sat]ena vā (F) usatena chu dukalatale

<sup>1</sup> For *pajupadāye* see above, p. 38, n. 22.



VI

2

4

6

VII

2

VIII

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4

IX

2

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X

XIV

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## TRANSLATION (DHAULI AND JAUGADA)

(A) King Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin does not think that either glory or fame [conveys much advantage, except whatever] glory or fame he desires (on account of his aim that) at the present time, and in the future, men may (be induced) by him to practise obedience to morality . . . . . morality.

(B) On this (account) [he is desiring] glory and fame.

(C) [Whatever] effort Dēvānāmpriya is making, (is) only for the sake of (merit) in the other (world), (and) in order that all (men) may run little danger.

(D) The danger . . . . .

(E) . . . . . difficult to accomplish either for a lowly (person) or for a high one [without] great [zeal] and (without) laying aside every (other aim).

(F) But it is more difficult to accomplish for a high (person).

## FOURTEENTH ROCK-EDICT: JAUGADA

- 1 (A) . . . . . मङ्गिमेन अथि विथटेन (B) नो हि सवे सवत घटिते (C)  
महंते हि विजये  
2 . . . . . स माधुलियाये किंति च जने तथा पटिपजेया ति (E) ए पि  
चु हेत  
3 . . . . .

- 1 (A) . . . . . [ma]jhime[na] ath[i] vithaṭena (B) [no] hi save savata ghaṭite  
(C) mahante hi vijaye  
2 . . . . . [sa] mādhuliyāye kiṃt[i] cha jane tathā paṭipajeyā ti (E) e pi chu heta  
3 . . . . .

## TRANSLATION (DHAULI AND JAUGADA)

(A) These rescripts on morality [have been caused] to be written by king Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin . . . . . or of middle (size), or at full length.

(B) For the whole was not suitable everywhere.

(C) For (my) dominions are wide, and much has been written, [and I] shall cause [still] (more) to be written.

(D) . . . . . has been stated . . . . . because of the charm of [certain topics], and in order that men should act accordingly.

(E) But whatever of this is written incompletely . . . . .

## FIRST SEPARATE ROCK-EDICT: JAUGADA

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये हेवं आहा (B) समापायं महामाता नगलवियोहालक हेवं  
वतविया (C) अं किद्धि द्खामि हकं तं इद्धामि किंति कं कमन पटिपातयेहं  
2 दुवालते च आलभेहं (D) एस च मे मोखियमत दुवालं अं तुफेसु अनुसथि (E)  
फे हि वहुसु पानसहसेसु आयत पनयं गद्धेम सु मुनिसानं (F) सवमुना मे



- 3 पजा (G) अथ पजाये इहामि किंति मे सवेन हितसुखेन यूजेयू ति हिदलोगिक-  
पाललोकिकेन हेमेव मे इह सवमुनिसेसु (H) नो चु तुफे एतं पापुनाथ  
आवगमुके
- 4 इयं अठे (I) केचा एकमुनिसे पापुनाति से पि देसं नो सवं (J) दखथ हि तुफे पि  
सुविता पि (K) बहुक अठि ये एति एकमुनिसे बंधनं पलिकिलेसं पि  
पापुनाति (L) तत होति अक-
- 5 स्मा ति तेन बधनंतिक अन्ये च वगे बहुके वेदयति (M) तत तुफेहि इछितये  
किंति मभं पटिपातयेम (N) इमेहि जातेहि नो पटिपजति इसाय आमुलोपेन  
निदूलियेन
- 6 तुलाय अनावुतिय आलस्येन किलमथेन (O) हेवं इछितविये किंति मे एतानि  
जातानि नो ह्येयू ति (P) सवस चु इयं मूले अनामुलोपे अतुलना च  
(Q) नितियं एयं किलंते सिय . . . . .
- 7 संचलितु उथाया संचलितथ्ये तु वटितविय पि एतविये पि नीतियं (R) एवे  
दखेया आनंने णिभूपेतविये हेवं हेवं च देवानंपियस अनुसथि ति (S) एतं  
संपटिपातयं-
- 8 तं महाफले होति असंपटिपति महापाये होति (T) विपटिपातयंतं नो  
स्वगआलधि नो लाजाधि (U) दुआहले एतस कंसस स मे कुते मनो-  
अतिलेके (V) एतं संपटिपजमीने मम
- 9 च आननेयं एसथ स्वगं च आलाधयिसथा (W) इयं चा लिपी अनुतिसं  
सोतविया (X) अला पि खनेन सोतविया एककेन पि (Y) . . . . .  
मीने चघथ . . . . .
- 10 तवे (Z) एताये च अठाये इयं लिखिता लिपी एन महामाता नगलक सस्वतं  
समयं एतं युजेयु ति एन मुनिसानं अ . . . . . ने पलिकि  
. . . . . ये
- 11 पंचसु पंचसु वसेसु अनुसयानं निखामयिसामि महामातं अचंडं अफलुसं  
त . . . . . पि कुमाले वि . . त . . . . . मयि . . . . .  
लाते . . . . .
- 12 . . . . . वचनिक अद अनुसयानं निखमिसंति अतने कंसं . . . . .  
यितु तं पि तथा कलंति अथा . . . . .

- 1 (A) Dev[ā]nāmpiyē he[va]m [ā]hā (B) Sam[ā]pāyam mahāmātā [na]gala-  
viyohālaka he[va]m va]tav[i]y[ā] (C) am kichhi dakhāmi ha[ka]m [ta]m ichhām[i]  
k]imti[i] kam<sup>1</sup> kamana<sup>2</sup> pa]tipātayeham

<sup>1</sup> Senart and Bühler omit *kam*. Cf. the Jaugada separate edict II, end of line 1, and see above, p. 35, n. 12.

<sup>2</sup> [*kam*]mana Bühler.



- 2 duvālate cha ālabheham (D) es[a] cha me mokhiya-mata duvālam a[m] tuphesu  
anusathi (E) phe hi bahūsu pāna-sahasasu [ā]ya[ta] p[a]na[ya]m gachhema  
[su] m[u]n[i]s[ā]na[m] (F) sava-mu[n]ā me<sup>1</sup>
- 3 pajā (G) atha pa[jā]ye ichhām[i] kim[t]i me savena hita-sukhena y[ū]jeyū ti  
hi[dal]o[g]ik[a]-pālalokikena [he]meva me ichha sava-munis[e]su (H) no chu<sup>2</sup>  
tu[phe e]tam [p]ā[p]unātha āva-gamu[k]e<sup>3</sup>
- 4 [i]yam aṭh[e] (I) kechā eka-[muni]s[e]<sup>4</sup> pā[p]unāti<sup>5</sup> se pi desam no savam (J)  
dakhattha hi [tuphe] pi<sup>6</sup> suvitā [p]i (K) bahuka aṭhi<sup>7</sup> ye eti eka-munise  
ba[m]dhanam pali[kile]sam [p]i<sup>8</sup> pāpunāti (L) tata [ho]t[i] aka-
- 5 sm[ā] ti<sup>9</sup> ten[a] badhana[m]ti[ka]<sup>10</sup> anye<sup>11</sup> cha [va]ge bahuke vedayati (M) tata  
tuphe[hi] ichhi]taye kimti majham [pa]ṭipātayem[a] (N) imehi jāte[hi]<sup>12</sup> no  
[pa]ṭipa[ja]ti<sup>13</sup> i[s]ā[ya]<sup>14</sup> āsulopena [ni]ṭhū[li]ye[na]<sup>15</sup>
- 6 t[ul]āya<sup>16</sup> [a]nā[v]uti[ya]<sup>17</sup> āla[s]y[e]na ki]lamath[e]na (O) hevam ichhit[a]vi[y]e  
kimti me et[ā]ni jātā[ni] n]o hveyū<sup>18</sup> ti (P) savasa chu<sup>19</sup> iyam mū[le]  
a[n]ā[s]u[lo]p[e] atulanā cha (Q) n[ī]tiya[m] [e]y[am] k]il[am]e [siya] . . . .
- 7 samchalitu uthāy[ā]<sup>20</sup> samchalitavye tu v[a]ṭitaviya<sup>21</sup> [pi] etaviye pi n[ī]tiyam (R)  
eve dakh[e]yā<sup>22</sup> āna[m]ne<sup>23</sup> nijhap[e]ta[vi]ye<sup>24</sup> heva[m] hevam] cha  
**Devānam[p]i[ya]sa** an[u]sa[thi] ti (S) [eta]m [sam]paṭipā]ta[ya]m]-
- 8 tam mahā-phāle hoti asam]paṭipati mahāpāy[e] hoti (T) vipaṭipātaya[m]tam no  
svag[a]-ālādhi no lājādhi<sup>25</sup> (U) du[ā]hale etasa [ka]m]masa sa me k[u]t[e]  
ma[n]o-ati]le[ke]<sup>26</sup> (V) [eta]m sam]paṭipajamīne mama]
- 9 cha ānanyam esatha svagam cha ālā[dha]yisa[th]ā (W) iyam chā<sup>27</sup> li[p]i anutisam  
sot[a]v[i]yā (X) [a]lā<sup>28</sup> [p]i kha[ne]na sota[vi]yā ek[a]k[e]na pi (Y) . . . . .  
m[i]ne<sup>29</sup> ch[ag]hatha] . . . . .
- 10 tave (Z) etāye cha aṭh[ā]ye iyam [li]khitā [l]ipī ena mahāmātā nagalaka sa[s]vata[m]  
sama[ya]m [eta]m yu[j]ey[u] t[i] ena [muni]s[ā]nam [a] . . . . . ne [pal]i[k]i<sup>30</sup>  
. . . . . ye
- 11 [pa]mchasu pa[m]chasu va[sesu] anu[s]ayānam<sup>31</sup> nikhāma[y]isāmi<sup>32</sup> mahāmātā[m]  
acham]ḍa[m] apha[usa]m<sup>33</sup> ta<sup>34</sup> . . . . . pi kumāle [v]i<sup>35</sup> . . ta . . . . .  
m[ayi]<sup>36</sup> . . . . . [lā]t[e]<sup>37</sup> . . . . .

<sup>1</sup> Read -munisā me; -munise Senart and Bühler.

<sup>2</sup> cha Bühler.

<sup>3</sup> āvā- Bühler; -gamake Senart and Bühler.

<sup>4</sup> -pulise Senart and Bühler.

<sup>5</sup> pi manati Senart, pi [ma]nāti Bühler.

<sup>6</sup> hi Bühler. <sup>7</sup> aṭhi Bühler.

<sup>8</sup> hi Bühler.

<sup>9</sup> Senart and Bühler omit ti.

<sup>10</sup> bāndha° Senart and Bühler.

<sup>11</sup> Bühler omitted this word.

<sup>12</sup> jātehi Bühler.

<sup>13</sup> sam]paṭi° Senart, sam]ti° Bühler.

<sup>14</sup> isā[ye] Bühler.

<sup>15</sup> nithu° Senart, niṭhu° Bühler.

<sup>16</sup> tulāye Senart and Bühler.

<sup>17</sup> °tiye Senart and Bühler.

<sup>18</sup> heyū Senart and Bühler.

<sup>19</sup> cha Senart and Bühler.

<sup>20</sup> uthā[ye] Bühler.

<sup>21</sup> vajita° Senart and Bühler.

<sup>22</sup> dekheyi Senart and Bühler.

<sup>23</sup> ānna ne Senart and Bühler.

<sup>24</sup> nijha° Senart and Bühler.

<sup>25</sup> [ma]ne- Bühler.

<sup>27</sup> cha Senart and Bühler.

<sup>26</sup> Read lājāladhi.

<sup>30</sup> Restore akasmā bāndhane palikilese.

<sup>28</sup> Read aṁtālā.

<sup>29</sup> mane Bühler.

<sup>32</sup> °sāmī Bühler.

<sup>33</sup> apha]aha Bühler.

<sup>31</sup> °saṁyānam Senart and Bühler.

<sup>34</sup> Bühler adds . . vachanele; perhaps sakhinālam]ham is intended, as in the corresponding passage at Dhauli.

<sup>35</sup> vā Bühler.

<sup>36</sup> Restore nikhāmayisati.

<sup>37</sup> This is probably a remnant of Takhasilāte.



12 ..... vachanik[a]<sup>1</sup> ada<sup>2</sup> [anusa]yānaṃ<sup>3</sup> n[ikha]mi[sam]ti a[ta]ne ka[r̥ma]m  
 ..... [yitu taṃ pi tathā] kalamti [athā] .....

## TRANSLATION

- (A) *Dēvānāmpriya* speaks thus.  
 (B) The *Mahāmātras* at *Samāpā*, (who are) the judicial officers of the city, have to be told this.  
 (C) Whatever I recognize (to be right), that I strive to carry out by deeds, and to accomplish by (various) means.  
 (D) And this is considered by me the principal means, viz. (to give) instruction to you.  
 (E) For you are occupied with many thousands of men, with the object of gaining the affection of men.  
 (F) All men are my children.  
 (G) As on behalf of (my own) children I desire that they may be provided by me with complete welfare and happiness in this world and in the other world, even so is my desire on behalf of all men.  
 (H) But you do not learn this, (viz.) how far this (my) object reaches.  
 (I) Some single person (only) learns (this), (and) even he (only) a portion, (but) not the whole.  
 (J) Now you must also pay attention (to this), although you are in prosperous circumstances.<sup>4</sup>  
 (K) It happens frequently that a single person undergoes imprisonment and suffers harsh treatment.<sup>5</sup>  
 (L) In this case (an order) cancelling the imprisonment is (obtained) by him accidentally, while many other people<sup>6</sup> (continue to) suffer.  
 (M) In this case you must strive to deal (with all of them) impartially.  
 (N) One fails to act (thus) on account of the following dispositions: envy, anger, cruelty, hurry, want of practice, laziness, (and) fatigue.  
 (O) (You) must strive for this, that these dispositions may not arise in you.  
 (P) But the root of all is this: the absence of anger and the avoidance of hurry.  
 (Q) Whoever is fatigued in the administration (of justice), will [not] move and rise; but one ought to move, to walk, and to advance in the administration (of justice).  
 (R) He who will pay attention to this,<sup>7</sup> must exhort<sup>8</sup> (you) to discharge (your) debt (to the king), (by telling you): 'Such and such is the instruction of *Dēvānāmpriya*.'

<sup>1</sup> *javacha*<sup>o</sup> Senart, *ājavacha*<sup>o</sup> Bühler; cf. *ī[ā]ja-vachanik[a]* in the Jaugada separate edict II, B.

<sup>2</sup> *tada* Senart, *adā* Bühler.

<sup>3</sup> *saṃyānaṃ* Senart and Bühler.

<sup>4</sup> For *suṃvita* see Böhtlingk and Roth's Dictionary. Dhauḷi has the synonym *suṃvihita*.

<sup>5</sup> Lüders (SPAW\*1914. 862) renders the Dhauḷi version of this section: 'There is also a single officer who hears of imprisonment or torture'; but, in order to vindicate this translation, he is obliged to change *eti* in the Jaugada version to *eta* (p. 856, n. 17), which gives no sense. The verb *pāpunāti* has the same meaning as here in the rock-edict XIII; cf. above, p. 47, n. 5.

<sup>6</sup> For *vage* = *jane* see above, p. 40, n. 2.

<sup>7</sup> As *eve dakh[e]yā* corresponds to *hevaṃmeva e da[kheya]* at Dhauḷi, it seems to represent *evam e dakheyā*.

<sup>8</sup> For *nijhapeti* see above, p. 69, n. 4.



(S) If one observes this, great gain results, (but its) non-observance becomes a great evil.

(T) If one fails to observe (this), (there will be) neither attainment of heaven nor satisfaction of the king.

(U) How (could) my mind be pleased if one fulfils this duty badly?

(V) If (you) observe this, you will discharge the debt (which you owe) to me, and you will attain heaven.

(W) And this rescript must be listened to (by all) on every (day of) Tishya.

(X) It may be listened to even by a single (person) also on (other) occasions between (the days of) Tishya.

(Y) . . . . . you will be able to . . . . .

(Z) And for the following purpose has this rescript been written, (viz.) in order that the *Mahāmātras* (who are) city-judges may strive at all times for this, that to men [undeserved imprisonment or harsh treatment] . . . . .

(AA) . . . . . I shall send out every five years on a complete tour (throughout his charge)<sup>1</sup> a *Mahāmātra* who is neither fierce nor harsh . . . . .

(BB) . . . . . also the prince (governor) [will send out] . . . . .

(CC) . . . . . from [Takshaśī]lā.

(DD) When, at the word [of the king],<sup>2</sup> they will set out on tour, (then), [without neglecting] their own duties, (they will ascertain<sup>3</sup> whether the judicial officers) are carrying out this also just, as . . . . .

## SECOND SEPARATE ROCK-EDICT: JAUGADA

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये हेवं आह (B) समापायं महमता लाजवचनिक वतविया (C) अं किञ्चि दखामि हकं तं इछामि हकं किंति कं कमन
- 2 पटिपातयेहं दुवालते च आलभेहं (D) एस च मे मोखियमत दुवाल एतस अथस अं तुफेसु अनुसथि (E) सवमुनि-
- 3 सा मे पजा (F) अथ पजाये इछामि किंति मे सवेणा हितसुखेन युजेयू अथ पजाये इछामि किंति मे सवेन हितसु-
- 4 खेन युजेयू ति हिदलोगिकपाललोकिकेण हेवंमेव मे इछ सवमुनिसेसु (G) सिया अंतानं अविजिता-
- 5 नं किञ्चदि सु लाजा अफेसू ति (H) एताका वा मे इछ अंतेसु पापुनेसु लाजा हेवं इछति अनुविगिन ह्येयू
- 6 ममियाये अस्वसेसु च मे सुखंमेव च लहेयू ममते नो खं हेवं च पापुनेसु खमिसति ने लाजा
- 7 ए सकिये खमितवे ममं निमितं च धमं चलेयू ति हिदलोगं च पललोगं च आलाधयेयू (I) एताये

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 5, n. 4.

<sup>2</sup> See below, p. 117, n. 10.

<sup>3</sup> The word *jānisanti* seems to be omitted at Jaugada, but is required by the context; see the Dhaulī version, CC.



- 8 च अठाये हकं तुफेनि अनुसासामि अनने एतकेन हकं तुफेनि अनुसासितु छंदं  
च वेदि-
- 9 तु आ मम धिति पटिंना च अचल (J) स हेवं कटू कंमे चलितविये  
अस्वासनिया च ते एन ते पापुने-
- 10 यु अथा पित हेवं ने लाजा ति अथ अतानं अनुकंपति हेवं अफेनि अनुकंपति  
अथा पजा हे-
- 11 वं मये लाजिने (K) तुफेनि हकं अनुसासित छांदं च वेदित आ मम धिति  
पटिंना चा अचल सकल-
- 12 देसाआयुतिके होसामी एतसि अथसि (L) अलं हि तुफे अस्वासनाये हितसुखाये  
च तेसं हिद-
- 13 लोगिकपाललोकिकाये (M) हेवं च कलंतं स्वगं च आलाधयिसथ मम च  
आननेयं एसथ (N) ए-
- 14 ताये च अथाये इयं लिपी लिखित हिद एन महामाता सास्वतं समं युजेयू  
अस्वासनाये च
- 15 धंमचलनाये च अंतानं (O) इयं च लिपी अनुचातुंमासं सोतविया तिसेन (P)  
अंतला पि च सोतविया
- 16 (Q) खने संतं एकेन पि सोतविया (R) हेवं च कलंतं चघथ संपटिपातयितवे
- 1 (A) Devānaṃpiye hevaṃ ā[ha] (B) Samāpāyaṃ mahamatā l[ā]ja-vachanik[a]<sup>1</sup>  
vataviyā (C) aṃ kichhi dakh[ā]mi hakaṃ taṃ i[chh]āmi hakaṃ k[iṃ]ti kaṃ  
kamana
- 2 paṭipātayehaṃ duvā[la]te cha ālabhehaṃ (D) esa cha me mokhiya-mat[a]<sup>2</sup> duvā[la]  
etasa a[tha]sa a[ṃ] t[uph]esu anusa[thi] (E) sava-muni-
- 3 sā me pajā (F) atha pajāy[e] ichhāmi kiṃti me saveṇā hita-su[kh]ena yu[je]yū  
[a]tha pajāye ichhāmi kiṃ[ti] m[e] savena hita-su-
- 4 kh[e]na yujeyū<sup>3</sup> ti hida-logika-pālaloki[k]e[ṇa]<sup>4</sup> hevaṃmeva me ichha sava-  
munisesu (G) siyā aṃtānaṃ [a]vijitā-
- 5 naṃ kiṃ-chhāṃde<sup>5</sup> su lājā aphaṣū ti (H) etākā<sup>6</sup> [vā] me ichha [a]ṃtesu pāpune-yu  
lājā hevaṃ ichh[a]ti anu[v]i[g]ina hve[yū]<sup>7</sup>
- 6 mamiyāye [a]svaseyu cha me sukhaṃ[m]ev[a] cha lahey[ū] mamate [n]o kha[ṃ]<sup>8</sup>  
hevaṃ cha pāpune-yu kha[m]i[sa]ti ne lājā
- 7 e s[a]kiye<sup>9</sup> khamitave mamaṃ nimitaṃ cha dhamma[m]i<sup>10</sup> chaley[ū] ti hida-log[aṃ]  
cha palalogam cha ālādhayey[ū]<sup>11</sup> (I) etāye

<sup>1</sup> *laja*- Senart and Bühler.

<sup>2</sup> *-mate* Senart, *-matam* Bühler.

<sup>3</sup> Cancel the eight last words ([a]tha to yujeyū), which the writer has repeated by mistake.

<sup>4</sup> *kena* Senart and Bühler.

<sup>5</sup> *-chhāṃde* Senart and Bühler.

<sup>6</sup> Read *etākā*, as proposed by Lüders, SPAW, 1914. 867.

<sup>7</sup> *heyu* Senart and Bühler.

<sup>8</sup> Read *dukham*.

<sup>9</sup> *chha kiye* Senart, *chakiye* Bühler.

<sup>10</sup> The Anusvāra of *mam* stands above the line; *dhamma* Senart and Bühler.

<sup>11</sup> *yeyu* Senart and Bühler.



Sep. ed. II

2

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16

Sep. ed. I

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12







8. cha aṭhāye hakaṁ tupheni anusāsāmi ana[ne eta]kena [ha]kaṁ tupheni a[nu]sāsitu  
chhaṁda[m̐ cha] vedi-
9. [t]u ā mama dhiti paṭimnā cha achala (J) sa hevaṁ [ka]tū<sup>1</sup> k[am̐]me [cha]litaviye  
asvāsa[n̐]iyā ch[a] te en[a] te pāpune-
10. yu a[th]ā pita [h]evaṁ [n̐]e lājā ti atha [a]tānaṁ anukāmpat[i he]vaṁ a[ph]eni  
anuka[m̐pa]ti athā pajā he-
11. vaṁ [may]e lāj̐jine (K) tupheni hakaṁ anusāsita<sup>2</sup> [chh]āṁdam<sup>3</sup> [cha v̐]e[di]ta<sup>4</sup>  
[ā<sup>5</sup> ma]ma dhiti paṭi[m̐]nā chā achala [saka]la-
12. desā-āy[ut]ike<sup>6</sup> hosāmi et[a]si [a]thas[i] (L) [a]laṁ [h]i tuphe asvāsa[nā]ye hi[ta]-  
sukhāye [cha te]sa[m̐] hida-
13. logi[ka]-p[ā]lal[o]ki[k]ā[y]e (M) hevaṁ cha kalaṁtaṁ svaga[m̐ cha ā]lādhayisa[tha]  
mama cha āna[n̐]eyam̐ es[a]tha (N) e-
14. tāye cha a[th]āye i[ya]m̐ lipi li[kh]i[ta] hi<sup>7</sup>da e[na ma]h[ā]mātā sāsvatam̐<sup>8</sup> samam̐<sup>9</sup>  
yujeyū asvāsanāye cha
15. dhamma-chala[nā]ye [cha] am̐tā[na]m̐ (O) iyaṁ cha lipi a[nu]ch[ā]tum[m̐]āsam̐  
s[ota]viyā tisenā (P) am̐ta[lā] pi cha sotaviyā
16. (Q) khane sam̐tam̐ eke[na] pi [sota]v[i]yā (R) heva[m̐] cha [ka]laṁ[ta]m̐ chaghatha  
sam̐paṭipātayit[av]e

## TRANSLATION

- (A) *Dēvānāmpriya* speaks thus.
- (B) The *Mahāmātras* at *Samāpā* have to be told (this) at the word of the king.<sup>10</sup>
- (C) Whatever I recognize (to be right), that I strive to carry out by deeds and to accomplish by (various) means.
- (D) And this is considered by me the principal means for this object, viz. (to give) instruction to you.
- (E) All men are my children.
- (F) As on behalf of (my own) children I desire that they may be provided by me with complete welfare and happiness in this world and in the other world, even so is my desire on behalf of all men.
- (G) It might occur to (my) unconquered borderers (to ask): 'What does the king desire with reference to us?'
- (H) This alone is my wish with reference to the borderers, (that) they may learn (that) the king desires this, (that) they may not be afraid of me, but may have confidence in me; (that) they may obtain only happiness from me, not misery; (that) they may learn this, (that) the king will forgive them what can be forgiven; that they may (be induced) by me (to) practise morality; (and that) they may attain (happiness) both (in) this world and (in) the other world.

<sup>1</sup> *kaṭu* Senart and Bühler.<sup>2</sup> *chhaṁdam̐* Senart and Bühler.<sup>3</sup> Senart and Bühler omit *ā*.<sup>4</sup> *likhitā* Senart and Bühler.<sup>5</sup> The derivative *l[ā]ja-vachanik[a]* seems to convey the same meaning as the two words<sup>6</sup> Read *°sāsitu*, which is Bühler's reading.<sup>7</sup> Read *veditu*; *vedāta* Senart, *vedit[u]* Bühler.<sup>8</sup> Read *desāyutike*.<sup>9</sup> *sasvatam̐* Senart and Bühler.<sup>10</sup> Read *samayan̐*.<sup>11</sup> *Devānāmpriyasa vachanena* at the beginning of each of the two separate edicts at Dhauri, and of the Queen's pillar-edict at Allahabad. Cf. also the opening phrase of the Brahmagiri and Śiddhāpura rock-inscriptions.



(I) And for the following purpose I am instructing you, (viz. that) I may discharge the debt (which I owe to them) by this, that I instruct you and inform (you) of (my) will, i. e. (of) my unshakable resolution and vow.

(J) Therefore, acting thus, (you) must fulfil (your) duty and must inspire them with confidence,<sup>1</sup> in order that they may learn that the king is to them like a father, (that) he loves them as he loves himself, (and that) they are to the king like (his own) children.

(K) Having instructed you and having informed (you) of (my) will, i. e. (of) my unshakable resolution and vow, I shall have (i. e. maintain) officers in all provinces for this object.

(L) For you are able to inspire those (borderers) with confidence and (to secure their) welfare and happiness in this world and in the other world.

(M) And if (you) act thus, you will attain heaven, and you will discharge the debt (which you owe) to me.

(N) And for the following purpose has this rescript been written here, (viz.) in order that the *Mahāmātras* may strive at all times to inspire (my) borderers with confidence and (to induce them) to practise morality.

(O) And this rescript must be listened to (by all) every four months on (the day of) Tishya.

(P) And it may be listened to also between (the days of Tishya).

(Q) It may be listened to even by a single (person) when an occasion offers.<sup>2</sup>

(R) And if (you) act thus, you will be able to carry out (my orders).

## VII. THE BOMBAY-SOPARA FRAGMENT OF THE EIGHTH ROCK-EDICT

.....

5 निखमिठ स .....

6 (E) हेत इयं होति बंभ .....

7 वुढानं दसने च हिरंनपटिविधाने च .....

8 धंमानुसयि धंम .....

9 .. ये रती होति दे .....

10 .... ने भागे अं ..

.....

5 nikhamitha Sa<sup>3</sup> .....

6 (E) heta iyaṃ [ho]ti baṃ[bha] .....

7 vuḍhānaṃ dasane<sup>4</sup> [cha] hiraṃna-paṭivīdhāne cha .....

8 [dha\*]mmanusa[thi]<sup>5</sup> dhamma .....

9 .. ye [ra]tī<sup>6</sup> hoti De .....

10 .... n[e] bhāge aṃ ..

<sup>1</sup> With *asvāsa[n]iyā* cf. *visvaṃsayitave* on the Sārnāth pillar, ll. 8 and 9.

<sup>2</sup> The two words *khane samitān* are nominatives absolute; cf. above, p. 97, n. 3.

<sup>3</sup> *nikhamithā sam* Bhagvanlal Indrajī.

<sup>4</sup> These two words are entered above the line.

<sup>5</sup> °*sathi* Bh. I.

<sup>6</sup> °*ratī* Bh. I.

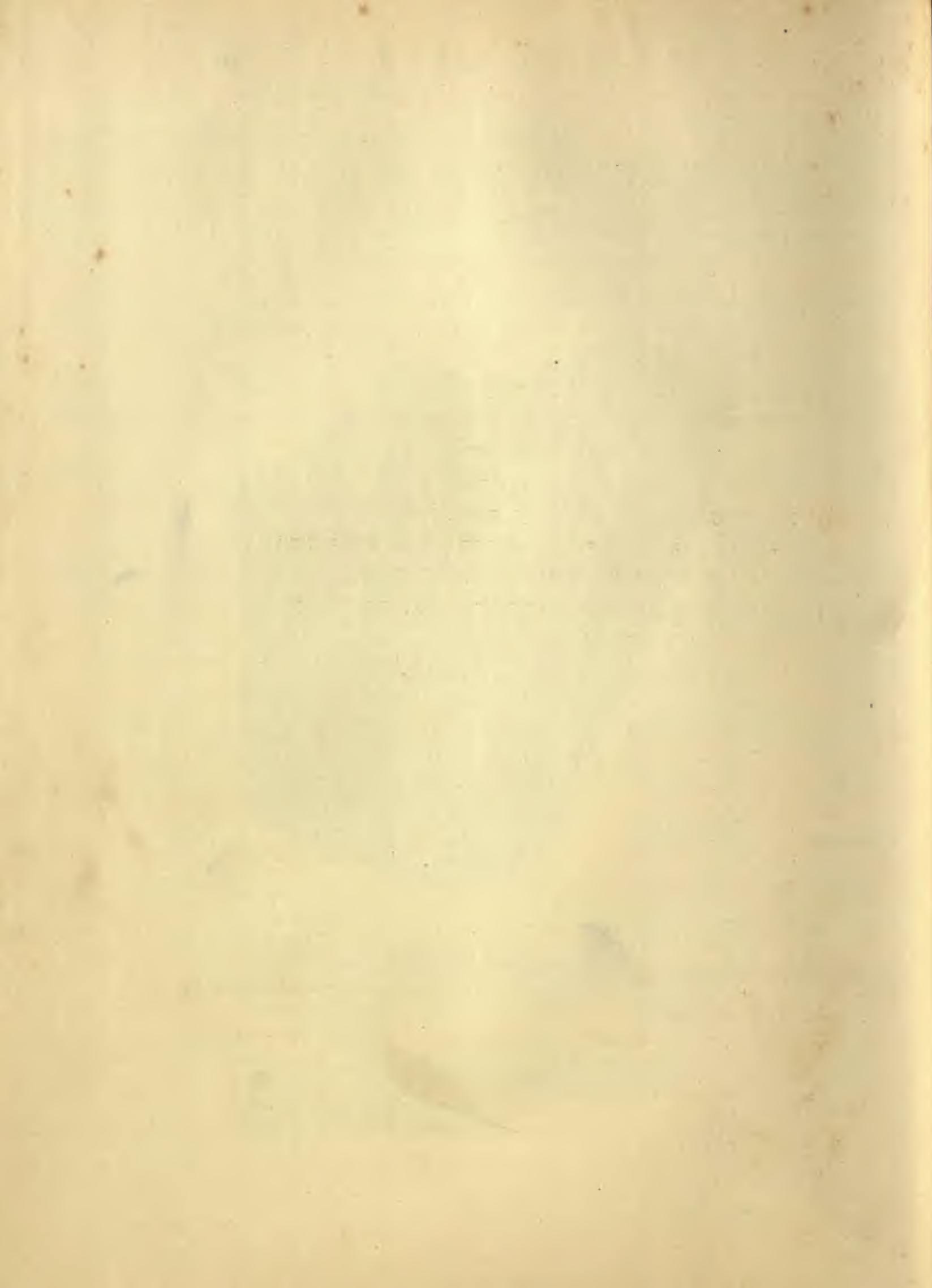


BOMBAY-SOPARA FRAGMENT OF THE EIGHTH ROCK-EDICT



SCALE ONE-THIRD







## SECOND PART: THE PILLAR-EDICTS

### I. THE DELHI-TOPRA PILLAR

#### FIRST PILLAR-EDICT: DELHI-TOPRA

*North Face of Pillar.*

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसि लाज हेवं आहा (B) सदुवीसति-
- 2 वसअभिसितेन मे इयं धम्मलिपि लिखापिता
- 3 (C) हिदतपालते दुसंपटिपादये अंनत अगाया धम्मकामताया
- 4 अगाय पलीखाया अगाय सुसूयाया अगेन भयेना
- 5 अगेन उसाहेना (D) एस चु खो मम अनुसथिया
- 6 धंमापेखा धम्मकामता चा सुवे सुवे वढिता वढीसति चेवा
- 7 (E) पुलिसा पि च मे उक्सा चा गेवया चा मझिमा चा अनुविधीयंती
- 8 संपटिपादयंति चा अलं चपलं समादपयितवे (F) हेमेवा अंत-
- 9 महामाता पि (G) एस हि विधि या इयं धंमेन पालना धंमेन विधाने
- 10 धंमेन सुखियना धंमेन गोती ति

- 1 (A) Devānāṃpiye Piyadasi lāja hevaṃ āhā (B) saḍḍuvisati-
- 2 vasa-abhisitena me iyaṃ dhamma-lipi likhāpitā
- 3 (C) hidata-pālate dusaṃpaṭipādaye aṇṇata agāyā dhamma-kāmatāyā
- 4 agāya palikhāyā agāya su[sū]yāyā aṇṇa bhayenā
- 5 aṇṇa usāhenā (D) esa chu kho mama anusathiyā
- 6 dhammāpekhā dhamma-kāmatā chā suve suve vaḍḍhitā vaḍḍhisati chevā
- 7 (E) pulisā pi cha me ukasā chā gevayā chā majhimā chā anuvīdhīyaṃtī
- 8 saṃpaṭipādayaṃtī chā alaṃ chapalaṃ samādapayitave (F) hemevā aṇṇa-
- 9 mahāmātā pi (G) esa<sup>1</sup> hi<sup>2</sup> vidhī yā iyaṃ dhammena pālānā dhammena vidhāne
- 10 dhammena sukhiyanā dhammena gotī ti

#### TRANSLATION

- ✓ (A) King Dēvānāṃpriya Priyadarśin speaks thus.  
 (B) This rescript on morality was caused to be written by me (when I had been) anointed twenty-six years.  
 (C) (Happiness) in this (world) and in the other (world)<sup>3</sup> is difficult to secure

<sup>1</sup> *esā* Bühler.

<sup>2</sup> *pi* Senart and Bühler; *hi* is quite distinct on the inked estampages.

<sup>3</sup> With the base *pālata*, which is derived from the Sanskrit adverb *paratra*, cf. *pāratrika* at Girnār (= *pālāntikya* at Kālsī, and *pālātika* elsewhere).



without great love of morality, careful examination, great obedience, great fear (of sin), (and) great energy.

(D) But indeed by my instruction this regard for morality and love of morality have been promoted day by day<sup>1</sup> and will progress still (more).

(E) And my agents<sup>2</sup> also, both the high ones<sup>3</sup> and the low ones,<sup>4</sup> and those of middle rank, are conforming to and practising (morality), (and are thus) able to stir up<sup>5</sup> fickle (persons).

(F) In the same way the *Mahāmātras* of the borderers<sup>6</sup> also (are acting).

(G) For (their) instruction (is) this, viz.<sup>7</sup> to protect according to morality, to dispose according to morality, to cause pleasure<sup>8</sup> according to morality, (and) to guard (their speech)<sup>9</sup> according to morality.

## SECOND PILLAR-EDICT: DELHI-TOPRA

### North Face of Pillar.

- 10 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसि लाज  
 11 हेवं आहा (B) धंमे साधू कियं चु धंमे ति (C) अपासिनवे बहु कयाने  
 12 दया दाने सचे सोचये (D) चखुदाने पि मे बहुविधे दिने (E) दुपद-  
 13 चतुपदेसु पखिवालिचलेसु विविधे मे अनुगहे कटे आ पान-  
 14 दाखिनाये (F) अन्नानि पि च मे बहूनि कयानानि कटानि (G) एताये मे  
 15 अठाये इयं धंमलिपि लिखापिता हेवं अनुपटिपजंतु चिलं-  
 16 थितिका च होतू ती ति (H) ये च हेवं संपटिपजीसति से सुकटं कळती ति

- 10 (A) Devānaṃpiye Piyadasi lāja<sup>10</sup>  
 11 hevaṃ āhā (B) dhaṃme sādhu kiyam chu dhaṃme ti (C) apāsinave<sup>11</sup> bahu kayāne  
 12 dayā dāne sache sochaye (D) chakhu-dāne pi me<sup>12</sup> bahuvīdhe diṃne (E) dupada-

<sup>1</sup> For *suve suve* = Skt. *svaḥ swaḥ* (literally: 'to-morrow to-morrow'), see Childers, *Pāli Dictionary*, s. v. *suve*.

<sup>2</sup> I adopt V. A. Smith's translation of *pulisa*; see his *Asoka*, sec. ed., p. 182, n. 3. Cf. the pillar-edict IV, G, and VII, M.

<sup>3</sup> *ukasa* (= *utkarsha*) is used in the sense of *utkrishṭa*.

<sup>4</sup> This meaning of *gevayā* is evident from the context. Bühler (ZDMG, 48. 62) derived *gevaya* (for *\*gēvaka*) from the root *gēv*, to which the *Dhātupāṭha* attributes the meaning of *sēv*, 'to serve'. For the change of *k* to *y* cf. *supadālaya*, above, p. 33, n. 3. But the existence of the root *gēv* is far from certain; see Lüders, SPAW, 1913. 991 and n. 1.

<sup>5</sup> For *samādapeti* see Childers, *Pāli Dictionary*, s. v. *samādiyati*.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. the separate edict II at Dhauri (M) and at Jaugaḍa (N).

<sup>7</sup> For this meaning of *yā iyaṃ* see Senart, IA, 17. 305, who compares with it the Pāli expression *yad idam*.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. the pillar-edict IV, E, and VII, V.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. the rock-edict XII, D.

<sup>10</sup> *lāja* Senart and Bühler.

<sup>11</sup> A superfluous horizontal stroke is attached to the left side of the lower portion of *ve*.

<sup>12</sup> A vertical stroke is attached to the bottom of *me*.



- 13 chatupadesu pakhi-vālichalesu vividhe me anugahe kaṭe ā pāna-  
 14 dākhināye (F) amnāni pi cha me bahūni kayānāni kaṭāni (G) etāye me  
 15 aṭhāye iyaṃ dhamma-lipi likhāpitā hevaṃ anupaṭipajāntu chilāṃ-  
 16 thitikā cha hotū tī ti<sup>1</sup> (H) ye cha hevaṃ saṃpaṭipajisati se sukaṭaṃ kachhati<sup>2</sup> ti

## TRANSLATION

- ✓ (A) King Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin speaks thus.  
 (B) (To practise) morality is meritorious; but what does morality include?<sup>3</sup>  
 (C) (It includes) few sins,<sup>4</sup> many virtuous deeds, compassion, liberality, truthfulness, (and) purity.  
 (D) The gift of spiritual insight<sup>5</sup> also has been bestowed by me in many ways.  
 (E) On bipeds and quadrupeds, on birds and aquatic animals various benefits have been conferred by me, (even) to the boon of life.<sup>6</sup>  
 (F) And many other virtuous deeds also have been performed by me.<sup>7</sup>  
 (G) For the following purpose was this rescript on morality caused to be written by me, (viz.) in order that (men) might conform to it, and that it might be of long duration.  
 (H) And he who will act thus will perform good deeds.<sup>8</sup>

## THIRD PILLAR-EDICT: DELHI-TOPRA

## North Face of Pillar.

- 17 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसि लाज हेवं अहा (B) कयानमेव देखति इयं मे  
 18 कयाने कटे ति (C) नो मिन पापं देखति इयं मे पापे कटे ति इयं वा आसिनवे  
 19 नामा ति (D) दुपटिवेखे चु खो एसा (E) हेवं चु खो एस देखिये (F) इमानि  
 20 आसिनवगामीनि नाम अथ चंडिये निदूलिये कोधे माने इस्या  
 21 कालनेन व हकं मा पलिभसयिसं (G) एस बाढ देखिये (H) इयं मे  
 22 हिदतिकाये इयंमन मे पालतिकाये

<sup>1</sup> The remaining versions read *hotū ti*. Three verses of Manu in which *iti* is doubled are quoted in Böhtlingk and Roth's *Wörterbuch*, I, p. 790, l. 18. Cf. also *kiti tī* at Kālsī, XII, D.

<sup>2</sup> An apparent Anusvāra after *ka* is probably accidental.

<sup>3</sup> Burnouf (*Lotus*, p. 667) explained *kiyaṃ* = Skt. *kiyān*.

<sup>4</sup> *āsinava* is a dialectic variety of the Jaina term *aṇhaya* which is derived from *ā + snu*; see Weber's *Ind. Studien*, 16, 326, n. 7, and Michelson, IF, 23, 267 f. The corresponding Pāli term is *āsava*, which is Sanskritized by *āsrava* or *āsraṇa*. See Burnouf, *Lotus*, p. 822 f.; *Sarvadarśana-saṃgraha*, translated by Cowell and Gough, p. 53 f.; ZDMG, 72, 149. With the compound *apāsinaṇe* cf. *apa-vyayātā*, *apa-phalaṇi*, and *apa-parisraṇe* in the Gīrnār edict III, l. 5, IX, l. 3, and X, l. 3, respectively.

<sup>5</sup> Literally: 'the gift of the eye'. According to the *Itivuttaka* (ed. by Windisch, p. 52), the three *chakkhūni* are *maṃsa-chakkhu*, *dibba-chakkhu*, and *paññā-chakkhu*; see Bühler, ZDMG, 48, 62.

<sup>6</sup> For details of these regulations see the pillar-edict V.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. the rock-edict V, D.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. the same edict, E.



- 17 (A) Devānāmpiye Piyadasi lāja hevaṃ ahā (B) kayānaṃmeva dekhati iyaṃ me  
 18 kayāne kaṭe ti (C) no mina pāpaṃ d[e]khati iyaṃ me pāpe kaṭe ti iyaṃ vā āsinave  
 19 nāmā ti (D) dupaṭivekhe chu kho esā (E) hevaṃ chu kho esa dekhiye (F) imāni  
 20 āsinava-gāmini nāma atha chaṃḍiye niṭhūliye kodhe māne isyā  
 21 kālanena va hakaṃ mā palibhasayisaṃ (G) esa bādha dekhiye (H) iyaṃ me  
 22 hidatikāye iyaṃmana me pālatikāye

## TRANSLATION

- ✓ (A) King Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin speaks thus.  
 (B) (Men) regard only (their) virtuous deeds, (thinking): 'This virtuous deed has been performed by me.'  
 (C) They do not at all<sup>1</sup> regard (their) evil deeds, (thinking): 'This evil deed has been performed by me; this very (act) is called a sin.'<sup>2</sup>  
 (D) Now this is indeed difficult to recognize.  
 (E) But indeed this ought to be regarded thus:  
 (F) 'These (passions), viz. fierceness, cruelty, anger, pride, envy, are called sinful.'<sup>3</sup> Let me not<sup>4</sup> ruin (myself) by (these) very (passions).'  
 (G) The following ought to be specially regarded:  
 (H) 'This (action conduces) to my (happiness) in this (world), that other (action)<sup>5</sup> to my (happiness) in the other (world).'

## FOURTH PILLAR-EDICT: DELHI-TOPRA

*West Face of Pillar.*

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसि लाज हेवं आहा (B) सडुवीसतिवस-  
 2 अभिसितेन मे इयं धंमलिपि लिखापिता (C) लजूका मे  
 3 बहूसु पानसतसहसेसु जनसि आयता (D) तेसं ये अभिहाले वा  
 4 दंडे वा अतपतिये मे कटे किंति लजूका अस्वथ अभीता

<sup>1</sup> Michelson (IF, 23. 236 f.) dissolves *nomina* into *no amina*, and identifies *amina* with the Pāli *aminā*, to which he attributes the meaning 'also'; but this word rather means 'hereby'. Bühler (EI, 2. 251, n. 21) seems to be right in taking *no mina* = Skt. *na manāk*. For the change of *a* to *i* cf. Pischel's *Grammatik*, §§ 101-103.

<sup>2</sup> For *āsinava* see above, p. 121, n. 4.

<sup>3</sup> With the compound *āsinava-gāmini* cf. *ava-gamuka* in the first separate edict at Dhauḷi (G) and Jaugaḍa (H).

<sup>4</sup> See Michelson, IF, 23. 262. To the reasons adduced by him against taking *mā* to be the accusative of the pronoun *mad*, we may add that, if *mā* were the object of *palibhasayisaṃ*, it would be an unidiomatic substitute of Skt. *ātmanam*.

<sup>5</sup> Michelson (IF, 23. 237 f.) connects *mana* with Skt. *manāk*, and Bühler translated it by 'at least'. The adverb *mana* does occur in the *Jātaka*, vol. I, p. 405, verse 97, where it means 'nearly'. I suspect that *iyaṃmana* represents Skt. *idam anyat*. For the Sandhi cf. *kayānaṃmeva* in line 17; *hevaṃmeva* (or *°vā*) in the Allahabad-Kōsam pillar-edict VI, D, the Dhauḷi separate edict I, l. 13, the Jaugaḍa separate edict II, l. 4, and the Calcutta-Bairāt rock-inscription, F; *sukhaṃmeva* in the Dhauḷi separate edict II, l. 5, and the Jaugaḍa separate edict II, l. 6.











- 5 कंमानि पवतयेवू जनस जानपदसा हितसुखं उपदहेवू  
 6 अनुगहिनेवु चा (E) सुखीयनदुखीयनं जानिसंति धंमयुतेन च  
 7 वियोवदिसंति जनं जानपदं किंति हिदतं च पालतं च  
 8 आलाधयेवू ति (F) लजूका पि लघंति पटिचलितवे मं (G) पुलिसानि पि मे  
 9 छंदंनानि पटिचलिसंति (H) ते पि च कानि वियोवदिसंति येन मं लजूका  
 10 चघंति आलाधयितवे (I) अथा हि पजं वियताये धातिये निसिजितु  
 11 अस्वथे होति वियत धाति चघति मे पजं सुखं पलिहटवे  
 12 हेवं ममा लजूका कटा जानपदस हितसुखाये (J) येन एते अभीता  
 13 अस्वथ संतं अविमना कंमानि पवतयेवू ति एतेन मे लजूकानं  
 14 अभिहाले व दंडे वा अतपतिये कटे (K) इच्छितविये हि एसा किंति  
 15 वियोहालसमता च सिय दंडसमता चा (L) अव इते पि च मे आवुति  
 16 बंधनवधानं मुनिसानं तीलितदंडानं पतवधानं तिंनि दिवसानि मे  
 17 योते दिने (M) नातिका व कानि निरूपयिसंति जीविताये तानं  
 18 नासंतं वा निरूपयिता दानं दाहंति पालतिकं उपवासं व कछंति  
 19 (N) इच्छा हि मे हेवं निलुधसि पि कालसि पालतं आलाधयेवू ति (O) जनस च  
 20 वढति विविधे धंमचलने संयमे दानसविभागे ति

- 1 (A) Devānāmpīye Piyadasi I[ā]ja hevaṃ āhā (B) saḍuvisati-vasa-  
 2 abhisitena me iyaṃ dhamma-lipi likhāpitā (C) lajūkā me  
 3 bahūsu pāna-sata-sahasasu janasi āyatā (D) tesāṃ ye abhihāle vā  
 4 daṃḍe vā ata-patiye me kaṭe kiṃti lajūkā asvatha abhītā  
 5 kaṃmāni pavatayevū janasa jānapadasā hita-sukhaṃ upadahevū  
 6 anugahinevu chā (E) sukhīyana-dukhīyanaṃ jānisanti dhamma-yutena cha  
 7 viyovadisanti janaṃ jānapadaṃ kiṃti hidataṃ cha pālataṃ cha  
 8 ālādhayevū ti (F) lajūkā pi laghamti paṭichalitave maṃ (G) pulisāni pi me  
 9 chhamdamaṇāni paṭichalisanti (H) te pi cha kāni viyovadisanti yena maṃ lajūkā  
 10 chaghamti ālādhayitave (I) athā hi paṇaṃ viyatāye dhātiye nisijitu  
 11 asvathe hoti viyata dhāti chaghati me paṇaṃ sukhaṃ palihaṭave  
 12 hevaṃ mama lajūkā kaṭā jānapadasa hita-sukhāye (J) yena ete abhītā  
 13 asvatha samtaṃ avimaṇā kaṃmāni pavatayevū ti etena me lajūkānaṃ  
 14 abh[i]hāle<sup>1</sup> va daṃḍe vā ata-patiye kaṭe (K) ichhitaviye [h]i esā kiṃti  
 15 viyohāla-samatā cha siya daṃḍa-samatā chā (L) ava ite pi cha me āvuti  
 16 baṃdhana-badhānaṃ munisānaṃ tūl[i]ta-daṃḍānaṃ<sup>2</sup> pata-vadhānaṃ timni  
 17 yote diṃne (M) nātikā va kāni nijhapayisanti jivitāye tānaṃ  
 18 nāsanti vā nijhapayitā dānaṃ dāhamti pālataṃ upavāsaṃ va kachhamti  
 19 (N) ichhā hi me hevaṃ niludhasi pi kālasi pālataṃ ālādhayevū ti (O) janasa cha  
 20 vaḍhati vividhe dhamma-chalane saṃyame dāna-savibhāge ti

<sup>1</sup> abhihāle Bühler.<sup>2</sup> tilita. Senart and Bühler.



## TRANSLATION

(A) King Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin speaks thus.

(B) This rescript on morality was caused to be written by me (when I had been) anointed twenty-six years.

(C) My *Lajūkas*<sup>1</sup> are occupied with the people, with many hundred thousands of men.<sup>2</sup>

(D) I have ordered that either rewards<sup>3</sup> or punishments are left to their discretion,<sup>4</sup> in order that the *Lajūkas* should perform (their) duties confidently (and) fearlessly, that they should bestow welfare and happiness on the people of the country, and that they should confer benefits (on them).

(E) They will know how to cause pleasure<sup>5</sup> and to cause pain (to them), and will exhort the people of the country through those who are devoted to morality,<sup>6</sup> in order that they may attain (happiness) both in this (world) and in the other (world).

• (F) The *Lajūkas* also must obey me.<sup>7</sup>

(G) They will also obey the agents<sup>8</sup> who know (my) wishes.

(H) And these (agents) will also exhort those (people),<sup>9</sup> in order that the *Lajūkas* may be able to please me.<sup>10</sup>

(I) For, as one feels confident after having entrusted (his) child to an intelligent<sup>11</sup> nurse, (thinking): 'The intelligent nurse will be able to keep my child well', so the *Lajūkas* were appointed by me for the welfare and happiness of the country-people.<sup>12</sup>

(J) In order that they should perform (their) duties, being fearless, confident, (and) unperturbed,<sup>13</sup> for this (purpose) I have ordered that either rewards or punishments are left to the discretion of the *Lajūkas*.

<sup>1</sup> For *Lajūka* or *Rājūka* see above, p. 5, n. 2.

<sup>2</sup> For *āyata* cf. above, p. 95, n. 4.

<sup>3</sup> In the *Jātaka* the word *abhihāra* has the meaning of 'a present, an offering'; see Bühler, ZDMG, 46. 539 f., and Lüders, SPAW, 1913. 991 f.

<sup>4</sup> As shown by Lüders (SPAW, 1913. 990 f.), *ata-patiya* is an adjective formed of *ātman* + *pati* with the affix *-ya*, which seems to stand for *-ka*; see Franke, VOJ, 9. 347. Cf. *nilathiya* in the Kālsī rock-edict IX, C, and *aṭṭha-bhāgiya* on the Rummindē pillar, C.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. *sukhiyanā* in the pillar-edict I, l. 10, and *sukhāyanā*, VII, V.

<sup>6</sup> Bühler translated *dhamma-yutena* by 'in accordance with the principles of the sacred law'. In the pillar-edict VII, N, *dhamma-yu[ta]n* is an adjective qualifying *janam*, 'the people who are devoted to morality'. The same translation suits *dhama-yute[na]* at Maski, l. 5, and the substantives *dhrama-yutasa* and *dhrama-yutasi* in the Shāhbāzgarhi rock-edict V (J, K, N), which, as the variant [*dhamma*]-*yutānam* at Gīrnār (V, K) shows, are used (just as here) in a collective sense. V. A. Smith (*Asoka*, sec. ed., p. 185) and Lüders (SPAW, 1913. 992) understand the word *dhama-yukta* to be the collective designation of certain officials.

<sup>7</sup> Kern (*Jaartelling*, p. 96) compared *laghamti* with Skt. *arhanti*.

<sup>8</sup> Lüders (SPAW, 1913. 992 ff.) has shown that *pulisāni* is the accusative of *pulisā*, which occurs in the pillar-edict I, E, and VII, M; cf. above, p. 30, n. 1.

<sup>9</sup> For *kāni* see above, p. 35, n. 12.

<sup>10</sup> For *chaghati* = Skt. *śakshyati* see above, p. 97, n. 4.

<sup>11</sup> Kern (*Jaartelling*, p. 99) first identified *viyata* with Skt. *vyakta*, which, according to the *Amarakōśa*, has also the meaning of *prājña*, and which is used with this meaning in Buddhist Sanskrit; see Böhtlingk's *Abridged Dictionary*, s.v. व्यक्त, and Aśvaghōsha's *Saundarananda*, II, 38.

<sup>12</sup> I follow Senart and Lüders (SPAW, 1913. 1009 f.) in making this section end here.

<sup>13</sup> *saṃtam* is a nominative singular absolute. See Lüders, SPAW, 1913. 1010 f., and cf. above, p. 97, n. 3.



(K) For the following is to be desired, (viz.) that there should be both impartiality in judicial proceedings and impartiality in punishments.

(L) And my order<sup>1</sup> (reaches) even so far<sup>2</sup> (that) a respite of three days is granted by me to persons lying in prison on whom punishment has been passed,<sup>3</sup> (and) who have been condemned to death.

(M) (In this way) either (their) relatives will persuade<sup>4</sup> those (*Lajūkas*) to (grant) their life, or, if there is none who persuades (them),<sup>5</sup> they will bestow gifts or will undergo fasts in order to (attain happiness) in the other (world).<sup>6</sup>

(N) For my desire is this, that, even when the time (of respite) has expired,<sup>7</sup> they should attain (happiness) in the other (world).

(O) And various moral practices, self-control, (and) the distribution of gifts are (thus) promoted among the people.

## FIFTH PILLAR-EDICT: DELHI-TOPRA

*South Face of Pillar.*

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसि लाज हेवं अहा (B) सडुवीसतिवस-
- 2 अभिसितेन मे इमानि ज्ञातानि अवधियानि कटानि सेयथा
- 3 सुके सालिका अलुने चकवाके हंसे नंदीमुखे गेलाटे
- 4 जतूका अंवाकपीलिका दळी अनठिकमछे वेदवेयके
- 5 गंगापुपुटे संकुजमछे कफटसयके पंनससे सिमले
- 6 संडके ओकपिंडे पलसते सेतकपोते गामकपोते
- 7 सवे चतुपदे ये पटिभोगं नो एति न च खादियती (C) . . . . . f

<sup>1</sup> With *āvuti* = *āyukti* (Senart) cf. *-āvutike* in the Dhauli separate edict II, l. 8 = *-āy[ut]ike* at Jaugaḍa, II, l. 12; *viśava* at Sāmāth (l. 10), Shāhbāzgarhī, and Mānsehrā, and *viśava* at Kālsī = *vi[sa]ya* at Gīrnār, XIII, R; *supadarave* at Mānsehrā = *supadālaye* at Kālsī, Dhauli, and Jaugaḍa, V, G; *sochave* in the Delhi-Tōprā pillar-edict VII, l. 28 = *sochaye* in edict II, l. 12.

<sup>2</sup> Senart (IA, 18. 9) translated *ava ite* (= Skt. *yāvad itah*) by 'from this day'. I follow Bühler's rendering (EI, 2. 254), and compare *āva-gamu[k]e* in the first separate edict at Dhauli (G) and Jaugaḍa (H). Michelson (IF, 23. 236) compares *ava* with Avestan *yavat*, and *āvā*, the reading of three other versions of this edict, with Ancient Persian *yāvā*.

<sup>3</sup> With *tilita-daiṇḍa* cf. *tiritam* (*kāryam*), Manu, IX, 233, and *atha-samīraṇā* at Gīrnār, VI, ll. 9, 10.

<sup>4</sup> Literally: 'will induce to meditate or consider'. Lüders (SPAW, 1913. 1022 f.) quotes *na machchuno nijjhapaṇam karonti* from the *Jātaka*. The means of 'persuasion' was evidently the payment of ransom; cf. the *Kaṭṭhiya*, p. 146, last line: पुण्णशीलाः समयानुवदा वा दोषनिष्कयं [वन्धनस्थानां] दयुः.

<sup>5</sup> Three other versions read: 'if there is none to persuade (them)'. Lüders (SPAW, 1913. 1023) has explained *nāsaṃtām* as the nominative singular absolute of the participle present of *nathi* (Skt. *nāsti*).

<sup>6</sup> As shown by Lüders (SPAW, 1913. 1024 f.), the prisoners themselves are the subject of the last sentence.

<sup>7</sup> Bühler (EI, 2. 254, n. 28) took *niruddhē 'pi kālē* in the sense of *nirōdha-kālē 'pi*, 'even during (their) imprisonment'. Lüders (SPAW, 1913. 1026) translates: 'even in limited time', and Thomas (JRAS, 1916. 123): 'though their hour of death is irrevocably fixed'. In favour of my rendering I may quote Childers, s. v. *niruddho*.



- 8 एळका चा सूकली चा गभिनी व पायमीना व अवधिय पत्तके .  
 9 पि च कानि आसंमासिके (D) वधिकुकुटे नो कटविये (E) तुसे सजीवे  
 10 नो भूपेतविये (F) दावे अनठाये वा विहिसाये वा नो भूपेतविये  
 11 (G) जीवेन जीवे नो पुसितविये (H) तीसु चातुंमासीसु तिसायं पुनमासियं  
 12 तिंनि दिवसानि चावुदसं पंनडसं पटिपदाये धुवाये चा  
 13 अनुपोसथं मछे अवधिये नो पि विकेतविये (I) एतानि येवा दिवसानि  
 14 नागवनसि केवटभोगसि यानि अनानि पि जीवनिक्कायानि  
 15 न हंतवियानि (J) अठमीपखाये चावुदसाये पंनडसाये तिसाये  
 16 पुनावसुने तीसु चातुंमासीसु सुदिवसाये गोने नो नीलखितविये  
 17 अजके एडके सूकले ए वा पि अंने नीलखियति नो नीलखितविये  
 18 (K) तिसाये पुनावसुने चातुंमासिये चातुंमासिपखाये अस्वसा गोनसा  
 19 लखने नो कटविये (L) यावसदुवीसतिवसअभिसितेन मे एताये  
 20 अंतलिकाये पंनवीसति बंधनमोखानि कटानि

- 1 (A) Devānampiye Piyadasi lāja hevaṃ ahā (B) saḍuvisati-vasa-  
 2 abhisitena me imāni jātāni avadhiyāni kaṭāni seyathā  
 3 suke sālikā alune chakavāke haṃse naṃdīmukhe gelāṭe  
 4 jatūkā ambā-kapīlikā daḷi<sup>1</sup> anaṭhika-machhe vedaveyake  
 5 Gaṃgā-puṇṭake saṃkuja-machhe kaphaṭ[a]-sayake paṃna-sase simale  
 6 saṃḍake okapiṃḍe palasate seta-kapote gāma-kapote  
 7 save chatupade ye paṭibhogam no eti na cha khādiyati<sup>2</sup> (C) . . . . . i<sup>3</sup>  
 8 [e]lakā<sup>4</sup> chā sūkali chā gabhinī va pāyamīnā va avadhi[y . p . ta]ke<sup>5</sup>  
 9 pi cha kāni āsaṃmāsike (D) vadhi-kukūṭe no kaṭaviye (E) tuse sajīve  
 10 no jhāpetaviye (F) dāve anaṭhāye vā vihisāye vā no jhāpetaviye  
 11 (G) jīvena jīve no pusitaviye (H) tisu chātummāsīsu tisāyaṃ puṇṇamāsīyaṃ  
 12 tiṃni divasāni chāvudasam paṃnaḍasam paṭipadāy[e] dhuvāye chā  
 13 anuposatham machhe avadhiye no pi viketaviye (I) etāni yevā<sup>6</sup> divasāni  
 14 nāga-vanasi kevaṭa-bhogasi yāni amnāni pi jīva-nikāyāni  
 15 no haṃtavīyāni (J) aṭhamī-pakhāye chāvudasāye paṃnaḍasāye tisāye  
 16 punāvasune tisu chātummāsīsu sudivasāye gone no nilakhitaviye  
 17 ajake eḍake sūkale e vā pi aṃne nilakhiyati no nilakhitaviye  
 18 (K) tisāye punāvasune chātummāsīye chātummāsī-pakhāye asvasā gonasā  
 19 lakhane no kaṭaviye (L) yāva-saḍuvisati-vasa-abhisitena me etāye  
 20 amtalikāye paṃnavīsati baṃdhana-mokhāni kaṭāni

<sup>1</sup> *daḷi* Bühler; but see his *Ind. Pal.*, § 16, C, 41, and Lüders in JRAS, 1911. 1088. Three other versions read *duḷi*, and the Allahabad-Kōsam pillar *duḷi*.

<sup>2</sup> *khādiyati* Bühler.

<sup>3</sup> Three other versions read *ajakā nāni*.

<sup>5</sup> Restore *avadhiyā potake*.

<sup>4</sup> *eḍakā* Bühler.

<sup>6</sup> *yeva* Bühler.



## TRANSLATION

(A) King Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin speaks thus.

(B) (When I had been) anointed twenty-six years, the following animals were declared by me inviolable, viz.<sup>1</sup> parrots, mainas, the *aruṇa*, ruddy geese, wild geese, the *nandī*, the *gelāṭa*, bats, queen-ants,<sup>2</sup> terrapins,<sup>3</sup> boneless fish, the *vedaveyaka*, the *Gaṅgā-puṇḍṛaka*, skate-fish,<sup>4</sup> tortoises<sup>5</sup> and porcupines, squirrels (?),<sup>6</sup> the *śṛimara*,<sup>7</sup> bulls set at liberty,<sup>8</sup> iguanas (?), the rhinoceros,<sup>9</sup> white doves, domestic doves, (and) all the quadrupeds which are neither useful nor edible.

(C) Those [she-goats],<sup>10</sup> ewes, and sows (which are) either with young or in milk, are inviolable, and also those (of their) young ones (which are) less than six months old.

(D) Cocks must not be caponed.

(E) Husks containing living animals must not be burnt.

(F) Forests must not be burnt either uselessly or in order to destroy (living beings).

<sup>1</sup> *seyathā* = Pāli *seyyathā* and Skt. *tadyathā*.

<sup>2</sup> Michelson (IF, 23. 266 f.) dissolves *ambākapilikā* into \**ambāka* (an adjective formed of *ambā*) and \**pilikā* (for *pīpilikā* by haplology). But it seems easier to divide the word into *ambā* and *kapilikā* = Pāli *kipillika*. The Allahabad-Kōsam pillar actually reads *ambā-hipilikā*. Skt. *pīpilikā* has been changed to *kapilikā*, &c. through dissimilation; cf. Trenckner's *Pāli Miscellany*, p. 59.

<sup>3</sup> Monmohan Chakravarti (*Memoirs*, ASB, I. 368) takes *d[u]* in the sense of 'the female tortoise'. But tortoises are mentioned separately in the sequel.

<sup>4</sup> With *saṅkuja* Senart (IA, 18. 75) compares Skt. *saṅkuchi* or *sāṅkuchi*, which may be derived from *saṅkuch*, 'to contract'.

<sup>5</sup> The identification of *kaphaṭa* with Skt. *kamāṭha* is due to Senart; see IA, 18. 75.

<sup>6</sup> This doubtful explanation of *parṇa-śaśa* was proposed by Bühler; see EI, 2. 260.

<sup>7</sup> This animal is mentioned in the *Kauṭīliya*, p. 100, l. 12.

<sup>8</sup> C. M. Mulvany (IA, 37. 211) remarks that this translation of *saṇḍaka* is improbable because 'Hindūs would hardly kill a bull'; but matters may have been different in Aśoka's time. Cf. the reference in Kālidāsa's *Meghadūta* (v. 45) to king Rantidēva who, according to the *Mahābhārata* (7. 67, 5; 12. 29, 123; 13. 66, 42 f.), sacrificed so many cows that their blood formed the river Charmaṇvatī. According to the *Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa* (III, 1, 2, 21), Yājñavalkya was fond of tender beef. At the beginning of the fourth act of Bhavabhūti's *Uttararāmacharita* it is stated that a heifer (*vatsatari*) was slaughtered by Vālmiki in honour of Vasishṭha's visit to his hermitage. According to Pāṇini, III, 4, 73, *gōghna* means 'a guest' because a cow is killed for him. Pāraskara (I, 3, 27) specifies the verse which had to be recited at the killing of the cow. Āpastamba (*Gṛhyasūtra*, I, 3, 9) permits the slaughter of a cow at the reception of a guest, at the worship of the manes, and at the celebration of a marriage; cf. Manu, V, 41. For a description of the *śūlagava* or 'spit-ox' offered to Rudra, see Hillebrandt's *Ritual-Litteratur*, p. 83 f. The Buddhist *Suttas* mention beef-butchers; see Neumann's translation of the *Dīghanikāya*, vol. II, p. 448, n. 5. Cf. also *Memoirs*, ASB, I. 373; Macdonell and Keith, *Vedic Index*, vol. II, p. 145; Hastings' *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*, article 'cow' by Jacobi.

<sup>9</sup> According to Trenckner's *Pāli Miscellany*, p. 58, n. 6, *palasata* (= Vedic *parasvat*) is the original of Pāli *palāsāda*, 'a rhinoceros', and the latter, which means literally 'eating leaves', is an etymologizing corruption of the former. The form *palāsāda* occurs in the *Ġātaka*, V, p. 406, v. 267, and *palasata* *ibid.*, VI, p. 277, v. 1205; see Kern's *Toevoegselen op 't Woordenboek van Childers* (Amsterdam, 1916), II, p. 13.

<sup>10</sup> For the pronoun *nāni* see above, p. 13, n. 5. Lüders (SPAW, 1913. 998, n. 1) has refuted a suggestion of Franke (VOJ, 9. 343), who wanted to join *ajakānāni* into one word, and to consider it a Prākṛit form of *ajakā*. Just as the nom. plur. neut. *nāni* is connected here with the nom. sing. fem. *ajakā*, and with the nom. sing. neut. *she* in the Queen's edict, l. 4, *kāni* is combined with the nom. sing. masc. *potake* in l. 9; see Lüders, p. 997, and cf. above, p. 35, n. 12.



(G) Living animals must not be fed with (other) living animals.

+ (H) Fish are inviolable, and must not be sold, on the three Chāturmāsīs<sup>1</sup> (and) on the Tishyā full-moon<sup>2</sup> during three days, (viz.) the fourteenth, the fifteenth, (and) the first (*tithi*), and invariably on every fast-day.<sup>3</sup>

(I) And during these same days also no other classes of animals which are in the elephant-park<sup>4</sup> (and) in the preserves of the fishermen, must be killed.

(J) On the eighth (*tithi*) of (every) fortnight,<sup>5</sup> on the fourteenth, on the fifteenth, on Tishyā, on Punarvasu, on the three Chāturmāsīs, (and) on festivals,<sup>6</sup> bulls<sup>7</sup> must not be castrated, (and) he-goats, rams, boars, and whatever other (animals) are castrated (otherwise), must not be castrated (then).

(K) On Tishyā, on Punarvasu, on the Chāturmāsīs, (and) during the fortnight of (every) Chāturmāsī, horses (and) bullocks must not be branded.

(L) Until (I had been) anointed twenty-six years, in this period the release of prisoners was ordered by me twenty-five (times).<sup>8</sup>

### SIXTH PILLAR-EDICT: DELHI-TOPRA

*East Face of Pillar.*

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसि लाज हेवं अहा (B) दुवाडस-
- 2 वसअभिसितेन मे धम्मलिपि लिखापिता लोकसा
- 3 हितमुखाये से तं अपहटा तं तं धम्मवढि पापोवा
- 4 (C) हेवं लोकसा हितमुखे ति पटिवेखामि अथ इयं
- 5 नातिसु हेवं पतियासंनेसु हेवं अपकटेसु

<sup>1</sup> i.e. certain full-moon days of each of the three seasons (summer, rains, and winter); see Bühler, EI, 2. 261 ff., and cf. the second separate edict at Dhauli (N) and Jaugada (O).

<sup>2</sup> *tisā* (i.e. *tishyā*), instead of which three other versions read *tisi* (i.e. *\*tishī*), is the full-moon of the month Taisha or Pausha; see EI, 2. 264.

<sup>3</sup> With the words *dhuvāye chā anuposatham* cf. *anuposatham cha dhuvāye* on the Sarnāth pillar, l. 8.

<sup>4</sup> For *nāga-vana* see the *Dhammapada*, verse 324, and the *Kaṭṭhiya*, p. 50.

<sup>5</sup> In the compound *aṭhami-pakha* the usual order of the two members is reversed. Similar expressions were quoted by Bühler, EI, 2. 266, and by Franke in KZ, 34. 434.

<sup>6</sup> According to the *Kaṭṭhiya*, p. 407, l. 9 f., the king's birthday and local festivals are meant; see below, n. 8.

<sup>7</sup> For *gona*, the Prākṛit and Pāli equivalent of Skt. *gō*, 'an ox', see Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 393.

<sup>8</sup> The occasions on which it was customary to release prisoners are enumerated in the *Kaṭṭhiya*, p. 146 f. Cf. also Bühler, ZDMG, 48. 63 f., and Zachariae, VOJ, 27. 406. With sections C, H, J, and L of this edict cf. the *Kaṭṭhiya*, p. 407: [विजिगीषुर्नवमवाप्य लब्धं] कारयेत्सर्वबन्धनमोचणं पुंस्त्वोपघातं च प्रतिषेधयेत्; '[having acquired a new territory, the conqueror] shall order all prisoners to be released . . . . . and the slaughter (of animals) to be avoided on the Chāturmāsīyas during half a month, on full-moon days during four nights, on the king's birthday and on local festivals during one night, (and) shall prohibit the slaughter of females and (their) young ones and the castration of males (on the same occasions).'



V ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १ ॥  
 २ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ २ ॥  
 ३ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ३ ॥  
 ४ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ४ ॥  
 ५ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ५ ॥  
 ६ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ६ ॥  
 ७ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ७ ॥  
 ८ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ८ ॥  
 ९ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ९ ॥  
 १० ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १० ॥  
 ११ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ११ ॥  
 १२ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १२ ॥  
 १३ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १३ ॥  
 १४ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १४ ॥  
 १५ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १५ ॥  
 १६ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १६ ॥  
 १७ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १७ ॥  
 १८ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १८ ॥  
 १९ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १९ ॥  
 २० ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ २० ॥



VI  
 2  
 4  
 6  
 8  
 10  
 VII  
 12  
 14  
 16  
 18  
 20



6 किमं कानि सुखं अवहामी ति तथ च विदहामि (D) हेमेवा  
 7 सवनिकायेसु पटिवेखामि (E) सवपासंडा पि मे पूजिता  
 8 विविधाय पूजाया (F) ए च इयं अतना पचूपंगमने  
 9 से मे मोख्यमते (G) सडुवीसतिवसअभिसितेन मे  
 10 इयं धम्मलिपि लिखापिता

1 (A) Devānāmpīye Piyadasi lāja hevaṃ ahā (B) dūvāḍasa-  
 2 vasa-abhisitena me dhamma-lipi likhāpitā lokasā  
 3 hita-sukhāye se taṃ apahaṭṭā taṃ taṃ dhamma-vaḍhi pāpovā  
 4 (C) hevaṃ lokasā hita-[sukhe] ti paṭivekhāmi atha iyaṃ  
 5 nāṭisu hevaṃ patiyāsāṃnesu hevaṃ apakaṭhesu  
 6 kimaṃ kāni sukhaṃ avahāmi ti tatha cha vidahāmi (D) hemevā  
 7 sava-nikāyesu paṭivekhāmi<sup>1</sup> (E) sava-pāsaṇḍā pi me pūjita  
 8 vividhāya pūjāyā (F) e chu iyaṃ at[a]nā<sup>2</sup> pachūpagamane  
 9 se me mokhya-mate (G) saḍuvisati-vasa-abhisitena me  
 10 iyaṃ dhamma-lipi likhāpitā

## TRANSLATION

(A) King Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin speaks thus.

(B) (When I had been) anointed twelve years, rescripts on morality were caused to be written by me for the welfare and happiness of the people, (in order that), not transgressing<sup>3</sup> those (rescripts), they might attain a promotion of morality in various respects.

(C) (Thinking): 'thus the welfare and happiness of the people (will be secured)', I am directing my attention not only<sup>4</sup> to (my) relatives, but to those who are near and far, in order that<sup>5</sup> I may lead them<sup>6</sup> to happiness, and I am instructing (them) accordingly.

(D) In the same manner I am directing my attention to all classes.<sup>7</sup>

(E) And all the sects have been honoured by me with honours of various kinds.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> A superfluous horizontal stroke is attached to the left side of the lower portion of *ve*; cf. above, p. 120, n. 11.

<sup>2</sup> *atunā* Bühler; but see Fleet's note, IA, 13. 310.

<sup>3</sup> Kern (*Faartelling*, p. 92 f.) explained *apahaṭṭā* by *a-prahartā*, and translated it by 'leaving untouched'. Franke (VOJ, 9. 344, n. 2) suggested two slight modifications: *apahaṭṭā* may correspond as well to *\*a-prahritvā* (Skt. *a-prahṛitya*), and *pra-hri* may be taken in the sense of 'transgressing'. I adopt this translation, but believe that Kern found the correct Sanskrit equivalent. The gerund in *-tvā* would be without parallel in the earlier dialect; see Lüders, SPAW, 1913. 1024, n. 1. Cf. also the nominative singular *nijhapayitā* in the pillar-edict IV, M.

<sup>4</sup> With *atha iyaṃ* cf. *yathayidam*, 'just as', in Childers' *Pāli Dictionary*.

<sup>5</sup> *kimaṃ* (or *kimmaṃ* as three other versions read) appears to be used in the sense of *kimti*, and to be an enlarged form of Skt. *kim*, as Pāli *sudam* of Skt. *svid*. See the remarks of Senart in IA, 18. 107, and those of Franke in KZ, 34. 430. Bühler (EI, 2. 269) preferred to derive it from *\*kimva* = *kimiva*.

<sup>6</sup> See above, p. 35, n. 12.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. the rock-edict XIII, J.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. the rock-edict XII, A.



(F) But this is considered by me (my) principal (duty),<sup>1</sup> viz.<sup>2</sup> visiting (the people) personally.<sup>3</sup>

(G) (When I had been) anointed twenty-six years, this rescript on morality was caused to be written by me.

### SEVENTH PILLAR-EDICT: DELHI-TOPRA

#### *A.—East Face of Pillar.*

- 11 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसि लाजा हेवं आहा (B) ये अतिकंतं  
 12 अंतलं लाजाने हुसु हेवं इद्धिसु कथं जने  
 13 धंमवढिया वढेया नो चु जने अनुलुपाया धंमवढिया  
 14 वढिया (C) एतं देवानंपिये पियदसि लाजा हेवं आहा (D) एस मे  
 15 हुथा (E) अतिकंतं च अंतलं हेवं इद्धिसु लाजाने कथं जने  
 16 अनुलुपाया धंमवढिया वढेया ति नो च जने अनुलुपाया  
 17 धंमवढिया वढिया (F) से किनसु जने अनुपटिपजेया  
 18 (G) किनसु जने अनुलुपाया धंमवढिया वढेया ति (H) किनसु कानि  
 19 अभ्युंनामयेहं धंमवढिया ति (I) एतं देवानंपिये पियदसि लाजा हेवं  
 20 आहा (J) एस मे हुथा (K) धंमसावनानि सावापयामि धंमानुसथिनि  
 21 अनुसासामि (L) एतं जने सुतु अनुपटीपजीसति अभ्युंनमिसति

#### *B.—Round the Pillar.*

- 22 धंमवढिया च वाढं वढिसति (M) एताये मे अठाये धंमसावनानि सावापितानि  
 धंमानुसथिनि विविधानि आनपितानि य . . . . सिा पि बहुने जनसि  
 आयता ए ते पलियोवदिसंति पि पविथलिसंति पि (N) लजूका पि बहुकेसु  
 पानसतसहसेसु आयता ते पि मे आनपिता हेवं च हेवं च पलियोवदाथ  
 23 जनं धंमयुतं (O) देवानंपिये पियदसि हेवं आहा (P) एतमेव मे अनुवेखमाने  
 धंमथंभानि कटानि धंममहामाता कटा धंम . . . . कटे (Q) देवानंपिये  
 पियदसि लाजा हेवं आहा (R) मगेसु पि मे निगोहानि लोपापितानि  
 छायोपगानि होसंति पसुमुनिसानं अंवावडिक्का लोपापिता (S) अढ-  
 कोसिक्कानि पि मे उदुपानानि  
 24 खानापापितानि निंसिढया च कालापिता (T) आपानानि मे बहुकानि तत  
 तत कालापितानि पटीभोगाये पसुमुनिसानं (U) ल . . . . एस पटीभोगे

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the Shāhbāzgarhi rock-edict XIII, P.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. above, p. 120, n. 7.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. the rock-edict VIII, E, and *atanā āgācha* on the Rummindei and Nigāli Sāgar pillars. Senart (IA, 18. 107 f.) translated *atanā pachūpagamane* by 'the personal adherence (to the sects)', and Bühler (EI, 2. 268) by 'the approach through one's own free will'.



- नाम (V) विविधाया हि सुखायनाया पुलिमेहि पि लाजीहि ममया च  
सुखयिते लोके (W) इमं चु धंमानुपटीपती अनुपटीपजंतु ति एतदथा मे
- 25 एस कटे (X) देवानंपिये पियदसि हेवं आहा (Y) धंममहामाता पि मे ते  
बहुविधेसु अठेसु आनुगहिकेसु वियापटासे पवजीतानं चेव गिहिणानं च  
सव ..... डेसु पि च वियापटासे (Z) संघठसि पि मे कटे इमे वियापटा  
होहंति ति हेमेव बाभनेसु आजीविकेसु पि मे कटे
- 26 इमे वियापटा होहंति ति निगठेसु पि मे कटे इमे वियापटा होहंति नानापासंडेसु  
पि मे कटे इमे वियापटा होहंति ति पटिविसिठं पटीविसिठं तेसु तेसु  
ते ..... माता (AA) धंममहामाता चु मे एतेसु चेव वियापटा सवेसु च  
अंनेसु पासंडेसु (BB) देवानंपिये पियदसि लाजा हेवं आहा
- 27 (CC) एते च अंने च बहुका मुखा दानविसगसि वियापटासे मम चेव देविनं  
च सवसि च मे ओलोधनसि ते बहुविधेन आकालेन तानि तानि  
तुठायतनानि पटी ..... हिद चेव दिसासु च (DD) दालकानं पि  
च मे कटे अंनानं च देविकुमालानं इमे दानविसगेसु वियापटा होहंति ति
- 28 धंमापदानठाये धंमानुपटिपतिये (EE) एस हि धंमापदाने धंमपटीपति च या  
इयं दया दाने सचे सोचवे मदवे साधवे च लोकस हेवं वढिसति ति (FF)  
देवानंपिये प ..... स लाजा हेवं आहा (GG) यानि हि कानिचि  
ममिया साधवानि कटानि तं लोके अनूपटीपंने तं च अनुविधियंति (HH)  
तेन वढिता च
- 29 वढिसंति च मातापितिसु सुसुसाया गुलुसु सुसुसाया वयोमहालकानं अनुपटी-  
पतिया बाभनसमनेसु कपनवलकेसु आव दासभटकेसु संपटीपतिया (II)  
देवानंपिय ..... यदसि लाजा हेवं आहा (JJ) मुनिसानं चु या इयं धंमवढि  
वढिता दुवेहि येव आकालेहि धंमनियमेन च निरुतिया च
- 30 (KK) तत चु लहु से धंमनियमे निरुतिया व भुये (LL) धंमनियमे चु खो एस  
ये मे इयं कटे इमानि च इमानि जातानि अवधियानि (MM) अंनानि पि चु  
बहुक ..... धंमनियमानि यानि मे कटानि (NN) निरुतिया व चु भुये मुनिसानं  
धंमवढि वढिता अविहिंसाये भुतानं
- 31 अनालंभाये पानानं (OO) से एताये अथाये इयं कटे पुतापपोतिके चंदमसुलियिके  
होतु ति तथा च अनुपटीपजंतु ति (PP) हेवं हि अनुपटीपजंतं हिदतपालते  
आलधे होति (QQ) सतविसतिवसाभिसितेन मे इयं धंमलिवि लिखापापिता  
ति (RR) एतं देवानंपिये आहा (SS) इयं
- 32 धंमलिवि अत अथि सिलायंभानि वा सिलाफलकानि वा तत कटविया एन  
एस चिलठितिके सिया



*A.—East Face of Pillar.*

- 11 (A) Devānaṃpiye Piyadasi lājā hevaṃ āhā (B) ye atikaṃtaṃ  
 12 aṃtalaṃ lājāne husu hevaṃ ichhisu kathaṃ jane  
 13 dhamma-vaḍhiyā vaḍheyā no chu jane anulupāyā dhamma-vaḍhiyā  
 14 vaḍhithā (C) etaṃ Devānaṃpiye Piyadasi lājā hevaṃ āhā (D) esa me  
 15 huthā (E) atikaṃtaṃ cha aṃtaṃl[a]ṃ<sup>1</sup> hevaṃ ichhisu lājāne kathaṃ jane  
 16 anulupāyā dhamma-vaḍhiyā vaḍheyā ti no cha jane anulupāyā  
 17 dhamma-vaḍhiyā vaḍhithā (F) se kinasu jane anu[pa]ṭipajeyā<sup>2</sup>  
 18 (G) kinasu jane anulupāyā dhamma-vaḍhiyā vaḍheyā ti (H) k[i]nasu kāni  
 19 abhyuṃnāmayehaṃ dhamma-vaḍhiyā ti (I) etaṃ Devānaṃpiye Piyadasi lājā  
 hevaṃ  
 20 āhā (J) esa me huthā (K) dhamma-sāvanāni sāvāpayāmi dhammānusathini  
 21 anus[ā]sāmi (L) etaṃ jane sutu anupaṭipajisati abhyuṃnamisati

*B.—Round the Pillar.*

- 22 dhamma-vaḍhiyā cha bāḍhaṃ vaḍhisat[i] (M) etāye me aṭhāye dhamma-sāvanāni  
 sāvāpitāni dhammānusathini vividhāni ānapitāni [ya] . . . . . [is]ā<sup>3</sup> pi bahune  
 janasi āyatā e te<sup>4</sup> paliyovadisanti pi pavithalisanti pi (N) lajūkā pi bahukesu  
 pāna-sata-sahasasu āyatā te pi me ānapitā hevaṃ cha hevaṃ cha paliyovadātha  
 23 janam dhamma-yu[ta]ṃ (O) [Dev]ānaṃpiye Piyadasi hevaṃ āhā (P) etameva me  
 anuvekhamāne dhamma-thaṃbhāni kaṭāni dhamma-mahāmātā kaṭā dham[ma]  
 . ā . . . e<sup>5</sup> kaṭe (Q) Devānaṃpiye Piyadasi lājā hevaṃ āhā (R) magesu pi  
 me nigohāni lopāpitāni chhāyopagāni hosaṃti pasu-munisānaṃ ambā-vaḍikyā  
 lopāpitā (S) adha-[kos]ikyāni pi me udupānāni  
 24 khānāpāpitāni nimsi[dha]yā<sup>6</sup> cha kālāpitā (T) āpānāni me ba[h]ukāni tata tata  
 k[ā]lāpitāni paṭibhogāye p[a]su-munisānaṃ (U) [la] . . . . .<sup>7</sup> esa paṭibhoge nāma  
 (V) vividhāyā hi sukhāyanāyā pulimehi pi lājīhi mamayā cha sukhayite loke  
 (W) imaṃ chu dhammānupaṭipatī anupaṭipajamtu ti etadathā me  
 25 esa kaṭe (X) Devānaṃpiye Piyadasi hevaṃ āhā (Y) dhamma-mahāmātā pi me  
 te bahuvidhesu aṭhesu ānugahikesu viyāpaṭāse pavajitānaṃ cheva gihithānaṃ  
 cha sava . . . . [d]esu<sup>8</sup> pi cha viyāpaṭāse (Z) saṃghaṭhasi pi me kaṭe ime  
 viyāpaṭā hohaṃti ti hemeva bābhanesu ā[j]ivikesu pi me kaṭe  
 26 ime viyāpaṭā hohaṃti ti nigamṭhesu pi me kaṭe ime viyāpaṭā hohaṃti nānā-  
 pāsamḍesu pi<sup>9</sup> me [ka]ṭe ime viyāpaṭā hohaṃti ti paṭivisiṭhaṃ paṭivisiṭhaṃ  
 tesu tesu [te] . . . . . mātā<sup>10</sup> (AA) dhamma-mahāmātā chu me etesu cheva  
 viyā[pa]ṭā savesu cha aṃnesu pāsamḍesu (BB) Devānaṃpiye Piyadasi lājā  
 hevaṃ āhā

<sup>1</sup> Read *aṃtalaṃ*, which is the reading of Senart and Bühler.

<sup>2</sup> The *pa* of *°pajeyā* is inserted above the line.

<sup>3</sup> Restore *yathā pulisā*.

<sup>4</sup> *ete* (in one word) Senart and Bühler.

<sup>5</sup> Restore *dhamma-sāvana*.

<sup>6</sup> *nimsiḍhiyā* Bühler.

<sup>7</sup> Restore *lahuke chu*.

<sup>8</sup> Restore *sava-pāsamḍesu*.

<sup>9</sup> *pi* looks almost like *ghi*.

<sup>10</sup> Restore *te te mahāmātā*. When Fleet's plate (IA, 13. 310) was prepared, the missing letters were still visible.



- 27 (CC) ete cha amne cha bahukā mukhā dāna-visagasi viyāpaṭāse mama cheva devinaṃ cha savasi cha me olodhanasi te bahavidhena ā[kā]lena tāni tāni tuṭhāyatan[ā]ni paṭi . . . . .<sup>1</sup> hida cheva disāsu cha (DD) dālakānaṃ pi cha me kaṭe amnānaṃ cha devī-kumālānaṃ ime dāna-visagesu viyāpaṭā hohaṃti ti
- 28 dhammāpadānaṭhāye dhammānupaṭipatiye (EE) esa hi dhammāpadāne dhamma-paṭipati cha yā iyaṃ dayā dāne sache sochave madave sādha[v]e cha lokasa hevaṃ vaḍhisati ti (FF) Devānaṃpiye [P . . . . . s .<sup>2</sup> 1]ājā hevaṃ āhā (GG) yāni hi [k]ānichi mamīyā sādhaṇāni kaṭāni taṃ loke anūp[a]ṭipamne taṃ cha anuvidhiyaṃti (HH) tena vaḍhitā cha
- 29 vaḍhisamti cha mātā-pit[i]su sususāyā gulusu sususāyā vayo-mahālakānaṃ anupaṭipatiyā bābhana-samanesu kapana-valākesu āva dāsa-bhaṭakesu saṃpaṭipatiyā (II) Devānaṃp[īy . . . ya]dasi<sup>3</sup> lājā hevaṃ āhā (JJ) munisānaṃ chu yā iyaṃ dhamma-vaḍhi vaḍhitā duvehi yeva ākālehi dhamma-niyamena cha nijhatiyā [cha]
- 30 (KK) tata chu lahu se dhamma-niyame nijhatiyā va bhuye (LL) dhamma-niyame chu kho esa ye me iyaṃ kaṭe imāni cha imāni jātāni avadhiyāni (MM) amnāni pi chu bahu[k] . . .<sup>4</sup> dhamma-niyamāni yāni me kaṭāni (NN) nijhatiyā va chu bhuye munisānaṃ dhamma-vaḍhi vaḍhitā avihiṃsāye bhutānaṃ
- 31 anālambhāye pānānaṃ (OO) se etāye a[th]āye<sup>5</sup> iyaṃ kaṭe putā-papotike chaṃdama-suliyike hotu ti tathā cha anupaṭipajamtu ti (PP) hevaṃ hi anupaṭipajamtaṃ hi[da]ta-[pāla]te āladhe hoti (QQ) satavisati-vasābhis[i]tona me iyaṃ dhamma-libi likhāpāpitā ti (RR) etaṃ Devānaṃpiye<sup>6</sup> āhā (SS) iyaṃ
- 32 dhamma-libi ata athi silā-thambhāni vā silā-phalakāni vā tata kaṭaviyā ena esa chila-ṭhitike siyā

## TRANSLATION

- ✓ (A) King Devānāmpriya Priyadarśin speaks thus.
- (B) The kings who were in times past, had this desire, that<sup>7</sup> men might (be made to) progress by the promotion of morality; but men were not made to progress by an adequate promotion of morality.
- (C) Concerning this,<sup>8</sup> king Devānāmpriya Priyadarśin speaks thus.
- (D) The following occurred to me.
- (E) On one hand, in times past kings had this desire, that men might (be made to) progress by an adequate promotion of morality; (but) on the other hand, men were not made to progress by an adequate promotion of morality.

<sup>1</sup> Bühler (EI, 2. 274, note k) restored *paṭipādayamti*, which he translated by 'they point out'. I suspect that the actual reading of the pillar was *paṭivedayamti*; cf. *praṭivedayamtu* in the Jaugaḍa rock-edict VI, D.

<sup>2</sup> Restore *Piyadasi*.

<sup>3</sup> Restore *°piye Piyadasi*.

<sup>4</sup> Restore *bahukāni*.

<sup>5</sup> *aṭhāye* Bühler.

<sup>6</sup> The late Dr. Fleet drew my attention to the fact that a peculiar mark is attached to the top of the *de* of *Devānaṃpiye*, and that there is a corresponding mark above the word *a[th]āye* in section OO. This double *kākapāda* or caret (cf. Kalhaṇa's *Rājataranginī*, IV, 117) suggests that the writer wanted us to place sections RR and SS before section OO.

<sup>7</sup> Franke (GN, 1895. 537) attributes to *katham* the meaning of 'that'. Bühler translated it by 'in some way'.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. the Shāhbāzgarhī rock-edict XI, D.



- (F) How<sup>1</sup> then might men (be made to) conform to (morality)?  
 (G) How might men (be made to) progress by an adequate promotion of morality?  
 (H) How could I elevate<sup>2</sup> them<sup>3</sup> by the promotion of morality?  
 (I) Concerning this, king **Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin** speaks thus.  
 (J) The following occurred to me.  
 (K) I shall issue proclamations on morality,<sup>4</sup> (and) shall order instruction in morality (to be given).  
 (L) Hearing this, men will conform to (it), will be elevated, and will (be made to) progress considerably by the promotion of morality.  
 (M) For this purpose proclamations on morality were issued by me, (and) manifold instruction in morality was ordered (to be given), [in order that those agents] (of mine)<sup>5</sup> too, who are occupied<sup>6</sup> with many<sup>7</sup> people, will exhort (them) and will explain (morality to them) in detail.  
 (N) The *Lajūkas*<sup>8</sup> also, who are occupied with many hundred thousands of men, —these too were ordered by me: 'In such and such a manner<sup>9</sup> exhort ye the people who are devoted to morality'.  
 (O) **Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin** speaks thus.  
 (P) Having in view this very (matter),<sup>10</sup> I have set up pillars of morality,<sup>11</sup> appointed *Mahāmātras* of morality, (and) issued [proclamations] on morality.  
 (Q) **King Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin** speaks thus.  
 (R) On the roads banyan-trees were caused to be planted by me, (in order that) they might afford shade to cattle and men,<sup>12</sup> (and) mango-groves<sup>13</sup> were caused to be planted.

<sup>1</sup> Senart (IA, 18. 302) explains *kinasu* = Pāli *kenassu* and Skt. *kēna-svit*; cf. Childers, *Pāli Dictionary*, s.v. *assu*. For *su* = *svit* see above, p. 99, n. 14.

<sup>2</sup> With the optative °*nāmayekam* cf. [pa]ṭi[ṭṭhāy]ekam and ālabhekam in the Dhauli separate edict I, B, and yekam in four versions of the rock-edict VI, L.

<sup>3</sup> See above, p. 35, n. 12.

<sup>4</sup> Bühler translated: 'Sermons on the sacred law I will order to be preached'. With the meaning which I assign to *sāvāpayāmi*, cf. *iyam sāvane sāvāpīte* at Brahmagiri (l. 5), for which the Śiddhāpura edict (l. 11) reads [*iya*]m *sāvane sāvite*, and the Rūpnāth edict (l. 3) *sāvane kate*. These three records and the Sahasrām, Bairāt, Maski, and Jaṭiṅga-Rāmeśvara rock-inscriptions are actual specimens of the *dhamma-sāvanāni* to which Aśoka is alluding here.

<sup>5</sup> See above, p. 120, n. 2.

<sup>6</sup> With the locative *bahune* Bühler (EI, 2. 270, n. 68) compared *punāvasune* in the pillar-edict V, ll. 16 and 18, which, however, might be a dative.

<sup>7</sup> See above, p. 124, n. 1.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. the Dhauli separate edict I, l. 12.

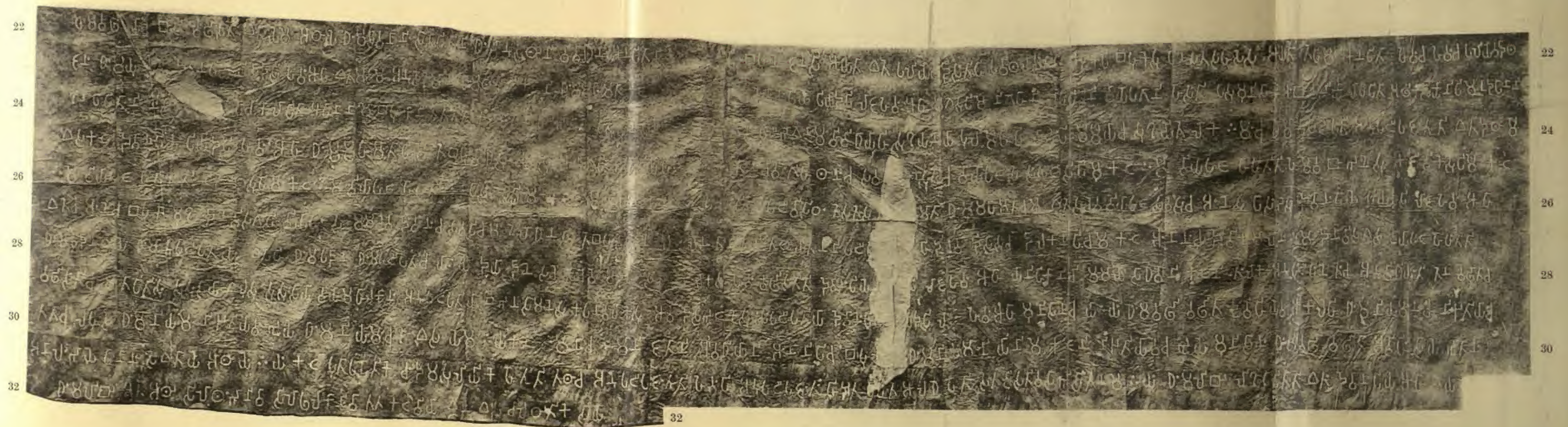
<sup>9</sup> *anuvekhamāne* is a nominative singular absolute. See above, p. 96, n. 11, and Lüders, SPAW, 1913. 1013.

<sup>10</sup> As noted by Bühler (ZDMG, 46. 90), this is a reference to the pillars bearing the six first edicts.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. the rock-edict II, D.

<sup>12</sup> In *ambā-vaḍikā* and *aḍha-[ko]ṣikā* (below, section S) the *k* of the two affixes *-kā* and *-ika* is palatalized through the influence of the preceding vowel *i*, as frequently at Kālsī; see there *nātikā*, *pālāntikā*, &c. The form *ambā-vaḍikā* occurs in the Queen's pillar-edict, l. 3. The first member of this compound, *ambā* (for the Sanskrit masculine *āmra*), seems to be used as feminine; cf. *ābikā-bhati* (= \**āmrikā-bhṛiti*) at Junnar (ASWI, 4. 97, No. 26). The second member, *vaḍikā*, is the regular Prākṛit equivalent of Skt. \**vṛitika* (= *vṛiti*, 'a hedge'), while its usual Sanskrit synonym, *vāṭikā*, presupposes the form \**vartikā*; cf. Wackernagel's *Altind. Grammatik*, I, p. 168.





SCALE ONE-SIXTH







(S) And (at intervals) of eight *kōs*<sup>1</sup> wells were caused to be dug by me, and flights of steps (for descending into the water)<sup>2</sup> were caused to be built.

(T) Numerous drinking-places<sup>3</sup> were caused to be established by me, here and there, for the enjoyment of cattle and men.

(U) [But] this so-called enjoyment (is) [of little consequence].<sup>4</sup>

(V) For with various comforts have the people been blessed both by former kings and by myself.

(W) But by me this has been done for the following purpose:<sup>5</sup> that they might conform to that practice of morality.

(X) *Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin* speaks thus.

(Y) Those<sup>6</sup> my *Mahāmātras* of morality too are occupied<sup>7</sup> with affairs of many kinds which are beneficial to ascetics as well as to householders, and they are occupied also with all sects.

<sup>1</sup> Fleet (JRAS, 1906. 401 ff.) showed that *aḍha* here represents Skt. *aṣṭan*, and not *ardha*. According to Hiuen-Tsiang, Bāṇa, and Kauṭilya (JRAS, 1912. 239), one *yōjana* = eight *kōs* = nine miles was considered a day's march of an army, while it would have been unnecessarily lavish and unpractical to sink wells and build rest-houses at distances of but little more than half a mile.

<sup>2</sup> Bühler read *nimsidhiyā*, which he rendered by 'rest-houses', connecting it with *nishidiyā* (from Skt. *nishīdati*) in the Nāgārjunī Hill cave-inscriptions; cf. also *Arahata-nisidiyā-samīpe* in the Hāthigumphā inscription of Khāravēla, l. 15. Lüders (SPAW, 1914. 852) compares with it the Ardhamāgadhi *sedhi* = Skt. *\*śliṣṭhi*. As *sedhi* is synonymous with Skt. *śrēṇi*, he attributes to *nimsidhiyā* the sense of Skt. *nīṣṭrayaṇī*, 'a ladder, a flight of steps'. This meaning would fit the text admirably, but the actual reading of the pillar is *nimsi[dha]yā*, which would correspond to Skt. *\*niśliṣṭakā*. For the change of *śl* to *nis* see Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 74, and for *dh* = original *sh* cf. *aḍha* = *aṣṭa*- at the beginning of section S.

<sup>3</sup> With *āpāna* cf. *prapā* in the Nāsik cave-inscription No. 10, l. 3 (EI, 8. 78), and in the Palitānā plates of Simhāditya (EI, 11. 18, text l. 12). I cannot refrain from quoting the following description from F. Drew's charming work, *The Northern Barrier of India* (London, 1877), p. 99: 'At this time of the year the ground is dry, and all the way from Akhnūr the road has been hot and thirst-bringing. A good charitable custom of the Hindūs brings relief to the traveller. On many a spot in the hottest part, perhaps at the summit of one of the steep rises of the uneven road, will be found a hut where cool water kept in clean porous vessels is at the service of any who may ask for it. The man in charge is probably a Brahman, so that people of every caste can take water from his hands; he may have been placed there by some well-to-do Hindū, whose piety prompts him to this good work. It is the Brahman's business to bring the water from the nearest stream, which may be a long walk off, and distribute it to wayfarers. When the rains come, and water is to be found in every pool and little stream, the establishment will be no longer kept up.' The same charitable arrangement is evidently alluded to in the text of Aśoka's pillar-edict. The Hindūs are wonderfully conservative; e.g. the bullock-cart and the carrying-pole (Hindī *bahaṅgī*, Dravidian *kāvaḍi*) figured at Bharaut (Cunningham's *Stūpa of Bharhut*, plate 57; 41, fig. 1; 42, fig. 7; 45, fig. 5; 46, fig. 8) do not differ from those one sees at the present day.

<sup>4</sup> A similar phrase occurs in the Kālsī and Shāhbāzgarhī edict XIII, V, and below, section KK.

<sup>5</sup> For *athā* = *athāya* see above, p. 22, n. 3. Although in the dialect of the pillar-edicts Skt. *artha* is generally represented by *aṭha*, the form *atha* (with dental *th*) occurs also in section OO of the edict VII. Michelson's explanation of *etadathā* (IF, 23. 248 f.) appears to me 'too bold', as he confesses himself.

<sup>6</sup> The pronoun *te* seems to refer to section P, above.

<sup>7</sup> Franke (VOJ, 9. 349 f.) has pointed out that *viyāpaṭāse*, which occurs twice in this section and once in CC, below, is the Prākṛit equivalent of the Vēdic nominative plural in *-āsaḥ*. Cf. above, p. 87, n. 3.



(Z) Some (*Mahāmātras*) were ordered by me to busy themselves<sup>1</sup> with the affairs of the *Samgha*;<sup>2</sup> likewise others were ordered by me to busy themselves also with the Brāhmaṇas (and) Ājīvikas;<sup>3</sup> others were ordered by me to busy themselves also with the Nirgranthas;<sup>4</sup> others were ordered by me to busy themselves also with various (other) sects; (thus) different *Mahāmātras* (are busying themselves) specially with different (congregations).<sup>5</sup>

(AA) But my *Mahāmātras* of morality are occupied with these (congregations) as well as with all other sects.

(BB) King Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin speaks thus.

(CC) Both these and many other chief (officers)<sup>6</sup> are occupied with the delivery of the gifts of myself as well as of the queens, and among my whole harem [they are reporting] in divers ways different worthy recipients of charity<sup>7</sup> both here<sup>8</sup> and in the provinces.

(DD) And others<sup>9</sup> were ordered by me to busy themselves also with the delivery of the gifts of (my) sons and of other queens' sons,<sup>10</sup> in order (to promote) noble deeds of morality (and) the practice of morality.

(EE) For noble deeds of morality and the practice of morality (consist in) this, that (morality), viz.<sup>11</sup> compassion, liberality, truthfulness, purity, gentleness, and goodness, will thus be promoted among men.

(FF) King Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin speaks thus.

(GG) Whatsoever<sup>12</sup> good deeds have been performed by me, those the people have imitated, and to those they are conforming.

(HH) Thereby they have been made to progress and will (be made to) progress in obedience to mother and father, in obedience to elders, in courtesy to the aged, in courtesy to Brāhmaṇas and Śramaṇas, to the poor and distressed, (and) even to slaves and servants.

<sup>1</sup> Literally: 'it has been made by me that these will be occupied'. In the subsequent sentences I have translated *ime* by 'others'.

<sup>2</sup> i. e. the Buddhist clergy.

<sup>3</sup> For the Ājīvika sect see my last note on the first Barābar Hill cave-inscription.

<sup>4</sup> i. e. the Jaina monks.

<sup>5</sup> As remarked by Senart (IA, 18. 305), the officers mentioned in this section are distinct from the *Dharma-mahāmātras* of sections Y and AA.

<sup>6</sup> As at Shāhbāzgarhī (XIII, 8) and Mānschrā (XIII, 9), *mukha* corresponds to Skt. *mukhya*. Michelson (IF, 23. 263 f.) prefers to identify it with Skt. *mukha*, because in *mukhya* (= Skt. *maukhya*, Delhi-Tōprā pillar-edict VI, l. 9) the group *khy* is not assimilated. But Skt. *mukha* is always neuter, and the masculine *mukha* seems to be a fiction of the Kōśas. Thomas renders *bahukā mukhā* by 'many departments'; see JRAS, 1915. 99.

<sup>7</sup> Kern and Bühler (EI, 2. 274) explained *tuḥāyatan[ā]ni* by *tushty-āyatanāni*, 'sources of contentment', i. e. 'opportunities for charity'. I adopt this suggestion, but prefer to take *āyatana* as a synonym of *pātra* or *tīrtha*, and follow Lüders (SPAW, 1914. 853) in considering the first member of the compound to be *tushtā* in the sense of *tushtī*.

<sup>8</sup> viz. in Pāṭaliputra. Cf. above, p. 33, n. 10.

<sup>9</sup> Literally: 'these'. Cf. above, n. 1.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. the Kālsī edict V, M, where Aśoka mentions the harems of his brothers, sisters, and other relatives.

<sup>11</sup> See above, p. 120, n. 7. Before *yā iyaṃ* we may have to supply *dhamme*, which includes the virtues that are enumerated after it; cf. the pillar-edict II, C. I differ here slightly from Lüders, SPAW, 1914. 854.



(II) King *Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin* speaks thus.

(JJ) Now this progress of morality among men has been promoted (by me) only in two ways, (viz.) by moral restrictions and by conversion.<sup>1</sup>

(KK) But among these (two), those moral restrictions are of little consequence ; by conversion, however, (morality is promoted) more considerably.

(LL) Now moral restrictions indeed are these, that I have ordered this, (that) certain animals are inviolable.<sup>2</sup>

(MM) But there are also many other moral restrictions which have been imposed by me.

(NN) By conversion, however, the progress of morality among men has been promoted more considerably, (because it leads) to abstention from hurting living beings (and) to abstention from killing animals.

(OO) Now for the following purpose has this been ordered, that it may last as long as (my) sons and great-grandsons (shall reign and) as long as the moon and the sun (shall shine),<sup>3</sup> and in order that (men) may conform to it.

(PP) For if one conforms to this,<sup>4</sup> (happiness) in this (world) and in the other (world) will be attained.

(QQ) This rescript on morality was caused to be written by me (when I had been) anointed twenty-seven years.

(RR) Concerning this, *Dēvānāmpriya* says.<sup>5</sup>

(SS) This rescript on morality must be engraved there, where either stone pillars or stone slabs are (available), in order that<sup>6</sup> this may be of long duration.

## II. THE DELHI-MIRATH PILLAR

### FIRST PILLAR-EDICT: DELHI-MIRATH

1 ..... नं धमेन विधाने

2 धमे .....

1 ..... [naṁ] dhammen[a] v[i]dh[āne]

2 dha[me] .....

### SECOND PILLAR-EDICT: DELHI-MIRATH

1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसि लाज हेवं आ .. (B) धमे साधु कियं ..... मे ति

2 (C) अपासिनवे बहु कयाने दया दाने सचे सोचये (D) चखुदाना पि मे

<sup>1</sup> Literally: 'by inducing to meditate'. Cf. above, p. 69, n. 4. Thomas (JRAS, 1916. 122) has shown that in Buddhist Sanskrit works *nidhyapti* has the meaning 'reflection'.

<sup>2</sup> See the pillar-edict V.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *puta-papotike chaṇḍama-sūriyike* on the Sāmchī pillar, C, *ā-chaṇḍama-shūliyam* in the three Nāgārjunī Hill cave-inscriptions (IA, 20. 364 f.), and *ā-chandrārkam* in Sanskrit inscriptions.

<sup>4</sup> See above, p. 97, n. 3.

<sup>5</sup> This section and the next one may have to be placed before section OO; see above, p. 133, n. 6.

<sup>6</sup> *ena* is used in the same way in the Dhauli separate edict I, V, and II, I and M.



- 3 बहुविधे दिने (E) दुपदचतुपदेसु पखिवालिचलेसु विविधे मे अनु-  
 4 गहे कटे आ पानदाखिनाये (F) अन्नानि पि च मे बहूनि कयानानि  
 5 कटानि (G) एताये मे अठाये इयं धम्मलिपि लिखापिता . . . .  
 6 अनुपटिपजंतू चिलंथितिका च होतू ति (H) ये च . . . . .  
 7 सति से सुकटं कच्छती ति

- 1 (A) De[vā]n[a]m̐piye Piyadasi lāja<sup>1</sup> [hevaṁ ā] . . (B) dh[ā]m̐me s[ā]dh[u] k[iya]m̐  
 . . . . [m]e ti  
 2 (C) a[pā]sinave bahu kayāne dayā dāne sache sochaye (D) [chakhu-dā]nā<sup>2</sup> [pi me]  
 3 bahuvīdhe dīnne (E) du[pa]da-ch[a]tu[pa]desu pakhi-vālichale[su viv]i[dhe me anu]-  
 4 gahe kaṭe ā pāna-dākhināye (F) a[m̐]nāni pi cha me bah[ū]ni kayānāni  
 5 kaṭāni (G) etāye me aṭhāye iyaṁ dhamma-lipi li[khāpitā] . . . .  
 6 anupaṭipajantū chil[ā]m̐-th[ī]tikā cha hot[ū] ti (H) ye [cha] . . . . .  
 7 [sa]ti se sukaṭam̐ ka[chha]tī ti

### THIRD PILLAR-EDICT: DELHI-MIRATH

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसि लाज हेवं आहा (B) कयानंमेव दे . . . . .  
 2 कयाने कटे ती (C) नो मिना पापं देखति इयं मे पापे कटे ति इयं व  
 3 आसिनवे नामा ति (D) दुपटिवेखे चु खो एसा (E) हेवं चु खो एस देखिये  
 4 (F) इमानि आसिनवगामीनि नाम अथ चंडिये नितूलिये कोधे  
 5 माने इस्या कालनेन व हकं मा पलिभसयिसं (G) . . . . बाढं  
 6 देखिये (H) इयं मे हिदतिकाये इयं मे पालतिकाये

- 1 (A) Devānam̐piye Piyadasi lāja<sup>3</sup> hevaṁ āhā (B) kayānam̐m[eva de] . . . . .  
 2 kayāne kaṭe tī<sup>4</sup> (C) no min[ā] pāpam̐ dekhati iyaṁ me pāp[e<sup>5</sup> kaṭe tī iyaṁ va]  
 3 āsinave nāmā ti (D) [du]paṭivekhe chu kho esā (E) hevaṁ chu kho [esa<sup>6</sup> de]khiye  
 4 (F) imāni āsinav[a-gāmīni] nāma atha chaṇḍ[i]ye nī[thū]lī[y]e k[o]dhe  
 5 māne isyā kālanena [va] hakaṁ mā palibha[sa]yi[sa]m̐ (G) . . . . bā[ḍham]  
 6 dekhiye (H) iyaṁ me [hi]dat[i]kāye iyaṁ me pālatikāye

### FOURTH PILLAR-EDICT: DELHI-MIRATH

- 1 . . . . .  
 2 . . . . . क चघंति आलाधयितवे  
 3 . . . . . तु अस्वथे होति  
 4 विय . . . . . लिहटवे हेवं ममा  
 5 लजूक . . . . . ये (J) येन एते अभीता

<sup>1</sup> lāja Bühler.

<sup>2</sup> lāja Bühler.

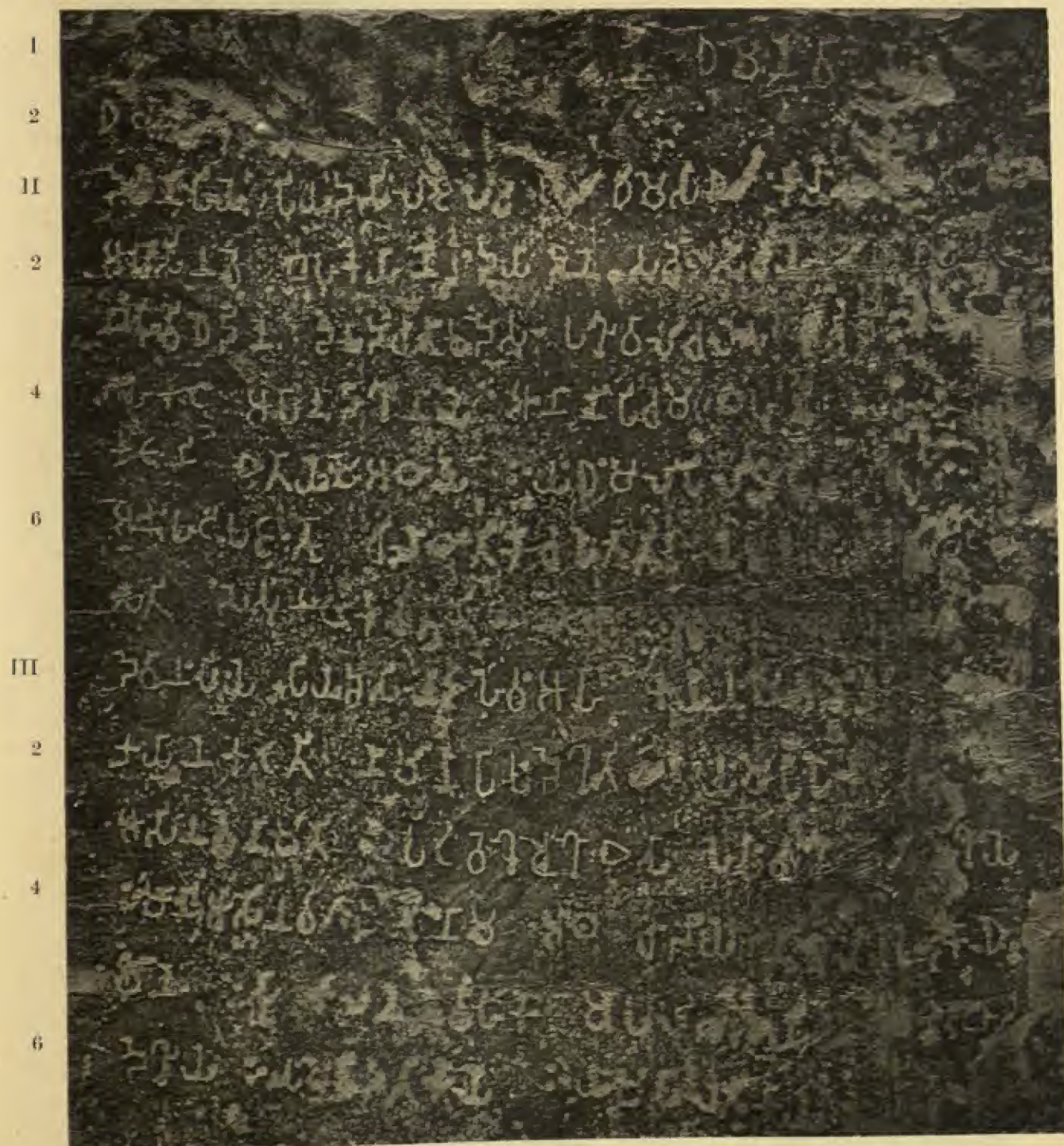
<sup>3</sup> . . sā Bühler.

<sup>4</sup> -[dā]nam̐ Bühler.

<sup>5</sup> tī Bühler.

<sup>6</sup> pāpam̐ Bühler.





SCALE ONE-FOURTH





SCALE ONE-FOURTH



- 6 अस्वथ सं ..... पवतयेवू ति एतेन मे  
 7 लजृकानं ..... अतपतिये कटे  
 8 (K) इच्छितवि ..... हालसमता च सिया  
 9 दंडसम ..... मे आवुति बंधनबधानं  
 10 मुनिसानं ..... वधानं तिंनि दिवसानि मे  
 11 योते दिने (M) ..... पयिसंति जीविताये तानं  
 12 नासंतं वा नि ..... ति पालतिकं  
 13 उपवासं वा क ..... हेवं निलुधसि पि कालसि  
 14 पालतं आलाधये ..... वढति विविधे धम्मचलने  
 15 संयमे दान .....

- 1 .....  
 2 ..... [ka]<sup>1</sup> chaghamti [ā]lādha[y]i[tave]  
 3 ..... tu asvathe<sup>2</sup> [ho]ti  
 4 vi[ya] ..... [l]i[ha]tave hev[am mam]ā  
 5 [la]jūk[a]<sup>3</sup> ..... ye (J) yen[a] ete a[bh]itā  
 6 asvatha sam ..... [pa]vataye[v]ū ti [e]te[na] me  
 7 [la]jū[kā]n[am] ..... ata-patiye kaṭ[e]  
 8 (K) ichhitavi ..... [h]āla-samatā ch[a] siyā  
 9 damḍa-sa[ma] ..... [me] āvuti [ba]mḍhana-[badh]ānam  
 10 munisā[nam] ..... vadhānam timni di[va]sāni [m]e  
 11 y[o]te dimne (M) ..... payisa[m]ti j[i]v[i]tāye tāna[m]  
 12 nāsantam [v]ā ni ..... ti pālatikam  
 13 u[pa]vāsam vā k[a] ..... hevam niludhasi pi [k]ālasī  
 14 pā[la]tam ālādha[ye] ..... vadhati vividhe dhamma-chal[a]ne  
 15 samyame dā[na] .....

## FIFTH PILLAR-EDICT: DELHI-MIRATH

- 1 ..... पोतके पि च कानि  
 2 ..... के (D) वधिकुकुटे नो कटविये (E) तुसे सजीवे  
 3 ..... तविये (F) दावे अनटाये वा विहिसाये वा नो  
 4 रूपेतविये (G) जीवेन जीवे नो पुसितविये (H) तीसु चातंमासीसु  
 5 तिसायं पुंनमासियं तिंनि दिवसानि चावुदसं पंनडसं  
 6 पटिपदा ध्रुवाये च अनुपोसथं महे अवधिये नो पि  
 7 विकेतविये (I) एतानि येव दिवसानि नागवनसि केवटभोगसि  
 8 यानि अन्नानि पि जीवन्निक्कायानि नो हंतवियानी

<sup>1</sup> [lajūkā] Bühler.<sup>2</sup> asva[the] Bühler.<sup>3</sup> lajūk[ā] Bühler.



- 9 (J) अठमिपखाये चावुदसाये पंनडसाये तिसाये  
 10 पुनावसुने तीसु चातुंमासीसु सुदिवसाये गोने  
 11 नो नीलखितविये अजके एळके सूकले ए वा पि  
 12 अंने नीलखियति नो नीलखितविये (K) तिसाये पुनावसुने  
 13 चातुंमासिये चातुंमासिपखाये अस्वसा गोनसा लखने  
 14 नो . . . . विये (L) यावसडुवीसतिवसअभिसितेन मे एताये  
 15 अंतलिकाये पंनवीसति बंधनमोखानि कटानि

- 1 . . . . . [potake<sup>1</sup> pi cha] k[ā]n[i]  
 2 . . . . . ke (D) [vadh]i-kukūṭe no kaṭaviye (E) tuse saji[ve]  
 3 . . . . . ta[v]iye (F) dāve [a]nathāye vā vihisāye vā no  
 4 [jhāpe]ta[vi]ye (G) jī[v]ena jīv[e] no pusi[ta]viye (H) tīsu chātarmāsīsu<sup>2</sup>  
 5 [t]isāya[m] pu[m]na[m]mā[si]ya[m] tīmni divasāni chāvudasa[m] parinaḍasa[m]  
 6 p[a]tipadā dh[r]uvāye<sup>3</sup> cha anuposatha[m] machhe avadhiye no pi  
 7 viketav[i]ye (I) etān[i] yeva divasāni n[ā]ga-van[a]si kevaṭa-bhogasi  
 8 y[ā]ni amnāni pi jīva-nikāyān[i] no [ha]ntaviyāni<sup>4</sup>  
 9 (J) aṭham[i-pakhā]ye<sup>5</sup> [chā]vudasāye paṁ[na]ḍasāye tisāye  
 10 punāvasune tīsu chāturmāsīsu sudivasāye gone  
 11 no nīlakhitavi[y]e ajake eḷake<sup>6</sup> sūkale e vā pi  
 12 am[n]e nī[la]khi[ya]ti [no] nīlakhitaviye (K) tisāye punāvasun[e]  
 13 chāturmāsīye chātu[m]māsi-pakhāye asvasā gonasā lakhane  
 14 no . . . . [v]iye (L) yā[va]-saḍuvīsati-[va]sa-abhisitena me etāye  
 15 a[m]talikāye paṁnavisati baṁdhana-mokhāni kaṭāni

#### SIXTH PILLAR-EDICT: DELHI-MIRATH

- 1 . . . . .  
 1 . . . . .  
 2 . . . . .  
 1 . . . . .  
 2 . . . . .

<sup>1</sup> On Fleet's plate (IA, 19. 124), portions of the preceding word *avadhiyā* are also visible.

<sup>2</sup> Read *chātum*.

<sup>3</sup> *dhuvāye* Bühler. Cf. above, p. 2, n. 1.

<sup>4</sup> *yāni* Bühler.

<sup>5</sup> *aṭham[i]* Bühler.

<sup>6</sup> *eḷake* Bühler; but see Lüders, JRAS, 1911. 1088.



V

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4

6

8

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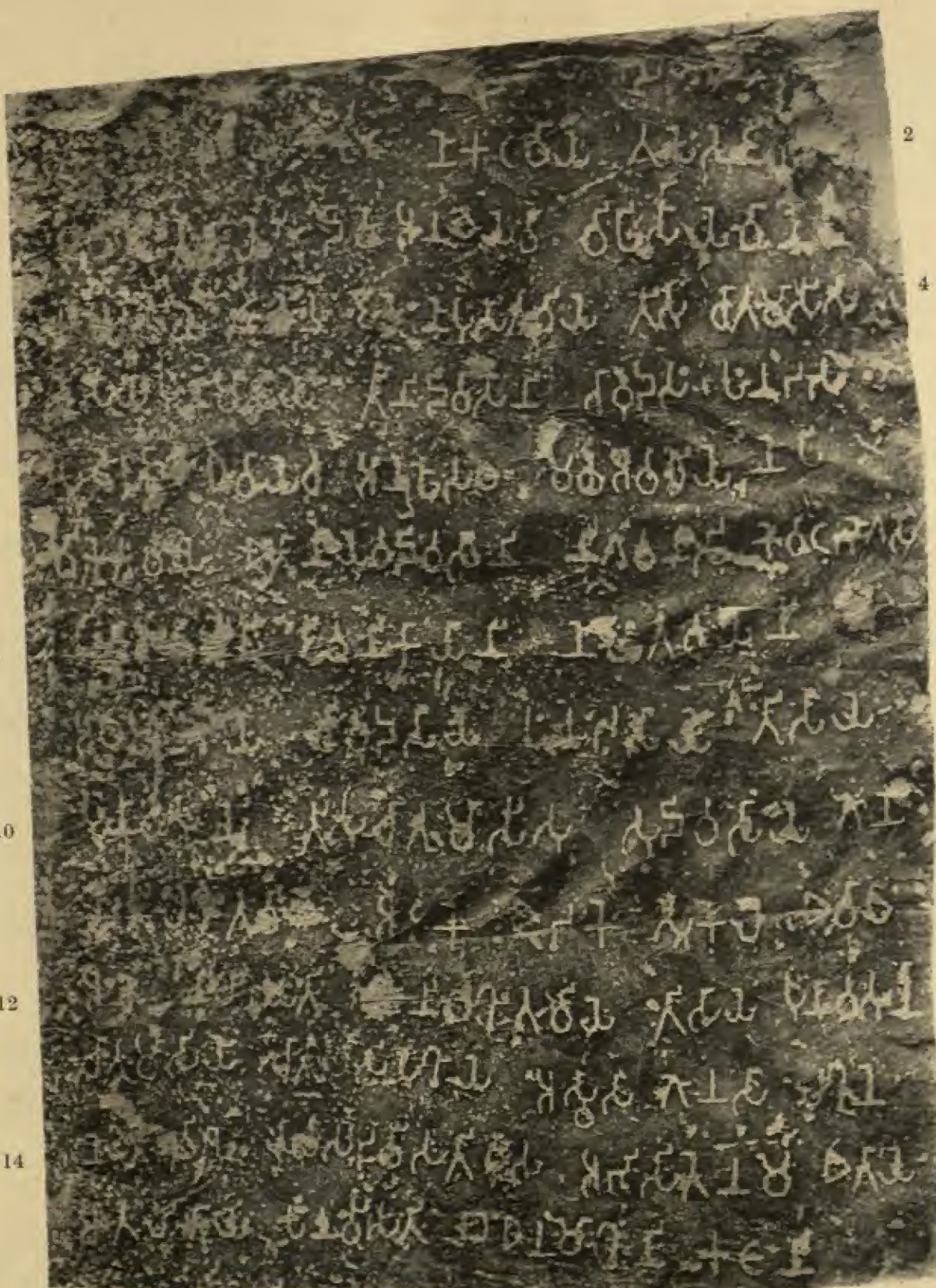
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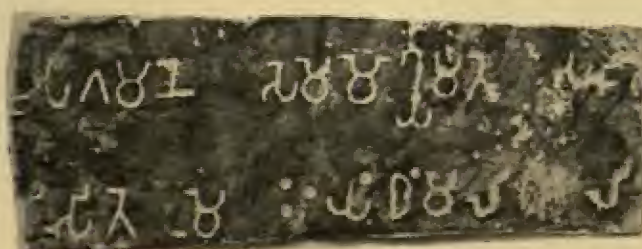
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VI

2









## III. THE LAURIYA ARARAJ-PILLAR

## FIRST PILLAR-EDICT: LAURIYA-ARARAJ

*A.—East Face of Pillar.*

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसि लाज हेवं आह (B) सडुवीसतिवसाभिसितेन मे इयं  
धम्मलिपि  
2 लिखापित (C) हिदतपालते दुसंपटिपादये अन्नत अगाय धम्मकामताय अगाय  
पलीखाय  
3 अगाय सुसूसाय अगेन भयेन अगेन उसाहेन (D) एस चु खो मम अनुसथिय  
धम्मापेख  
4 धम्मकामता च सुवे सुवे वढित वढिसति चेव (E) पुलिसा पि मे उकसा च गेवया  
च मज्झिमा च अनुविधीयंति  
5 संपटिपादयंति च अलं चपलं समादपयितवे (F) हेमेव अंतमहामाता पि (G)  
एसा हि विधि या इयं धंमेन पालन  
6 धंमेन विधाने धंमेन सुखीयन धंमेन गोती ति

- 1 (A) Devānaṃpiye Piyadasi lāja hevaṃ āha (B) saḍuvisati-vasābhisitena me  
iyaṃ dhamma-li[p]i  
2 likhāpita (C) hidata-pālate dusaṃpaṭipādaye aṇṇata agāya dhamma-kāmatāya agāya  
palikhāy[a]  
3 agāya susūsāya aṇṇa bhayena aṇṇa usāhena (D) esa chu kho mama anusathiya  
dhammāpekha<sup>1</sup>  
4 dhamma-kāmatā cha suve suve vaḍhita<sup>2</sup> vaḍhisati cheva (E) pulisā pi me ukasā cha  
gevayā cha majhimā cha anuvīdhiyaṃti  
5 saṃpaṭipādayaṃti cha alaṃ chapalaṃ samādapayitave (F) hemeva aṇṇa-mahāmātā  
pi (G) esā hi vidhi yā iyaṃ dhammena pālana  
6 dhammena vidhāne dhammena sukh[i]yana dhammena gotī ti

## SECOND PILLAR-EDICT: LAURIYA-ARARAJ

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसि लाज हेवं आह (B) धंमे साधु कियं चु धंमे ति (C)  
अपासिनवे बहु कयाने दय दाने सचे  
2 सोचेये ति (D) चखुदाने पि मे बहुविधे दिंने (E) दुपदचतुपदेसु पखिवालिचलेसु  
विविधे मे अनुगहे कटे

<sup>1</sup> *dhammāpekha* Bühler.<sup>2</sup> *vaḍhita* Bühler.



- 3 आ पानदखिनाये (F) अन्नानि पि च मे बहूनि कयानानि कटानि (G) एताये मे  
अठाये इयं धमलिपि लिखापित हेवं  
4 अनुपटिपजंतु चिलंथितीका च होतू ति (H) ये च हेवं संपटिपजिसति से सुकटं  
कच्छति ति

- 1 (A) Devānaṃpiye Piyadasi lāja hevaṃ āha (B) dhamme sādhu kiyāṃ chu  
dhamme ti (C) apāsinave bahu kayāne daya dāne sache  
2 socheye ti (D) chakhu-dāne pi me bahuvīdhe dīṃne (E) dupada-chatupadesu pakhi-  
vālichalesu vivīdhe me anugahe kaṭe  
3 ā pāna-dakhināye (F) a[m]nāni pi cha me bahūni kayānāni kaṭāni (G) etāye me  
aṭhāye iyaṃ dhama-lipi likhāpita hevaṃ  
4 anupaṭipajamtu chilam-thitikā cha hotū ti (H) ye cha hevaṃ sampaṭipajisati se  
sukataṃ kachhati ti

### THIRD PILLAR-EDICT: LAURIYA-ARARAJ

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसि लाज हेवं आह (B) कयानंमेव देखंति इयं मे कयाने कटे  
ति (C) नो मिन पापं देखंति इयं मे पापे कटे ति  
2 इयं व आसिनवे नामा ति (D) दुपटिवेखे चु खो एस (E) हेवं चु खो एस देखिये  
(F) इमानि आसिनवगामीनि नामा ति अथ चंडिये  
3 निठूलिये कोधे माने इस्य कालनेन व हकं मा पलिभसयिसं ति (G) एस बाढं  
देखिये (H) इयं मे हितिकाये इयंमन मे पालतिकाये ति

- 1 (A) Devānaṃpiye Piyadasi lāja hevaṃ āha (B) kayānaṃmeva dekhamti iyaṃ me  
kayāne kaṭe ti (C) no mina pāpaṃ dekhamti iyaṃ me pāpe kaṭe ti  
2 iyaṃ va āsinave nāmā ti (D) dupaṭivekhe chu kho esa (E) hevaṃ chu kho esa  
dekhiye (F) imāni āsinava-gāminī nāmā ti atha chaṇḍiye  
3 niṭhūliye kodhe māne isya kālanena va hakaṃ mā palibhasayisaṃ ti (G) esa bāḍhaṃ  
dekhiye (H) iyaṃ me hīdatikāye iyaṃmana me pālatikāye ti

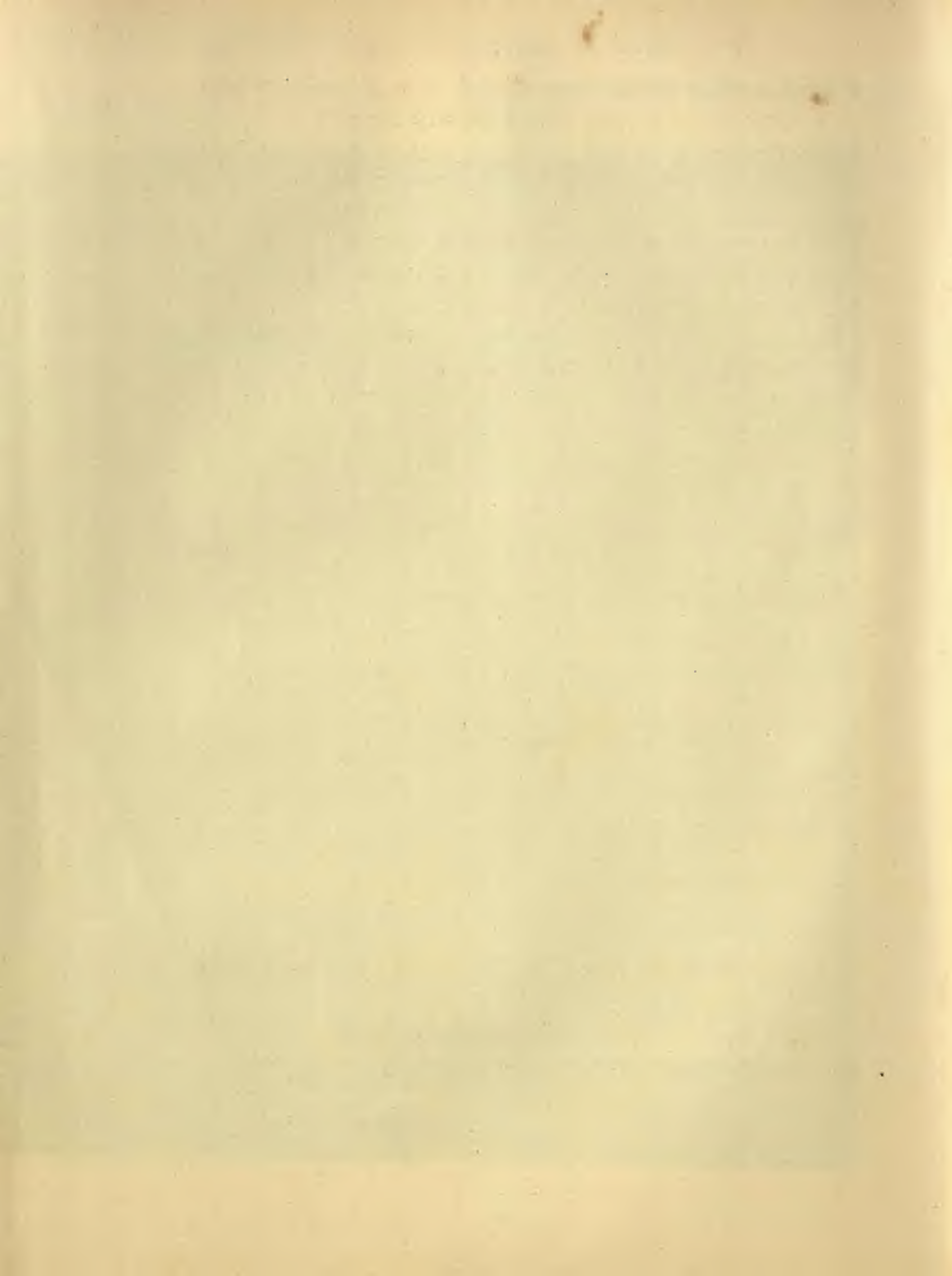
### FOURTH PILLAR-EDICT: LAURIYA-ARARAJ

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसि लाज हेवं आह (B) सडुवीसतिवसाभिसितेन मे इयं  
धमलिपि लिखापित (C) लजूका मे बहूसु पानसतसहसेसु  
2 जनसि आयत (D) तेसं ये अभिहाले व दंडे व अतपतिये मे कटे किंति लजूक  
अस्वथ अभीत कंमानि पवतयेवू ति जनस जानपदस  
3 हितसुखं उपदहेवु अनुगहिनेवु च (E) सुखीयनदुखीयनं जानिसंति धंमयुतेन च  
वियोवदिसंति जनं जानपदं किंति हितं च  
4 पालतं च आलाधयेवु (F) लजूका पि लघंति पटिचलितवे मं (G) पुलिसानि  
पि मे छंदनानि पटिचलिसंति (H) ते पि च कानि वियोवदिसंति येन मं



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- 5 लजूक चघंति आलाधयितवे (I) अथा हि पजं वियताये धातिये निसिजितु  
अस्वथे होति वियत धाति चघति मे पंजं सुखं पलिहटवे ति  
6 हेवं मम लजूक कट जानपदस हितमुखाये (J) येन एते अभीत अस्वथा संतं  
अछिमन कंमानि पवतयेवू ति एतेन मे लजूकानं अभिहाले व  
7 दंडे व अतपतिये कटे (K) इछितविये हि एस किंति वियोहालसमता च सिय  
दंडसमता च (L) आवा इते पि च मे आवुति वंधनवधानं  
8 मुनिसानं तीलितदंडानं पतवधानं तिंनि दिवसानि मे योते दिने (M) नातिका  
व कानि निरूपयिसंति जीविताये तानं नासंतं व  
9 निरूपयितवे दानं दाहंति पालतिकं उपवासं व कछंति (N) इछा हि मे हेवं  
निलुधसि पि कालसि पालतं आलाधयेवू ति  
10 (O) जनस च वढति विविधे धंमचलने सयमे दानसंविभागे ति

- 1 (A) Devānaṃpiye Piyadasi lāja hevaṃ āha (B) saḍuvisati-vasābhisitena me  
iyaṃ dhamma-lipi likhāpita (C) lajūkā me bahūsu pāna-sata-sahasasu  
2 janasi āyata (D) tesāṃ ye abhihāle va d[a]ṃḍe va ata-patiye me kaṭe kiṃti lajūka  
asvatha abhīta kaṃmāni pavatayevū ti janasa jānapadasa  
3 hita-sukhaṃ upadahevu anugahinevu cha (E) sukhīyana-dukhīyanaṃ jānisanti  
dhamma-yutena cha viyovadisanti janaṃ jānapadaṃ kiṃti hidataṃ cha  
4 pālataṃ cha ālādhayevu (F) lajūkā pi laghamti paṭichalitave maṃ (G) pulisāni pi  
me chhamdamaṇāni paṭichalisanti (H) te pi cha kāni viyovadisanti yena maṃ  
5 lajūka chaghamti ālādhayitave (I) athā hi paṇaṃ viyatāye dhātiye nisijitu asvathe  
hoti viyata dhāti chaghati me paṇaṃ<sup>1</sup> sukhaṃ palihaṭave ti  
6 hevaṃ mama lajūka kaṭa jānapadasa hita-sukhāye (J) yena ete abhīta asvathā  
saṃtaṃ achhimana<sup>2</sup> kaṃmāni pavatayevū ti etena me lajūkānaṃ abhihāle va  
7 daṃḍe va ata-patiye kaṭe (K) ichhitaviye hi esa kiṃti viyohāla-samatā cha siya  
daṃḍa-samatā cha (L) āvā ite pi cha me āvuti baṃdhana-badhānaṃ  
8 munisā[na]ṃ tilita-daṃḍānaṃ pata-vadhānaṃ tiṃni divasāni me yote diṇne (M)  
nātikā va kāni nijhapayisanti jīvītāye tānaṃ nāsaṃtaṃ va  
9 nijhapayī[ta]ve dānaṃ dāhamti pālataṃ upavāsaṃ va kachhamti (N) ichhā hi me  
hevaṃ niludhasi pi kālasi pālataṃ ālādhayevū ti  
10 (O) janasa cha va[dha]ti vividhe dha[m]ma-chalane sayame dāna-saṃvibhāge ti

## FIFTH PILLAR-EDICT: LAURIYA-ARARAJ

## B.—West Face of Pillar.

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसि लाज हेवं आह (B) सडुवीसतिवसाभिसितस मे इमानि  
पि जातानि अवधानि  
2 कटानि सेयथ सुके सालिक अलुने चकवाके हंसे नंदीमुखे गेलाटे जतूक  
3 अंबाकपिलिक दुळि अनठिकमछे वेदवेयके गंगापुपुटके संकुजमछे कफटसेयके

<sup>1</sup> Read *paṇaṃ*.<sup>2</sup> Read *avimana*.



- 4 पंनससे सिमले संडके ओकपिडे पलसते सेतकपोते गामकपोते सवे चतुपदे
- 5 ये पटिपोगं नो एति नो च खादियति (C) अजका नानि एडका च सूकली च गभिनी व पायमीना व
- 6 अवध्य पोतके च कानि आसंमासिके (D) वधिकुकुटे नो कटविये (E) तुसे सजीवे नो रूपयितविये (F) दावे
- 7 अनठाये व विहिसाये व नो रूपयितविये (G) जीवेन जीवे नो पुसितविये (H) तीसु चातुंमासीसु तिस्यं
- 8 पुंनमासियं तिंनि दिवसानि चावुदसं पंनळसं पटिपदं धुवाये च अनुपोसथं मद्धे अवध्ये नो पि
- 9 विकेतविये (I) एतानि येव दिवसानि नागवनसि केवटभोगसि यानि अन्नानि पि जीवनिक्कायानि
- 10 नो हंतवियानि (J) अठमिपखाये चावुदसाये पंनडसाये तिसाये पुनावसुने तीसु चातुंमासीसु
- 11 सुदिवसाये गोने नो नीलखितविये अजके एळके सूकले ए वा पि अंने नीलखियति नो नीलखितविये
- 12 (K) तिसाये पुनावसुने चातुंमासिये चातुंमासिपखाये अस्वस गोनस लखने नो कटविये
- 13 (L) यावसडुवीसतिवसाभिसितस मे एताये अंतलिकाये पंनवीसति बंधन-मोखानि कटानि

- 1 (A) Devānampiye Piyadasi lāja hevaṃ āha (B) saḍuvīsati-vasābhisitasa me imāni pi jātāni avadhyāni
- 2 kaṭāni seyatha suke sālika alune chakavāke haṃse naṃdīmukhe gelāṭe jatūka
- 3 aṃbā-kapilika duḷi<sup>1</sup> anaṭhika-machhe vedaveyake Gaṃgā-pupuṭake saṃkuja-machhe kaphaṭa-seyake
- 4 paṃna-sase sīmāle saṃḍake okapiṃḍe palasate seta-kapote gāma-kapote save chatupade
- 5 ye paṭipogaṃ<sup>2</sup> no eti no cha khādiy[a]ti (C) ajakā nāni eḍakā cha sūkālī cha gabhīni va pāyamīnā va
- 6 avadhya potake cha kāni āsaṃmāsike (D) vadhi-kukute no kaṭaviye (E) tuse sajīve no jhāpayitaviye (F) dāve
- 7 anaṭhāye va vihisāye va no jhāpayitaviye (G) jīvena jīve no pusitaviye (H) tīsu chātumāsīsu tīsyam
- 8 puṃnamāsiyam tīṃni divasāni chāvudasaṃ paṃnaḷasaṃ<sup>3</sup> paṭipadaṃ dhuvāye cha anuposatham machhe avadhye no pi
- 9 viketaviye (I) etāni yeva divasāni nāga-vanasi kevaṭa-bhogasi yāni aṃnāni pi jīva-nik[ā]yāni

<sup>1</sup> duḍi Bühler; but see his *Ind. Pal.*, § 16, C, 41, and Lüders in *JRAS*, 1911, 1087.

<sup>2</sup> Read *paṭibhogam*.

<sup>3</sup> *paṃnaḍasaṃ* Bühler.



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- 10 no haṁtaviyāni (J) aṭhami-pakhāye chāvudasāye paṁnaḍasāye tisāye punāvasune  
tisu chātummāsīsu  
11 sudivasāye gone no nilakhitaviye ajake eḷake<sup>1</sup> sūkale e vā pi aṁne nilakhiyati no  
nilakhitaviye  
12 (K) tisāye punāvasune chātummāsīye chātummāsī-pakhāye asvasa gonasa lakhane  
no kaṭaviye  
13 (L) yāva-saḍuvisati-vasābhisitasa me etāye aṁtalikāye paṁnavīsati baṁdhana-  
mokhāni kaṭāni

## SIXTH PILLAR-EDICT: LAURIYA-ARARAJ

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसि लाज हेवं आह (B) दुवाडसवसाभिसितेन मे धंमलिपि  
लिखापित लोकस  
2 हितसुखाये से तं अपहट तं तं धंमवडि पापोव (C) हेवं लोकस हितसुखे ति  
पटिवेखामि  
3 अथा इयं नातिसु हेवं पत्यासंनेसु हेवं अपकटेसु किंमं कानि सुखं आवहामी ति  
तथा च विदहामि  
4 (D) हेमेव सवनिकायेसु पटिवेखामि (E) संवपासंडा पि मे पूजित विविधाय  
पूजाय (F) ए चु इयं अतन पचूपगमने  
5 से मे मुख्यमुते (G) सडुवीसतिवसाभिसितेन मे इयं धंमलिपि लिखापित  
1 (A) Devānaṁpiye Piyadasi lāja hevaṁ āha (B) duvā[ḍa]sa-vasābhisitena me  
dhamma-lipi likhāpita lokasa  
2 hita-sukhāye se taṁ apahaṭa taṁ taṁ dhamma-vaḍhi pāpova (C) hevaṁ lokasa  
hita-sukhe ti paṭivekhāmi  
3 athā iyaṁ nātisu hevaṁ patyāsānnesu hevaṁ apakaṭhesu kiṁmaṁ kāni sukhaṁ  
— āvahāmi ti tathā cha vidahāmi  
4 (D) hemeva sava-nikāyesu paṭivekhāmi (E) sava-pāsamḍā pi me pūjita vividhāya  
pūjāya (F) e chu iyaṁ atana pachūpagamane  
5 se me mukhya-mute<sup>2</sup> (G) saḍuvisati-vasābhisitena me iyaṁ dhamma-lipi likhāpita

## IV. THE LAURIYA-NANDANGARH PILLAR

## FIRST PILLAR-EDICT: LAURIYA-NANDANGARH

*A.—East Face of Pillar.*

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसि लाज हेवं आह (B) सडुवीसतिवसाभिसितेन मे इयं  
2 धंमलिपि लिखापित (C) हिदतपालते दुसंपटिपादये अनंत अगाय धंमकामताय  
3 अगाय पलीखाय अगाय सुसूसाय अगेन भयेन अगेन उसाहेन (D) एस चु  
खो मम

<sup>1</sup> eḷake Bühler.

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. 35, n. 10.



- 4 अनुसन्धिय धंमापेख धंमकामता च सुवे सुवे वढित वढिसति चेव (E) पुलिसा  
पि मे
- 5 उकसा च गेवया च मझिमा च अनुविधीयंति संपटिपादयंति च अलं चपलं  
समादपयितवे
- 6 (F) हेमेव अंतमहामाता पि (G) एसा हि विधि या इयं धंमेन पालन धंमेन  
विधाने धंमेन सुखीयन
- 7 धंमेन गोती ति
- 1 (A) Devānaṃpiye Piyadasi lāja hevaṃ ā[ha] (B) saḍuvisati-vasābhisitena me  
iyaṃ
- 2 dhamma-lipi likhāpita (C) hidata-pālate dusaṃpaṭipādaye amnata agāya dhamma-  
kāmatāya
- 3 agāya palikhāya agāya susūsāya agena bhayena agena usāhena (D) esa chu  
kho mama
- 4 anusathiya dhammāpekha dhamma-kāmatā cha suve suve vaḍhita vaḍhisati cheva  
(E) pulisā pi me
- 5 ukasā cha gevayā cha majhimā cha anuvidhīyaṃti saṃpaṭipādayaṃti cha alaṃ  
chapalaṃ samādapayitave
- 6 (F) hemeva amta-mahāmātā pi (G) esā hi vidhi yā iyaṃ dhammena pālana dhammena  
vidhāne dhammena sukhīyana
- 7 dhammena gotī ti

## SECOND PILLAR-EDICT: LAURIYA-NANDANGARH

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसि लाज हेवं आह (B) धंमे साधु किय चु धंमे ति (C)  
अपासिनवे बहु कयाने
- 2 दय दाने सचे सोचेये ति (D) चखुदाने पि मे बहुविधे दिने (E) दुपदचतुपदेसु पखि-  
वाल्लिचलेसु विविधे मे अनुगहे कटे आ पानदखिनाये (F) अन्नानि पि च मे  
बहूनि कयानानि
- 4 कटानि (G) एताये मे अठाये इयं धंमलिपि लिखापित हेवं अनुपटिपजंतु  
चिलंधितीका च होतू ति
- 5 (H) ये च हेवं संपटिपजिसति से सुकटं कळति
- 1 (A) Devānaṃpiye Piyadasi lāja hevaṃ āha (B) dhamme sādhu kiya<sup>1</sup> chu dhamme  
ti (C) apāsinave bahu kayāne
- 2 daya dāne sache socheye ti (D) chakhu-dāne pi me bahuvidhe diṃne (E) dupada-  
chatupadesu pakhi-
- 3 vālichalesu vividhe me anugahe kaṭe ā pāna-dakhināye (F) amnāni pi cha me bahūni  
kayānāni

<sup>1</sup> *kiyaṃ* Bühler.



- 4 kaṭāni (G) etāye me aṭhāye iyaṁ dhamma-lipi likhāpita hevaṁ anupaṭipajamtu  
chilam-thitika cha hotu ti  
5 (H) ye cha hevaṁ sampaṭipajisati se sukataṁ kachhati

## THIRD PILLAR-EDICT: LAURIYA-NANDANGARH

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसि लाज हेवं आह (B) कयानंमेव देखंति इयं मे कयाने कटे  
ति (C) नो मिन पापं  
2 देखंति इयं मे पापे कटे ति इयं व आसिनवे नामा ति (D) दुपटिवेखे चु खो एस  
(E) हेवं चु खो एस देखिये  
3 (F) इमानि आसिनवगामीनि नामा ति अथ चंडिये निठूलिये कोधे माने इस्य  
कालनेन व हकं  
4 मा पलिभसयिसं ति (G) एस बाढं देखिये (H) इयं मे हितिकाये इयंमन मे  
पालतिकाये ति

- 1 (A) Devānaṁpiye Piyadasi lāja hevaṁ āha (B) kayānaṁmeva dekhamti iyaṁ me  
kayāne kaṭe ti (C) no mina pāpaṁ  
2 dekhamti iyaṁ me pāpe kaṭe ti iyaṁ va āsinave nāmā ti (D) dupaṭivekhe chu kho  
esa (E) hevaṁ chu kho esa dekhiye  
3 (F) imāni āsinava-gāmīni<sup>1</sup> nāmā ti atha chaṇḍiye niṭhūliye kodhe māne isya  
kālanena va hakaṁ  
4 mā palibhasayisaṁ ti (G) esa bāḍhaṁ dekhiye (H) iyaṁ me hidatikāye iyaṁmana  
me pālatikāye ti

## FOURTH PILLAR-EDICT: LAURIYA-NANDANGARH

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसि लाज हेवं आह (B) सदुवीसतिवसाभिसितेन मे इयं  
धम्मलिपि लिखापित (C) लज्जूका मे  
2 बहूसु पानसतसहसेसु जनसि आयत (D) तेसं ये अभिहाले व दंडे व अतपतिये  
मे कटे किंति लज्जूक अस्वय  
3 अभीत कंमानि पवतयेवू ति जनस जानपदस हितसुखं उपदहेवू अनुगहिनेवु च  
(E) सुखीयनदुखीयनं  
4 जानिसंति धम्मयुतेन च वियोवदिसंति जनं जानपदं किंति हितं च पालतं च  
आलाधयेवू ति (F) लज्जूका पि लघंति  
5 पटिचलितवे मं (G) पुलिसानि पि मे छंदनानि पटिचलिसंति (H) ते पि  
च कानि वियोवदिसंति येन मं लज्जूक चघंति आलाधयितवे

<sup>1</sup> āsinave Bühler.



- 6 (I) अथा हि पजं वियताये धातिये निसिजितु अस्वथे होति वियत धाति चघति  
मे पजं सुखं पलिहटवे ति
- 7 हेवं मम लजूक कट जानपदस हितसुखाये (J) येन एते अभीत अस्वथा संतं  
अविमन कंमानि पवतयेवू ति
- 8 एतेन मे लजूकानं अभिहाले व दंडे व अतपतिये कटे (K) इच्छितविये हि एस  
किंति वियोहालसमता च सिय दंडसमता च
- 9 (L) आवा इते पि च मे आवुति बंधनवधानं मुनिसानं तीलितदंडानं पतवधानं  
तिंनि दिवसानि मे योते दिंने (M) नातिका व कानि
- 10 निरूपयिसंति जीविताये तानं नासंतं व निरूपयितवे दानं दाहंति पालतिकं  
उपवासं व कच्छंति (N) इच्छा हि मे हेवं
- 11 निलुधसि पि कालसि पालतं आलाधयेवू ति (O) जनस च वढति विविधे  
धंमचलने सयमे दानसविभागे ति

- 1 (A) Devānaṃpiye Piyadasi lāja hevaṃ āha (B) saḍuvisati-vasābhisitena me  
iyaṃ dhamma-lipi likhāpita (C) lajūkā me
- 2 bahūsu pāna-sata-sahasasu janasi āyata (D) tesam ye abhihāle va daṇḍe va  
ata-patiye me kaṭe kiṃti lajūka asvatha
- 3 abhīta kaṃmāni pavatayevū ti janasa jānapadasa hita-sukhaṃ upadahevū  
anugahinevu cha (E) sukhīyana-dukkhīyanaṃ
- 4 jānisaṃti dhamma-yutena cha viyovadisāṃti janam jānapadam kiṃti hidatam cha  
pālatam cha ālādhayevū ti (F) lajūkā pi laghaṃti
- 5 paṭichalitave maṃ (G) pulis[ā]ni pi me chhaṇḍamaṇṇāni paṭichalisaṃti (H) te pi  
cha kāni viyovadisāṃti yena maṃ lajūka chaghaṃti ālādhayitave
- 6 (I) athā hi pajam viyatāye dhātiye nisijitu asvathe hoti viyata dhāti chaghati me  
pajam sukham palihaṭave ti
- 7 hevaṃ mama lajūka kaṭa jānapadasa hita-sukhāye (J) yena ete abhīta asvathā  
saṃtam avimāna kaṃmāni pavatayevū ti
- 8 etena me lajūkānaṃ [a]bhihāle va daṇḍe va ata-patiye kaṭe (K) ichhitaviye hi esa  
kiṃti viyohāla-samatā cha siya daṇḍa-samatā cha
- 9 (L) āvā ite pi cha me āvuti baṇḍhana-badhānaṃ munisānaṃ tīlita-daṇḍānaṃ  
pata-vadhānaṃ tiṃni divasāni me [yo]te diṃne (M) nātikā va kāni
- 10 nijhapayisaṃti jīvitāye tānaṃ nāsaṃtaṃ va nijhapayi[tav]e dānaṃ dāhaṃti  
pālatikaṃ upavāsaṃ va kachhaṃti (N) ichhā hi me hevaṃ
- 11 niludhasi pi [kālas]i pālatam ālādhayevū t[i] (O) janasa cha vaḍhati vividhe  
dhamma-chalane sayame dāna-savibhāge ti











## FIFTH PILLAR-EDICT: LAURIYA-NANDANGARH

*B.—West Face of Pillar.*

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसि लाज हेवं आह (B) सडुवीसतिवसाभिसितस मे  
इमानि पि
- 2 जातानि अवध्यानि कटानि सेयथा सुके सालिक अलुने चकवाके हंसे  
3 नंदीमुखे गेलाटे जतूक अंबाकपिलिक दुळि अनठिकमछे वेदवेयके  
4 गंगापुपुठके संकुजमछे कफटसेयके पंनससे सिमले संडके ओकपिंडे  
5 पलसते सेतकपोते गामकपोते सवे चतुपदे ये पटिभोगं नो एति न च खादियति  
6 (C) अजका नानि एडका च सूकली च गभिनी व पायमीना व अवध्य पोतके  
च कानि
- 7 आसंमासिके (D) वधिकुकुटे नो कटविये (E) तुसे सजीवे नो रूपयितविये (F)  
दावे अनठाये व
- 8 विहिसाये व नो रूपयितविये (G) जीवेन जीवे नो पुसितविये (H) तीसु  
चातुंमासीसु तिसियं
- 9 पुंनमासियं तिंनि दिवसानि चावुदसं पंनळसं पटिपदं धुवाये च अनुपोसथं  
मछे अवध्ये
- 10 नो पि विकेतविये (I) एतानि येव दिवसानि नागवनसि केवटभोगसि यानि  
अंनानि पि
- 11 जीवनिकायानि नो हंतवियानि (J) अठमिपखाये चावुदसाये पंनळसाये  
तिसाये पुनावसुने
- 12 तीसु चातुंमासीसु सुदिवसाये गोने नो नीलखितविये अजके एळके सूकले ए  
वा पि अंने
- 13 नीलखियति नो नीलखितविये (K) तिसाये पुनावसुने चातुंमासिये चातुंमासि-  
पखाये अस्वस गोनस
- 14 लखने नो कटविये (L) यावसडुवीसतिवसाभिसितेन मे एताये अंतलिकाये  
पंनवीसति
- 15 बंधनमोखानि कटानि

- 1 (A) Devānāmpiye Piyadasi lāja hevaṃ āha (B) saḍuvisati-vasābhisitasa me  
imāni pi
- 2 jātāni avadhyāni kaṭāni seyath[ā] suke sālika alune chakavāke haṃse
- 3 naṃdīmukhe gelāṭe jatūka aṃbā-kapilika duḷi<sup>1</sup> anaṭhika-machhe vedaveyake
- 4 Gaṃgā-pupuṭake saṃkuja-machhe kaphaṭa-seyake paṃna-sase simale saṃḍake  
okapiṃḍe

<sup>1</sup> *duḍi* Bühler; but see his *Ind. Pal.*, § 16, C, 41, and Lüders in JRAS, 1911. 1087.



- 5 palasate seta-kapote gāma-kapote save chatupade ye paṭibhogam no eti na cha khādiyati  
 6 (C) ajakā nāni eḍakā cha sūkālī cha gabhinī va pāyamīnā va avadhya potake cha kāni  
 7 āsammasike (D) vadhi-kukūṭe no kaṭaviye (E) tuse sajīve no jhāpayitaviye (F) dāve anañhāye va  
 8 vihisāye va no jhāpayitaviye (G) jīvena jīve no pusitaviye (H) tīsu chātummāsīsu tīsiyam  
 9 puṁnamāsīyam tīmni divasāni chāvudasaṁ paṁnaḷasaṁ<sup>1</sup> paṭipadaṁ dhuvāye cha anuposathaṁ machhe avadhye  
 10 no pi viketaviye (I) etāni yeva divasāni nāga-vanasi kevaṭa-bhogasi yāni amnāni pi  
 11 jīva-nikāyāni no haṁtaviyāni (J) aṭhami-pakhāye chāvudasaṁ paṁnaḷasaṁ<sup>2</sup> tisāye punāvasune  
 12 tīsu chātummāsīsu sudivasāye gone no nīlakhitaviye ajake eḷake<sup>3</sup> sūkale e vā pi amne  
 13 nīlakhiyati no nīlakhitaviye (K) tisāye punāvasune chātummāsīye chātummāsī-pakhāye asvasa gonasa  
 14 lakhane no kaṭaviye (L) yāva-saḍuvisati-vasābhisitena me etāye amtalikāye paṁnavīsati  
 15 baṁdhana-mokhāni kaṭāni

## SIXTH PILLAR-EDICT: LAURIYA-NANDANGARH

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसि लाज हेवं आह (B) दुवाळसवसाभिसितेन मे धंमलिपि लिखापित  
 2 लोकस हितसुखाये से तं अपहट तं तं धंमवढि पापोव (C) हेवं लोकस  
 3 हितसुखे ति पटिवेखामि अथा इयं नातिसु हेवं पत्यासंनेसु हेवं अपकठेसु  
 4 किंमं कानि सुखं आवहामी ति तथा च विदहामि (D) हेमेव सवनिकायेसु पटिवेखामि  
 5 (E) सवपासंदा पि मे पूजित विविधाय पूजाय (F) ए चु इयं अतन पचूपगमने  
 6 से मे मोख्यमुते (G) सडुवीसतिवसाभिसितेन मे इयं धंमलिपि लिखापित  
 1 (A) Devānaṁpiye Piyadasi lāja hevaṁ āha (B) duvā[la]s[a-va]sābhisitena<sup>4</sup> me dhamma-lipi likhāpita  
 2 lokasa hita-sukhāye se taṁ apahaṭa taṁ taṁ dhamma-vaḍhi pāpova (C) hevaṁ lokasa  
 3 hita-sukhe ti paṭivekhāmi athā iyaṁ nātisu hevaṁ patyāsaṁnesu hevaṁ apakaṭhesu  
 4 kiṁmaṁ kāni sukhaṁ āvahāmi ti tathā cha vidahāmi (D) hemeva sava-nikāyesu paṭivekhāmi  
 5 (E) sava-pāsaṁdā pi me pūjita vividhāya pūjāya (F) e chu iyaṁ atana pachūpa-gamane  
 6 se me mokhya-mute (G) saḍuvisati-va[s]ābhisitena me iyaṁ dhamma-lipi likhāpita

<sup>1</sup> paṁnaḷasaṁ Bühler.<sup>2</sup> paṁnaḷasaṁ Bühler.<sup>3</sup> eḍake Bühler.<sup>4</sup> duvāḍasa- Bühler.



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## V. THE RAMPURVA PILLAR

## FIRST PILLAR-EDICT: RAMPURVA

*A.—North Face of Pillar.*

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसि लाज हेव आह (B) सडुवीसतिवसाभिसितेन मे इयं  
धंमलिपि लिखापित (C) हिदतपालते  
2 दुसंपटिपादये अंनत अगाय धंमकामताय अगाय पलीखाय अगाय सुसूसाय  
अगेन भयेन अगेन उसाहेन  
3 (D) एस चु खो मम अनुसथिय धंमापेख धंमकामता च सुवे सुवे वढित वढिसति  
चेव (E) पुलिसा पि मे उक्सा च  
4 गेवया च महिमा च अनुविधीयंति संपटिपादयंति च अलं चपलं समादपयितवे  
(F) हेमेव अंतमहामाता पि (G) एसा हि विधि  
5 या इयं धंमेन पालन धंमेन विधाने धंमेन सुखीयन धंमेन गोती ति

- 1 (A) Devānaṃpiye P[i]yadasi lāja heva<sup>1</sup> āha (B) saḍuvisati-vasābhisitena me  
iyaṃ dhamma-lipi likhāpita (C) hidata-pālate  
2 dusam̐paṭipādaye aṇnata agāya dhamma-kāmatāya agāya palikhāya agāya susūsāya  
agena bhayena agena usāhena  
3 (D) esa chu kho mama anusathiya dhammāpekha dhamma-kāmatā cha suve suve  
vaḍhita vaḍhisati cheva (E) pulisā pi me ukasā cha  
4 gevayā cha majhimā cha anuvidhīyaṃti sam̐paṭipādayaṃti cha alaṃ chapalaṃ  
samādapayitave (F) hemeva aṇta-mahāmātā pi (G) esā hi vidhi  
5 yā iyaṃ dhammena pālana dhammena vidhāne dha[m]m[e]na sukhīyana dhammena  
goti ti

## SECOND PILLAR-EDICT: RAMPURVA

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसि लाज हेवं आह (B) धंमे साधु कियं चु धंमे ति (C)  
अपासिनवे बहु कयाने दय दाने सचे सोचेये ति (D) चखुदाने पि मे  
2 बहुविधे दिंने (E) दुपदचतुपदेसु पखिवालिचलेसु विविधे मे अनुगहे कटे आ  
पानदखिनाये (F) अंनानि पि च मे बहूनि कयानानि कटानि  
3 (G) एताये मे अठाये इयं धंमलिपि लिखापित हेवं अनुपटिपजंतु चिलंथितीका  
च होतू ति (H) ये च हेवं संपटिपजिसति से सुकटं कळती ति

- 1 (A) Devānaṃpiye Piyadasi lāja hevaṃ āha (B) dhamme sādhu kiyam̐ chu  
dhamme ti (C) apāsinave bahu kayāne daya dāne sache socheye ti (D) chakhu-  
dāne pi me

<sup>1</sup> *hevaṃ* Bühler.



- 2 bahuvidhe diṁne (E) dupada-chatupadesu pakhi-vālichalesu vividhe me anugahe kaṭe ā pāna-dakhināye (F) amnāni pi cha me bahūni kayānāni kaṭāni  
 3 (G) etāye me aṭhāye iyaṁ dhamma-lipi likhāpita hevaṁ anupaṭipajamtu chilam-thitikā cha hotū ti (H) ye cha hevaṁ sampaṭipajisati se sukaṭaṁ kachhati ti

## THIRD PILLAR-EDICT: RAMPURVA

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसि लाज हेवं आह (B) कयानंमेव देखंति इयं मे कयाने कटे ति (C) नो मिन पापं देखंति इयं मे पापे कटे ति  
 2 इयं व आसिनवे नामा ति (D) दुपटिवेखे चु खो एस (E) हेवं चु खो एस देखिये (F) इमानि आसिनवगामीनि नामा ति अथ चंडिये निठूलिये  
 3 कोधे माने इस्य कालनेन व हकं मा पलिभसयिसं (G) एस बाढं देखिये (H) इयं मे हितिकाये इयंमन मे पालतिकाये ति

- 1 (A) Devānaṁpiye Piyadasi lāja hevaṁ āha (B) kayānaṁmeva dekhamti iyaṁ me kayāne kaṭe ti (C) no mina pāpaṁ dekhamti iyaṁ me pāpe kaṭe ti  
 2 iyaṁ va āsinave nāmā ti (D) dupaṭivekhe chu kho esa (E) hevaṁ chu kho esa dekhiye (F) imāni āsinava-gāmīni nāmā ti atha chaṇḍiye niṭhūliye  
 3 kodhe māne isya kālanena va hakaṁ mā palibhasayisaṁ (G) esa bāḍhaṁ dekhiye (H) iyaṁ me hidatikāye iyaṁmana me pālatikāye ti

## FOURTH PILLAR-EDICT: RAMPURVA

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसि लाज हेवं आह (B) सडुवीसतिवसाभिसितेन मे इयं धंमलिपि लिखापित (C) लजूका मे वहूसु पानसतसहसेसु  
 2 जनसि आयत (D) तेसं ये अभिहले व दंडे व अतपतिये मे कटे किंति लजूक अस्वथ अभीत कंमानि पवतयेवू ति जनस जानपदस  
 3 हितसुखं उपदहेवु अनुगहिनेवु च (E) सुखीयनदुखीयनं जानिसंति धंमयुतेन च वियोवदिसंति जनं जानपदं किंति हितं च पालतं च  
 4 आलाधयेवू ति (F) लजूका पि लघंति पटिचलितवे मं (G) पुलिसानि पि मे छंदनानि पटिचलिसंति (H) ते पि च कानि वियोवदिसंति येन मं लजूक  
 5 चघंति आलाधयितवे (I) अथा हि पजं वियताये धातिये निसिजितु अस्वथे होति वियत धाति चघति मे पजं सुखं पलिहटवे ति हेवं मम लजूक कट  
 6 जानपदस हितसुखाये (J) येन एते अभीत अस्वथा संतं अविमन कंमानि पवतयेवू ति एतेन मे लजूकानं अभिहाले व दंडे व अतपतिये कटे  
 7 (K) इद्धितविये हि एस किंति वियोहालसमता च सिय दंडसमता च (L) आवा इते पि च मे आवुति वंधनवधानं मुनिसानं तीलितदंडानं पतवधानं



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- 8 तिंनि दिवसानि मे दीते दिंने (M) नातिका व कानि निरूपयिंसन्ति जीविताये  
तानं नासन्तं व निरूपयितवे दानं दाहन्ति पालतिकं उपवासं व कच्छन्ति  
9 (N) इच्छा हि मे हेवं निलुधसि पि कालसि पालतं आलाधयेवू ति (O) जनस  
च वढति विविधे धम्मचलने समये दानसविभागे ति

- 1 (A) Devānaṃpiye Piyadasi lāja hevaṃ āha (B) saḍuvisati-vasābhisitena me  
iyaṃ dhamma-lipi likhāpita (C) lajūkā me bahūsu pāna-sata-sahasasu  
2 janasi āyata (D) tesam ye abhihale<sup>1</sup> va daṃḍe va ata-patiye me kaṭe kiṃti lajūka  
asvatha abhita kaṃmāni pavatayevū ti janasa jānapadasa  
3 hita-sukhaṃ upadahevu anugahinevu cha (E) sukhiyana-dukhiyanaṃ jānisaṃti  
dhamma-yutena cha viyovadisaṃti janaṃ jānapadaṃ kiṃti hidataṃ cha  
pālataṃ cha  
4 ālādhayevū ti (F) lajūkā pi laghaṃti paṭichalitave maṃ (G) pulisāni pi me  
chhaṃdaṃnāni paṭichalisaṃti (H) te pi cha kāni viyovadisaṃti yena maṃ  
lajūka  
5 chaghaṃti ālādhayitave (I) athā hi paṃaṃ viyatāye dhātiye nisijitu asvathe hoti  
viyata dhāti chaghati me paṃaṃ sukhaṃ palīhaṭave ti hevaṃ mama lajūka  
kaṭa  
6 jānapadasa hita-sukhāye (J) yena ete abhita asvathā saṃtaṃ avimana kaṃmāni  
pavatayevū ti etena me lajūkānaṃ abhihale va daṃḍe va ata-patiye kaṭe  
7 (K) ichhitaviye hi esa ki[m]ti<sup>2</sup> viyohāla-samatā cha siya daṃḍa-samatā cha (L) āvā  
ite pi cha me āvuti baṃdhana-badhānaṃ munisānaṃ tilita-daṃḍānaṃ  
pata-vadhānaṃ  
8 timni divasāni me [y]ote diṃne (M) nātikā va kāni nijhapayisaṃti jivitāye tānaṃ  
nāsaṃtaṃ va nijhapayitave dānaṃ dāhaṃti pālatakaṃ upavāsaṃ va kachhaṃti  
9 (N) ichhā hi me hevaṃ niludhasi pi kālasi pālataṃ ālādhayevū ti (O) janasa cha  
vaḍhati vividhe dhamma-chalane sayame dāna-savibhāge ti

## FIFTH PILLAR-EDICT: RAMPURVA

## B.—South Face of Pillar.

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसि लाज हेवं आह (B) सडुवीसतिवसाभिसितेन मे इमानि  
पि जातानि अवध्यानि कटानि सेयथ  
2 सुके सालिक अलुने चकवाके हंसे नंदीमुखे गेलाटे जतूक अंवाकपिलिक दुळि  
अनठिकमछे वेदवेयके  
3 गंगापुपुटके संकुजमछे कफटसेयके पंतससे सिमले संडके ओकपिंडे पलसते  
सेतकपोते  
4 गामकपोते सवे चतुपदे ये पटिभोगं नो एति न च खादियति (C) अजका नानि  
एळका च सूकली च गभिनी व

<sup>1</sup> Read *abhihale*.<sup>2</sup> *kitti* Bühler.



- 5 पायमीना व अवध्य पोतके च कानि आसंमासिके (D) वधिकुकुटे नो कटविये  
(E) तुसे सजीवे नो आपयितविये
- 6 (F) दावे अनठाये व विहिंसाये व नो आपयितविये (G) जीवेन जीवे नो  
पुसितविये (H) तीसु चातुंमासीसु तिस्यं पुंनमासियं
- 7 तिंनि दिवसानि चावुदसं पंनडसं पटिपदं धुवाये च अनुपोसथं महे अवध्ये नो  
पि विकेतविये (I) एतानि येव
- 8 दिवसानि नागवनसि केवटभोगसि यानि अन्नानि पि जीवनिक्कायानि नो  
हंतवियानि (J) अठमिपखाये चावुदसाये
- 9 पंनडसाये तिसाये पुनावसुने तीसु चातुंमासीसु सुदिवसाये गोने नो निलखितविये  
अजके एळके सूकले
- 10 ए वा पि अंने नोलखियति नो नोलखितविये (K) तिसाये पुनावसुने चातुंमासिये  
चातुंमासिपखाये अस्वस गोनस
- 11 लखने नो कटविये (L) यावसडुवीसतिवसाभिसितेन मे एताये अंतलिकाये  
पंनवीसति बंधनमोखानि कटानि

- 1 (A) Devānaṃpiye Piyadasi lāja hevaṃ āha (B) saḍuvisati-[va]sābhisitena me  
imāni pi jātāni avadhyāni kaṭāni seyatha
- 2 suke sālika alune chakavāke haṃse naṃdīmukhe gelāṭe jatūka aṃbā-kapilika duḷi  
anaṭhika-machhe vedaveyake
- 3 Gaṃgā-puṇṇake saṃkuja-machhe kaphaṭa-seyake paṃna-sase simale saṃḍake  
okaṇḍe palasate seta-kapote
- 4 gāma-kapote save chatupade ye paṭibhogaṃ no eti na cha khādiyati (C) ajakā nāni  
eḷakā cha sūkali cha gabhinī va
- 5 pāyaminā va avadhyā potake cha kāni āsaṃmāsike (D) vadhi-kukute no kaṭaviye  
(E) tuse sajīve no jhāpayitaviye
- 6 (F) dāve anaṭhāye va vihisāye va no jhāpayitaviye (G) jīvena jīve no pusitaviye  
(H) tisu chātumma[s]isu tisyaṃ puṃnamāsiyaṃ
- 7 tirāni divasāni chāvudasaṃ paṃnaḍasaṃ paṭipadaṃ dhuvāye cha anuposathaṃ  
machhe avadhye no pi viketaviye (I) etāni yeva
- 8 divasāni nāga-vanasi kevaṭa-bhogasi yāni aṃnāni pi jīva-nikāyāni no haṃtaviyāni  
(J) aṭhami-pakhāye chāvudasāye
- 9 paṃnaḍasāye tisāye puṇāvasune tisu chātumma[s]isu sudivasāye gone no  
nilakhitaviye ajake eḷake sūkale
- 10 e vā pi aṃne nilakhiyati no nilakhitaviye (K) tisāye puṇāvasune chātumma[s]iye  
chātumma[s]i-pakhāye asvasa gonasa
- 11 lakhane no kaṭaviye (L) yāva-saḍuvisati-vasābhisitena me etāye aṃtalikāye  
paṃnavisati baṃdhana-mokhāni kaṭāni



## SIXTH PILLAR-EDICT: RAMPURVA

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसि लाज हेवं आह (B) दुवादसवसाभिसितेन मे धंमलिपि लिखापित लोकस हितसुखाये से तं अपहट
- 2 तं तं धंमवढि पापोव (C) हेवं लोकस हितसुखे ति पटिवेखामि अथ इयं नातिसु हेवं पत्यासंनेसु हेवं अपकटेसु किंमं कानि
- 3 सुखं आवहामी ति तथा च विदहामि (D) हेमेव सवनिकायेसु पटिवेखामि (E) सवपासंडा पि मे पूजित विविधाय पूजाय (F) ए चु इयं
- 4 अतन पचूपगमने से मे मोख्यमुते (G) सदुवीसतिवसाभिसितेन मे इयं धंमलिपि लिखापित

- 1 (A) Devānaṃpiye Piyadasi lāja hevaṃ āha (B) duvāḍasa-vasābhisitena me dhamma-lipi likhāpita lokasa hita-sukhāye se taṃ apahaṭa
- 2 taṃ taṃ dhamma-vaḍhi pāpova (C) hevaṃ lok[a]sa hita-sukhe ti paṭivekhāmi atha iyaṃ nātisu hevaṃ patyāsaṃnesu hevaṃ apakaṭhesu kiṃmaṃ kāni
- 3 sukhaṃ āvahāmi ti tathā cha vidahāmi (D) hemeva sava-n[i]kāyesu paṭivekhāmi (E) sava-pāsaṃḍā pi me pūjita vividhāya pūjāya (F) e chu iyaṃ
- 4 atana pachūpagamane se me mokhya-mute (G) saḍuvisat[i]-vasābhisitena me iyaṃ dhamma-lipi likhāpita

## VI. THE ALLAHABAD-KOSAM PILLAR

## A. THE SIX FIRST PILLAR-EDICTS

## FIRST PILLAR-EDICT: ALLAHABAD-KOSAM

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसी लाजा हेवं आहा (B) सदुवीसतिवसाभिसितेन मे इयं धंमलिपि लिखापिता (C) हिदतपालते दुसंपटिपादये
- 2 अंनत अगाय धंमकामताय अगाय पलीखाय अगाय सुसूसाया अगेन भयेन अगेन उसाहेन (D) एस चु खो मम अनुसथिया
- 3 धंमापेखा धंमकामता च सुवे सुवे वढिता वढिसति चेवा (E) पुलिसा पि मे उकसा च गेवया च मझिमा च अनुविधीयंति संपटिपादयंति च
- 4 अलं चपलं समादपयितवे (F) हेमेव अंतमहामाता पि (G) एसा हि विधि या इयं धंमेन पालना धंमेन विधाने धंमेन सुखीयना धंमेन गुति ति च

- 1 (A) Devānaṃpiye Piyadasi lājā hevaṃ āhā (B) saḍuvisati-vasābhisitena me iyaṃ dhamma-lipi likhāpitā (C) hidata-pālate dusaṃpaṭipāda[y]e
- 2 aṇṇata agāya dhamma-kāmatāya agāya palikhāya agāya susūsāyā agena bhayena a[g]ena usāhena (D) esa chu kho mama anusathi[y]ā



- 3 dhammāpekḥā dhamma-kāmatā cha suve suve vaḍḍhitā vaḍḍhisati ch[e]vā (E) pulisā  
pi me ukasā cha gevayā cha majjhimā cha anuvīdhīyaṃti saṃpaṭipādayaṃti cha  
4 alaṃ chapalaṃ samādapayitave (F) heṃmeva<sup>1</sup> aṃta-mahāmātā pi (G) eṣā hi vidhī  
yā [i]yaṃ dhammena pālanā dhammena vidhāne dhammena sukhīyaṇā  
dhammena [gut]i [ti<sup>2</sup> cha]<sup>3</sup>

## SECOND PILLAR-EDICT: ALLAHABAD-KOSAM

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसी लाजा हेवं आहा (B) धंमे साधु कियं चु धंमे ति (C)  
अपासिनवे बहु कयाने दया दाने सचे सोचये (D) चखुदाने पि मे  
2 बहुविधे दिंने (E) दुपदचतुपदेसु पखिवालिचलेसु विविधे मे अनुगहे कटे आ  
पानदखिनाये (F) अन्नानि पि च मे बहूनि कयानानि कटानि  
3 (G) एताये मे अठाये इयं धंमलिपि लिखापिता हेवं अनुपटिपजंतु चिलठितीका  
च होतू ति (H) ये च हेवं संपटिपजिसति से सुकटं कछती ति

- 1 (A) Devānaṃpiye Piyadasī lājā hevaṃ āhā (B) dhamme sādhu kiyāṃ chu  
dhamme ti (C) apāsinave bahu kayāne dayā dāne sache sochaye (D) chakhu-dāne  
pi me  
2 bahuvīdhe diṃne (E) dupada-chatupadesu<sup>4</sup> pakhi-vālichalesu vivīdhe me anugahe  
kaṭe ā pāna-dakhināye (F) aṃnāni pi cha me bahūni<sup>5</sup> kayānāni kaṭāni  
3 (G) etāye me aṭhāye iyaṃ dhamma-lipi likhāpitā hevaṃ anupaṭipajāntu chila-  
ṭhītikā cha hotū ti (H) ye cha hevaṃ saṃpaṭipajisati se sukaṭaṃ kachhatī ti

## THIRD PILLAR-EDICT: ALLAHABAD-KOSAM

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसी लाजा हेवं आहा (B) कयानमेव देखति इयं मे कयाने  
कटे ति (C) नो मिन पापकं देखति इयं मे पापके कटे ति इयं वा आसिनवे  
नामा ति

.....

- 1 (A) Devānaṃpiye Piyadasī lājā hevaṃ āhā (B) kayānameva dekhati iyaṃ me  
kayāne kaṭe ti (C) no mīna pāpakaṃ dekhati iyaṃ me pāpake kaṭe ti iyaṃ vā  
āsinave nāmā ti

.....

<sup>1</sup> *heṃmeva* Bühler.

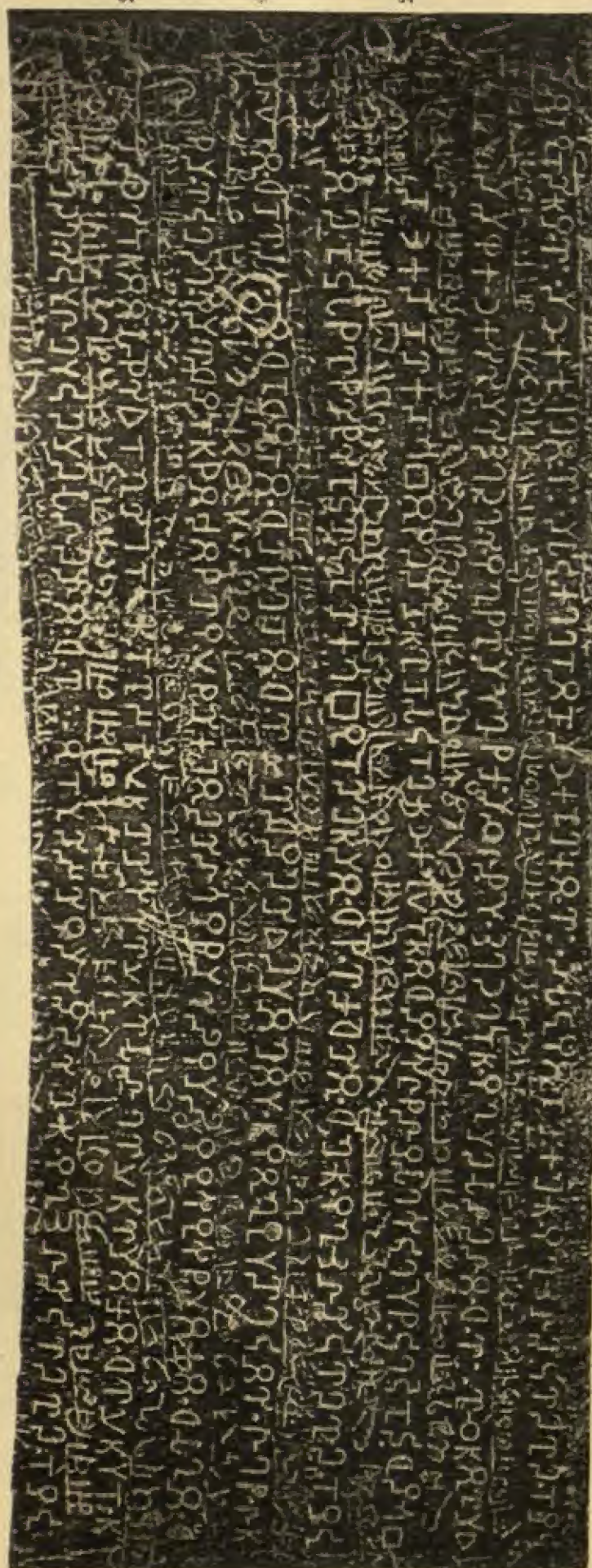
<sup>2</sup> As remarked by Fleet (IA, 13. 310, note), the vowel *i* is attached before, not after the *z*.

<sup>3</sup> *chu* Bühler.

<sup>4</sup> The apparent Anusvāra after *da* of *dupada*- is probably accidental.

<sup>5</sup> *bahūni* Bühler.





SCALE ONE-FIFTH







## FOURTH PILLAR-EDICT: ALLAHABAD-KOSAM

- 1 ..... कानं अभिहाले वा दंडे वा अतपतिये कटे (K) इच्छितविये हि  
 एस किंति  
 2 ..... लसमता च सिया दंडसमता च (L) आव इते पि च मे आवुति  
 बंधनवधानं मुनिसानं तीलीतदंडानं पतवधानं तिंनि दिवसानि योते दिंने  
 3 (M) ..... का व कानि निरूपयिसंति जीविताये तानं नासंतं वा निरूपयिता  
 दानं दाहंति पालतिकं उपवासं वा कच्छंति  
 4 (N) ..... हि मे हेवं निलुधसि पि कालसि पालतं आलाधयेवु (O) जनस च  
 वढति विविधे धम्मचलने समये दानसविभागे

- 1 ..... [kānaṃ abhihāle vā daṇḍe vā ata-pa]t[i]y[e kaṭe] (K) [i]chh[i]t[a]v[i]y[e]  
 h[i] e[s]a] k[i]m]t[i]<sup>1</sup>  
 2 ..... la-sama[t]ā cha<sup>2</sup> siyā da[m]ḍa-samatā cha (L) āva<sup>3</sup> ite pi cha me āvuti  
 baṇḍhana-badhānaṃ munisānaṃ tīlīta-daṇḍānaṃ pata-vadhānaṃ tiṃni divasāni  
 yote diṃne  
 3 (M) .... [k]ā va kāni nijhapayisaṃti jīvitāye tānaṃ nāsaṃtaṃ vā nijhapayitā dānaṃ  
 dāhaṃti pālatikaṃ upavāsaṃ vā [ka]chha[m]ti  
 4 (N) .... [h]i me hevaṃ niludhasi pi kālasi pālatam ālādhayev[u] (O) janasa cha  
 vaḍhati vividhe dhamma-chalane sayame dāna-savibhāge

## FIFTH PILLAR-EDICT: ALLAHABAD-KOSAM

- 1 (A) ..... पिये पियदसी लाजा हेवं आहा (B) सडुवीसतिवसाभिसितेन मे  
 इमानि जातानि अवधियानि कटानि सेयथ सुके सालिका अलुने चकवाके  
 2 ..... नंदीमुखे गेलाटे जतूका अंबाकिपिलिका दुडी अनठिकमछे वेदवेयके  
 गंगापुपुटके संकुजमछे कफट ..... के पंनससे सिमले संड ..  
 3 ..... तकपोते गामकपोते सवे चतुपदे ये पटिभोगं नो .....  
 ना ..... पायमी ..  
 4 ..... सजीवे नो भाप .....  
 5 ..... नि चावुदसं पंचद .....  
 6 ..... नि .....  
 7 .....  
 8 लखने नो कटविये (L) या .....

<sup>1</sup> Bühler omitted this line.<sup>2</sup> chā Bühler.<sup>3</sup> ava Bühler.



- 1 (A) . . . . . [p]iye Piyadasi lājā hevaṃ āhā (B) saḍuvisati-vasābhisitena me  
imāni jātāni avadhiyāni kaṭāni seyatha suke sālīkā alune chaka[v]āke
- 2 . . . . . [naṃdi]m[u]khe gelāṭe jatūk[ā]<sup>1</sup> ambā-kipilikā duḍi<sup>2</sup> anaṭhika-machhe<sup>3</sup>  
vedaveyake Gaṃgā-p[u]p[u]ṭake saṃkuja-machhe kaphaṭa . . . . k[e] p[a]ṃna-  
sase simale saṃḍa . .
- 3 . . . . . [ta]-kapote gāma-kapote sa[v]e chatu[pa]de ye paṭṭ[i]bhogaṃ [no]  
. . . . . nā . . . . . [p]ā[ya]mī . .
- 4 . . . . . saḍive no jhā[pa] . . . . .
- 5 . . . . . [n]i chā[v]u[da]saṃ [pa]ṃcha[da] . . . . .
- 6 . . . . . [n]i . . . . .
- 7 . . . . .
- 8 [lakha]n[e no kaṭaviye] (L) [y]ā . . . . .

## SIXTH PILLAR-EDICT: ALLAHABAD-KOSAM

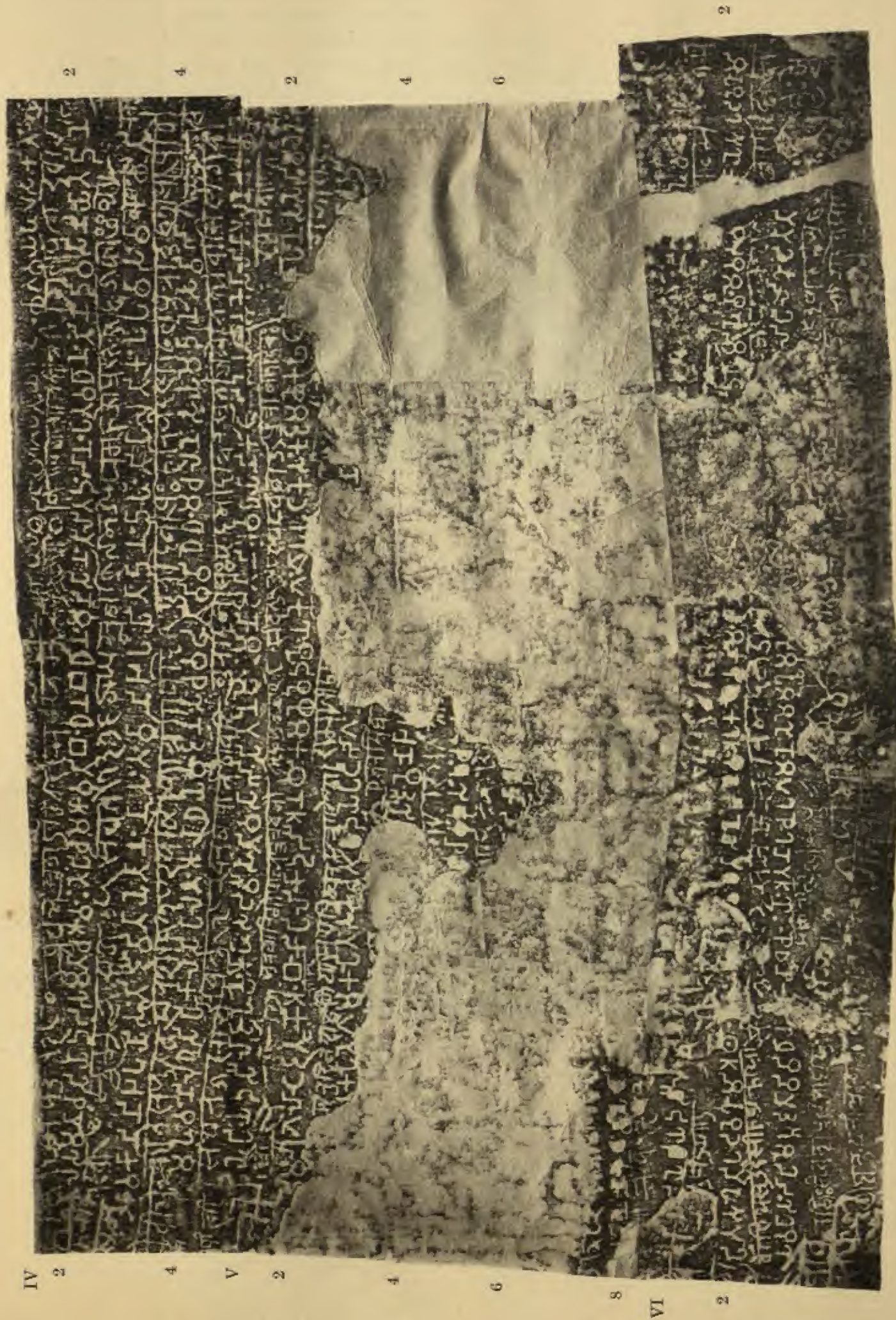
- 1 (A) . . . . . पिये पियदसी ला . . . . . तं . . . . . ढि पा . . . .  
(C) हेवं लोकस
- 2 हितमुखे ति पटिवेखामि अथ इयं . . . . . वं पत्यासंनेसु हेवं अपकठेसु  
किमं कानि . . . . . विदहामि (D) हेवंमेव सव . . कायेसु  
पटिवेखामि
- 3 (E) सवपासंडा पि मे पूजिता विविधाय पूजाया (F) ए चु इयं अतना पचुपगमने  
से मे मुख्यमुते (G) . . . . . लिपी लिखापिता ति
- 1 (A) . . . . . [p]iye [P]iyada[s]i l[ā] . . . . . [am] . . . . . [dh]i [pā] . . . .  
(C) heva[m] lokasa]
- 2 hita-sukhe ti paṭivekhāmi atha [iya]m . . . . . [va]m [paty]āsa[m]ne[su heva]m  
apaka[th]e[su] kimam [k]ā[ni] . . . . . [v]i[dah]āmi (D) heva[m]meva [sa]va  
. . [k]āyesu paṭivekhāmi
- 3 (E) [sa]va-pāsaṃḍā pi me pūjitā vividhāya [pū]jāyā (F) e chu iy[a]m atanā  
pachupagamane se me mukhya-mute (G) . . . . . lipi<sup>4</sup> likhāpitā ti

## B. QUEEN'S PILLAR-EDICT: ALLAHABAD-KOSAM

- 1 (A) देवानंपियषा वचनेना सवत महमता
- 2 वतविया (B) ए हेता दुतियाये देवीये दाने
- 3 अंबावडिका वा आलमे व दानगहे व ए वा पि अंने
- 4 कीछि गनीयति ताये देविये पे नानि (C) हेवं . . न . .
- 5 दुतीयाये देविये ति तीवलमातु कालुवाकिये

<sup>1</sup> jatūke Bühler.<sup>2</sup> daḍi Bühler.<sup>3</sup> anathika- Bühler.<sup>4</sup> lipi Bühler.

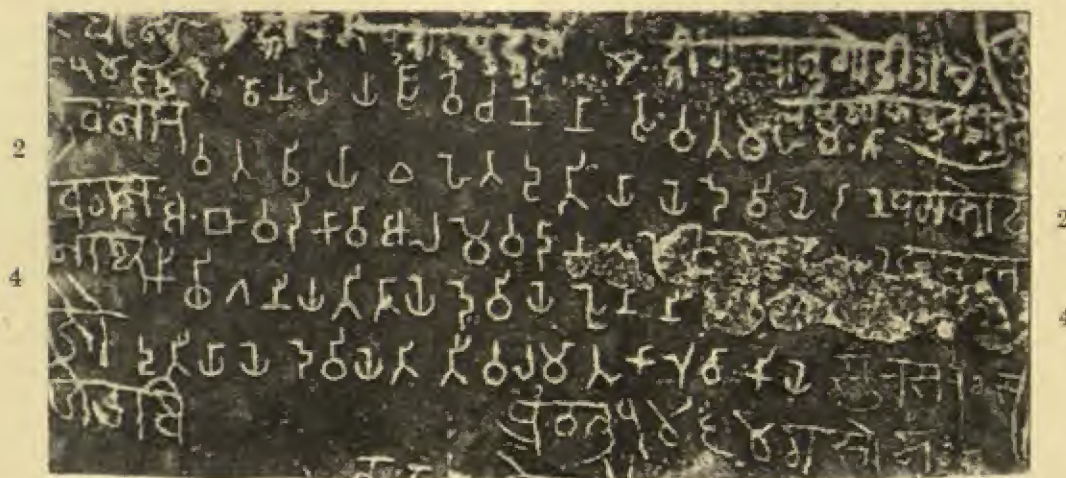




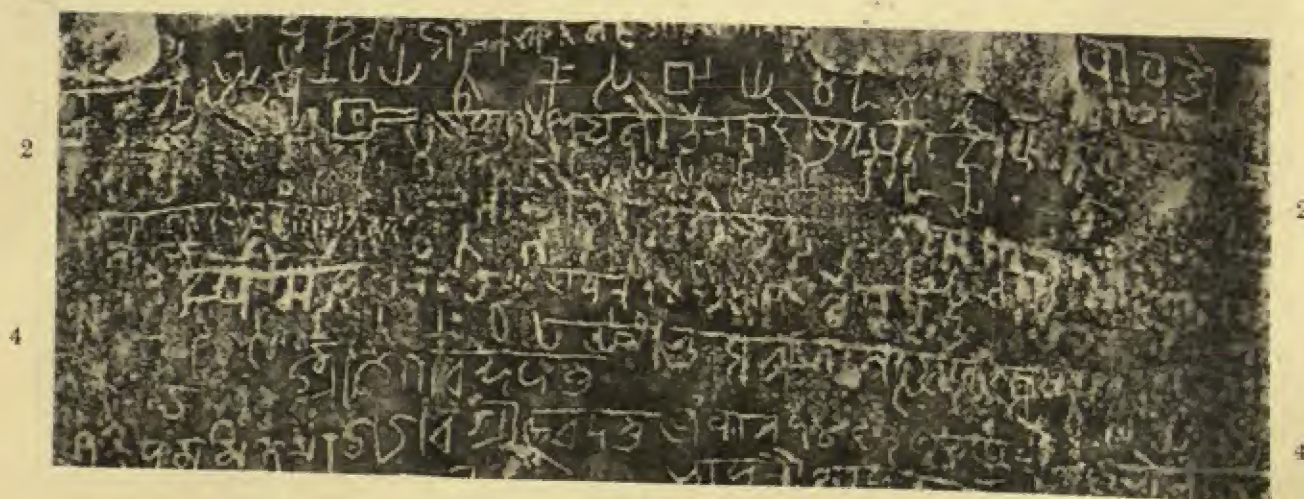
SCALE ONE-FIFTH



QUEEN'S EDICT



KAUSAMBI EDICT





- 1 (A) Devānampiyashā v[a]chanenā savata mahamatā<sup>1</sup>
- 2 vataviyā (B) e hetā<sup>2</sup> dutiyāye deviye dāne
- 3 ambā-vaḍikā vā ālame va dāna-[gah]e [va<sup>3</sup> e vā pi a]mne
- 4 kīchhi ganīyati tāye deviye she nāni (C) [he]vaṁ . . [na] . .<sup>4</sup>
- 5 dutiyāye deviye ti Tivala-mātu Kāluvākiye

## TRANSLATION

✓ (A) At the word of Dēvānāmpriya, the Mahāmātras everywhere have to be told (this).

(B) What gifts (have been made) here by the second queen, (viz.) either mango-groves,<sup>5</sup> or gardens, or alms-houses, or whatever else, these<sup>6</sup> (shall) be registered<sup>7</sup> (in the name) of that queen.

(C) This (is) [the request] of the second queen, the mother of Tivala,<sup>8</sup> the Kāluvāki.<sup>9</sup>

## C. KAUSAMBI PILLAR-EDICT: ALLAHABAD-KOSAM

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये आनपयति (B) कोसंबियं महामात
- 2 ..... समगे कटे (D) संघसि नो लहिये
- 3 ..... संघं भाखति भिक्षु वा भिक्षुनि वा से पि चा
- 4 ओदातानि दुसानि सनंधापयितु अनावाससि आवासयिये

- 1 (A) [Devānam\*][p]iye ānapayati (B) Kosambiyam<sup>10</sup> mahām[ā]ta<sup>11</sup>
- 2 ..... [sa]ma[ge ka]t[e] (D) sa[m]gh[a]si no<sup>12</sup> l[a]hiye<sup>13</sup>
- 3 ..... [sa]mgham bhā[khati<sup>14</sup> bhikh[u] v[ā]<sup>15</sup> bhikh[u]ni<sup>16</sup> vā [se pi] chā<sup>17</sup>
- 4 [o\*]dāt[ā]ni<sup>18</sup> dusāni [sa]naṁdhāpayitu a[nāvā]sas[i<sup>19</sup> ā]v[ā]sayiy[e]<sup>20</sup>

<sup>1</sup> mahāmatā Senart and Bühler.

<sup>2</sup> hetā Senart and Bühler.

<sup>3</sup> vā Bühler.

<sup>4</sup> Restore perhaps *vinati* (= Skt. *viñāpti*); see JRAS, 1911. 1113.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. above, p. 134, n. 13.

<sup>6</sup> For the pronoun *nāni* see above, p. 127, n. 10.

<sup>7</sup> With *ganīyati* cf. *gaṇana* or *gaṇanā* in the rock-edict III, E.

<sup>8</sup> Bühler (IA, 19. 124) noted that Tivara occurs (a thousand years after Aśoka) as the name of a king of Kōsala; see Fleet's *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 293, and EI, 7. 103.

<sup>9</sup> As stated by Bühler (IA, 19. 123), this is probably the name of the queen's family, and it may be connected with the Vedic *gōtra* of the Kārus.

<sup>10</sup> *biya* Bühler and Boyer.

<sup>11</sup> mahāmāta Bühler and Boyer.

<sup>12</sup> na Bühler and Boyer.

<sup>13</sup> *chi ye* Bühler.

<sup>14</sup> *bhokhati* Bühler and Boyer.

<sup>15</sup> vā Bühler.

<sup>16</sup> *bhi[khu]ni* Bühler.

<sup>17</sup> [pa]chā Boyer; Bühler and Boyer add *o* at the end of the line.

<sup>18</sup> The syllable *dā* is missing in my materials, but is visible on the plate in IA, 19. 125.

<sup>19</sup> *āna[pe]sa* Bühler, *ānāvasasi* Boyer.

<sup>20</sup> *avā* Boyer.



## TRANSLATION

- (A) [Dēvānām]priya commands (thus).  
 (B) The *Mahāmātras* at Kōsambī<sup>1</sup> . . . . .  
 (C) . . . . . is made united.<sup>2</sup>  
 (D) . . . . . should not be received<sup>3</sup> into the *Samgha*.  
 (E) And also that monk or nun [who] shall break up the *Samgha*,<sup>4</sup> should be caused to put on white robes<sup>5</sup> and to reside<sup>6</sup> in a non-residence.<sup>7</sup>

## THIRD PART: MINOR PILLAR-INSCRIPTIONS

## I. THE SAMCHI PILLAR

- 1 . . . . .  
 2 .. या भेत .. (C) .. घे .. मगे कटे  
 3 भिखूनं च भिखुनीनं चा ति पुतप-  
 4 पोतिके चंदमसूरियिके (D) ये संघं  
 5 भाखति भिखु वा भिखुनि वा ओदाता-  
 6 नि दुसानि सनंधापयितु अनावा-  
 7 ससि वासापेतविये (E) इह्हा हि मे किं-  
 8 ति संघे समगे चिलथितीके सिया ति

- 1 . . . . .  
 2 .. [y]ā<sup>8</sup> bhe[ta] . . (C) . . [gh]e<sup>10</sup> . . . . . mage<sup>11</sup> kaṭe  
 3 [bhi\*]khūna[m] cha<sup>12</sup> bhi[khun]īnam ch[ā]<sup>13</sup> ti [p]uta-pa-

<sup>1</sup> This ancient city (*Kauśāmbī* in Sanskrit) corresponds to the modern Kōsam; see Fleet's *Gupta Inscr.*, p. 2, and EI, II. 141.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. the Sāmchī pillar, C.

<sup>3</sup> *lahiye* may be derived from the root *labh*; cf. the gerundive *āvāsaiye* in l. 4 of this inscription, and in l. 5 of the Sārnāth pillar. Boyer (JA (10), 10. 121) connects *lahiye* with the root *rah*.

<sup>4</sup> Venis (JPASB, 3. 3) has identified *bhākhati* with Skt. *bhāṅkshyati*.

<sup>5</sup> Boyer (p. 130) quotes a passage from Buddhaghōsha's *Samantapāsādikā*, in which Aśōka is stated to have given white robes (*setakāni vatthāni*) to the heretical monks whom he expelled; see *Vinaya-piṭaka*, ed. by Oldenberg, vol. III, p. 312, with which Bigandet's *Life or Legend of Gaudama* (4th ed., 2. 139) agrees, and cf. *Dīpavaṇsa*, VII, 53, and *Mahāvāṇisa*, V, 270. The proper colour of the robes of a Buddhist monk is yellow.

<sup>6</sup> *āvāsaiye* is a gerundive formed from the causative *āvāsayaṭi*, and corresponds to Skt. *āvāśya*. Senart (CR, 1907. 28) appears to consider it an optative passive.

<sup>7</sup> i.e. a residence unfit for members of the *Samgha*. Venis (JPASB, 3. 3) quoted Buddhaghōsha's explanation of the term *anāvāsa*; see SBE, 17. 388, n. 1.

<sup>8</sup> *y[am]* Bühler.

<sup>9</sup> *bh[da]* Boyer. Restore perhaps *bhetave*, as on the Sārnāth pillar, l. 3.

<sup>10</sup> The syllable *ghe* is almost certain; restore *saṅghe*.

<sup>11</sup> Restore *samage*, as in l. 8.

<sup>12</sup> [*vā*] Bühler.

<sup>13</sup> [*vā*] Bühler, *cha* Boyer.



SAMCHI PILLAR-INSCRIPTION



SCALE ONE-THIRD







- 4 [po\*]tike chaṁ[da]m[a-sū]ri[yi]ke<sup>1</sup> (D) ye saṁghaṁ  
 5 bh[ā]khati<sup>2</sup> bhikhu<sup>3</sup> vā bhikhuni vā odātā-  
 6 ni dus[ān]i sanam[dhāpay]itu anā[vā]-  
 7 sasi vā[sā]petaviy[e] (E) ichhā hi me kiṁ-  
 8 ti saṁghe samage<sup>4</sup> chila-thitike siyā ti

## TRANSLATION

- ✓ (A) .....  
 (B) ..... [cannot] be divided.<sup>5</sup>  
 (C) The *Samgha* both of monks and of nuns is made united as long as (my) sons and great-grandsons (shall reign, and) as long as the moon and the sun (shall shine).<sup>6</sup>  
 (D) The monk or nun who shall break up the *Samgha*, must be caused to put on white robes and to reside in a non-residence.<sup>7</sup>  
 (E) For my desire is that the *Samgha* may be united<sup>8</sup> (and) of long duration.

## II. THE SARNATH PILLAR

- 1 (A) देवा .....  
 2 ए ल .....  
 3 पाठ ..... ये केनपि संघे भेतवे (D) ए चुं खो  
 4 भिखू वा भिखुनि वा संघं भाखति से ओदातानि दुसानि संनंधापयिया  
 आनावाससि  
 5 आवासयिये (E) हेवं इयं सासने भिखुसंघसि च भिखुनिसंघसि च विन-  
 पयितविये  
 6 (F) हेवं देवानंपिये आहा (G) हेदिसा च इका लिपी तुफाकंतिकं हुवाति  
 संसलनसि निखिता  
 7 इकं च लिपिं हेदिसमेव उपासकानंतिकं निखिपाय (H) ते पि च उपासका  
 अनुपोसथं यावु  
 8 एतमेव सासनं विस्वंसयितवे अनुपोसथं च धुवाये इकिके महामाते पोसथाये

<sup>1</sup> See JRAS, 1911. 167 f.<sup>2</sup> *bhokhati* Bühler and Boyer.<sup>3</sup> *bhikhū* Boyer.<sup>4</sup> *saṁghasa mage* Bühler and Boyer; see JRAS, 1911. 168.<sup>5</sup> Cf. the Sarnāth pillar, C.<sup>6</sup> Cf. *putā-papotike chaṁdama-suliyike hotu ti* in the Delhi-Tōprā pillar-edict VII, l. 31. Other instances of the Prākṛit affix *-ika* are *vadhanike* and *vejayike* in two Pallava inscriptions and in the Kōṇḍamudi plates. See EI, I. 6, text l. 9; 6. 87, text l. 5 f.; 6. 317, text, l. 8 f.<sup>7</sup> With this section cf. above, p. 160, n. 4, 5, 7.<sup>8</sup> Cf. *saṁaggo hi saṁgho . . . . phāsu viharati* in the *Pātimokkha*, JRAS, 1876. 75, § 10; *sukhā saṁghassa sāmaggī samaggānān tapo sukho* in the *Dhammapada*, verse 194; *saṁgho samaggo hutvāna taddākāsi uposathan* in the *Mahāvamsa*, V, 274.



- 9 याति एतमेव सासनं विस्वंसयितवे आजानितवे च (I) आवते च तुफाकं  
आहाले
- 10 सवत विवासयाथ तुफे एतेन वियंजनेन (J) हेमेव सवेसु कोटविषवेसु एतेन
- 11 वियंजनेन विवासापयाथा
- 1 (A) Devā<sup>1</sup> . . . . .
- 2 e l . . . . .
- 3 Pāṭa<sup>2</sup> . . . . . ye<sup>3</sup> kenapi saṃghe bhetave (D) e chuṃ kho
- 4 [bhikh]ū [vā bhikh]uni vā saṃghaṃ bh[ākha]t[i]<sup>4</sup> s[e] odātāni dus[ān]j  
[sa]ṃnaṃdhāpayiyā ānāvāsasi<sup>5</sup>
- 5 āvāsaiye (E) hevaṃ iyaṃ sāsane bhikhu-saṃghasi cha bhikhuni-saṃghasi cha  
viṃṇapayitaviye
- 6 (F) hevaṃ Devānaṃpiye āhā (G) hedisā cha ikā lipī tupaḥkāntikaṃ huvāti  
saṃsalanasi nikhitā
- 7 ikaṃ cha lipiṃ hedisameva upāsakānaṃtikaṃ nikhipātha (H) te pi cha upāsakā  
anuposathaṃ yāvu
- 8 etameva sāsanaṃ visvaṃsayitave anuposathaṃ cha dhuvāye ikike mahāmāte  
posathāye
- 9 yāti etameva sāsanaṃ visvaṃsayitave ājānitave cha (I) āvate cha tupaḥkāṃ  
āhāle
- 10 savata vivāsayaṭha tuphe etena viyaṃjanena (J) hemeva savesu koṭa-vishavesu<sup>6</sup>  
etena
- 11 viyaṃjanena vivāsāpayāthā

## TRANSLATION

- ✓ (A) Dēvā[nāṃpriya] . . . . .
- (B) . . . . . Pāṭa[liputra]<sup>7</sup> . . . . .
- (C) . . . . . the *Samgha* [cannot] be divided by any one.<sup>8</sup>
- (D) But indeed that monk or nun who shall break up the *Samgha*, should be  
caused to put on<sup>9</sup> white robes and to reside<sup>10</sup> in a non-residence.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>1</sup> These are the two first syllables of the title *Devānaṃpiya*.

<sup>2</sup> These are probably the two first syllables of the name *Pāṭaliputa*.

<sup>3</sup> Boyer ingeniously restores *na sakiye*.

<sup>4</sup> The correct reading of this word is due to Venis. Vogel and Senart read *bhikhati*, and Boyer *bhokhati*.

<sup>5</sup> The Sārnchī and Kausāmbī edicts read *anāvāsasi*.

<sup>6</sup> Venis justly remarked that the second syllable of this word differs from *sa*, and is probably meant for *sha*.

<sup>7</sup> This is the ancient name of the city of Paṭnā, the capital of Chandragupta and Aśoka. It is mentioned also in the Gīmār edict V, M. The Sārnāth edict was probably addressed by the king to the *Mahāmātras* at Pāṭaliputra, as the Kausāmbī edict to the *Mahāmātras* at Kausāmbī.

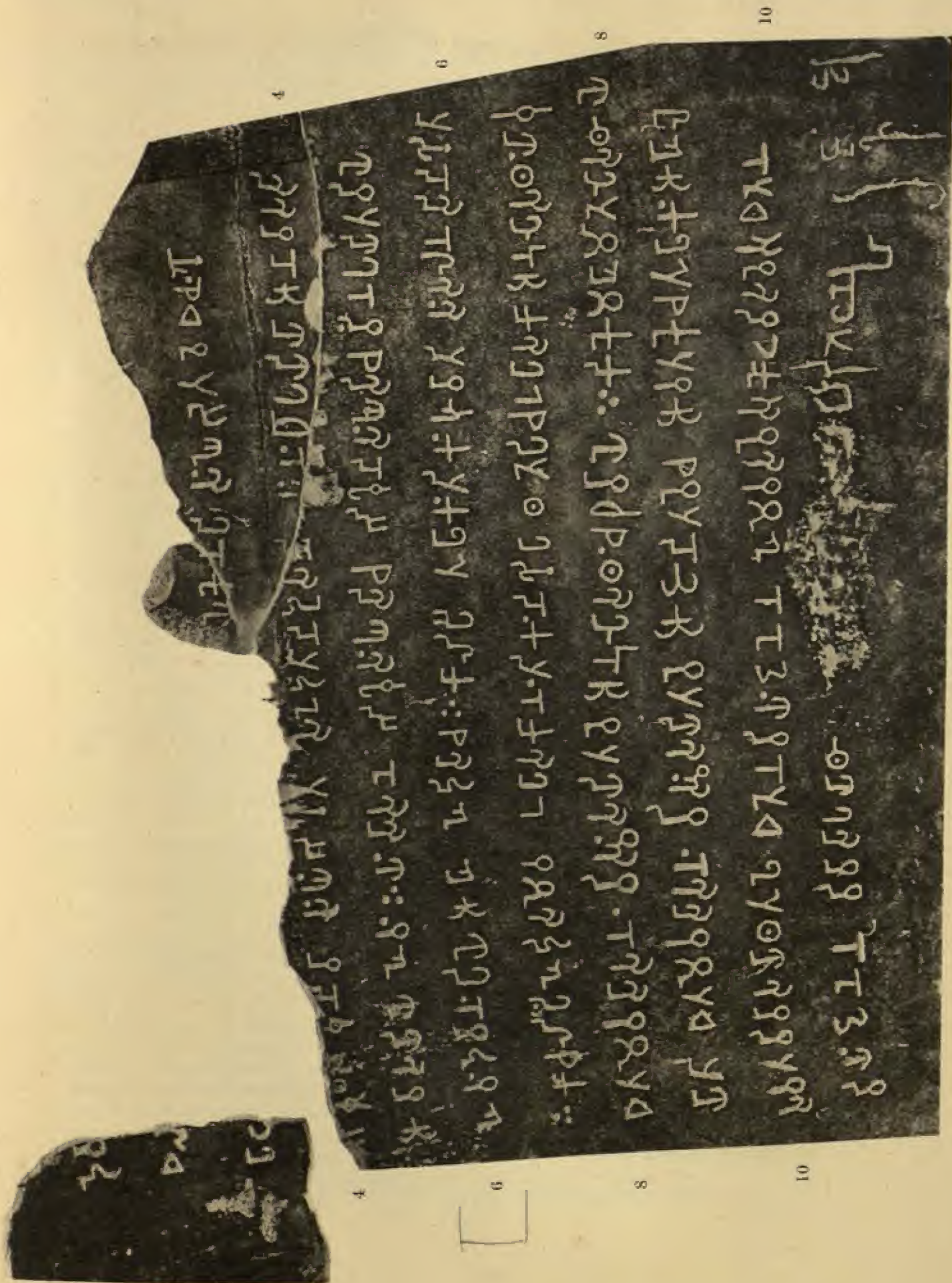
<sup>8</sup> With *saṃghe bhetave* cf. *saṃghaṃ bhindati*, 'to cause divisions among the priesthood', in Childers' *Pāli Dictionary*, s.v. *bhindati*; *saṃghaṃ bhinditvā* in the *Jātaka*, vol. IV, p. 200, l. 6; *saṃagghassa saṃghassa bhedāya* in the *Pātimokkha*, JRAS, 1876. 75, § 10; *Buddha-vachanaṃ bhinditvā* in the *Dīpavaṃsa*, VII, 54.

<sup>9</sup> [*sa*]ṃnaṃdhāpayiyā, instead of which the Sārnchī and Kausāmbī edicts read *saṃnaṃdhāpayitu*, corresponds to Skt. *saṃnāhya*; cf. Senart, CR, 1907. 28.

<sup>10</sup> For *āvāsaiye* see above, p. 160, n. 6.

<sup>11</sup> See above, p. 160, n. 7.











(E) Thus this edict must be submitted both to the *Samgha* of monks and to the *Samgha* of nuns.

(F) Thus speaks **Dēvānāmpriya** :

(G) Let one copy of this (edict)<sup>1</sup> remain<sup>2</sup> with you<sup>3</sup> deposited<sup>4</sup> in (your) office;<sup>5</sup> and<sup>6</sup> deposit ye another copy of this very (edict) with the lay-worshippers.

(H) These lay-worshippers may come on every fast-day (*posatha*)<sup>7</sup> in order to be inspired with confidence in this very edict;<sup>8</sup> and invariably on every fast-day,<sup>9</sup> every *Mahāmātra* (will) come to the fast-day (service) in order to be inspired with confidence in this very edict and to understand (it).<sup>10</sup>

(I) And as far as your district<sup>11</sup> (extends), dispatch ye (an officer)<sup>12</sup> everywhere according to the letter of this (edict).<sup>13</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Literally: 'one writing of this description.'

<sup>2</sup> Senart (CR, 1907. 30) explains *huvāti* as a subjunctive.

<sup>3</sup> As remarked by Vogel (EI, 8. 170), *tuphākāntikāṃ* stands for *tuphākāṃ aṃtikāṃ*, and *upāsakānāntikāṃ* in l. 7 for *upāsakānāṃ aṃtikāṃ*. Cf. E. Müller's *Pāli Grammar*, p. 64, and Geiger's *Pāli*, § 71.

<sup>4</sup> Venis (JPASB, 3. 2) translated *ni-kship* by 'inscribing'. Cf. the *Raghuvaṃśa*, VII, 65, where Mallinātha explains *nikshēpita* by *lēkhita*, and *nikkhitta-vaṇṇam* in the *Śākuntala*, ed. by Cappeller, p. 32, l. 16. But as the word *nikhitā* is placed after *saṃsalanasi*, and *nikhipātha* in the next sentence after *upāsakānāntikāṃ*, it is more natural to take *ni-kship* in the sense of 'depositing'.

<sup>5</sup> Senart (CR, 1907. 30 ff.) is probably right in considering *saṃsalana* (= Skt. *saṃsaraṇa*) the designation of some locality. Venis (JPASB, 3. 4) translated it by 'place of assembly'.

<sup>6</sup> As remarked by Senart (CR, 1907. 30), the double *cha* in *hedisā cha ikā līṭi* and *ikāṃ cha līṭim hedisameva* co-ordinates the two sentences. The same is the case in the next section, where the *cha* after *te pi* corresponds to the *cha* after *anuposatham* in l. 8. Cf. also above, p. 47, n. 9.

<sup>7</sup> In the form *posatha*, which occurs also in the *Jātaka* (ZDMG, 48. 63), the initial *u* of Skt. *upavasatha* has been dropped. Cf. *posaha* in Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 141, and the artificial form *pōshadha* (Böhtlingk's two dictionaries, s. v.) in the language of the Northern Buddhists.

<sup>8</sup> With *visvaṃsayitave* cf. *asvāsa[n]īyā* in the Jaugaḍa separate edict II, section J.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. above, p. 128, n. 3.

<sup>10</sup> Sections E to H do not add anything new to the king's order, of which two other specimens are preserved at Sāmchi and Allahabad, but provide merely for the proper circulation of the edict among all the parties concerned. This the king tries to ensure (1) by communicating his edict to the monks and nuns, whom it chiefly concerns, and (2) by ordering that one copy of it should be retained by the *Mahāmātras* and another by the lay-worshippers, to be studied by both of them respectively at the fast-day services. The two last sections of the inscription contain further provisions for ensuring a still wider circulation to the king's edict. The preceding paragraphs had arranged for its publicity among the citizens of Pāṭaliputra. In sections I and J the king orders the *Mahāmātras* of Pāṭaliputra to make it known in the district surrounding Pāṭaliputra and in the jungle tracts beyond this district.

<sup>11</sup> Kern pointed out that *āhāla* (spelt *ahāla* at Rūpnāth) corresponds to the well-known territorial term *āhāra*, 'a district'; see EI, 8. 170. The meaning 'food' is excluded here, because the words *tuphākāṃ āhāle* are contrasted with *saveṣu koṭa-vishaveṣu* in the next section. For other ancient inscriptions in which the word *āhāra*, 'a district', occurs, see Lüders' *List of Brāhmī Inscriptions* (EI, 10. Appendix), p. 214, s. v.

<sup>12</sup> As Thomas states (JA (10), 15. 517), the usual Pāli equivalent of *vivasati* is *viṇṇavasati*; see Childers, *Pāli Dictionary*, s. v. The verb *vivāsayati* (*vivaseti* in the Rūpnāth edict, l. 5) is the causative, and *vivāśāpayati* in section J a double causative, of *vivasati*. Venis (JPASB, 3. 2) translated *vivāsayati* by 'making known'; but this meaning is not supported by other instances. Thomas (JRAS, 1915. 112) renders it by 'expelling'. But it would be hazardous to assign to it a different meaning from *vivasetaviye* at Rūpnāth. I supply the missing object of the verb from the first separate rock-edict (Dhauḷi, Z-CC; Jaugaḍa, AA-DD), viz. *mahāmātram*.

<sup>13</sup> Literally: 'by this letter'. The word *vyāñjana* is used in Buddhist literature in the sense of



(J) In the same way cause (your subordinates) to dispatch (an officer) according to the letter of this (edict) in all the territories (surrounding) forts.<sup>1</sup>

### III. THE RUMMINDEI PILLAR

- 1 (A) देवानपियेन पियदसिन लाजिन वीसतिवसाभिसितेन
- 2 अतन आगाच महीयिते हिद बुधे जाते सक्यमुनी ति
- 3 (B) सिला विगडभी चा कालापित सिलाथमे च उसपापिते
- 4 हिद भगवं जाते ति (C) लुंमिनिगामे उवलिके कटे
- 5 अठभागिये च
- 1 (A) Devāna[pi]yena Piyadasina lājina vīsati-vasābhisitena
- 2 atana āgācha mahīyite hida Budhe jāte Sakyamunī ti
- 3 (B) silā vigaḍabhi chā kālapita silā-thabhe cha usapāpite
- 4 hida Bhagavaṁ jāte ti (C) Luṁmini-gāme ubalike kaṭe
- 5 aṭha-bhāgiye cha

### TRANSLATION

(A) When king Dēvānānpriya Priyadarśin had been anointed twenty years, he came himself and worshipped (this spot), because the Buddha Śākyamuni was born here.<sup>2</sup>

(B) (He) both caused to be made a stone bearing a horse (?)<sup>3</sup> and caused a stone pillar to be set up, (in order to show) that the Blessed one was born here.<sup>4</sup>

'letter' as opposed to 'sense' (*attha*); see Childers, *Pāli Dictionary*, s. v. *vyāñjanam*. In the rock-edict III, E, it is coupled with *hetu*, 'reason'. A number of Pāli sentences in which it occurs, were collected by the late Dr. Neumann (ZDMG, 67. 345 f.), who rendered it by 'specification'. Senart (CR, 1907. 36) translates: 'with the text of my instructions', i.e. he takes the instrumentals *etena viyañjanena* in the sense of the sociative; cf. Speyer's *Sanskrit Syntax* (Leyden, 1886), § 59.

<sup>1</sup> This seems to refer to outlying jungle tracts (perhaps in the Nepalese Tarāi) which were not fully pacified, but were held by means of military posts, such as the 'forests' mentioned in the Shāhbāzgarhi edict XIII, M.

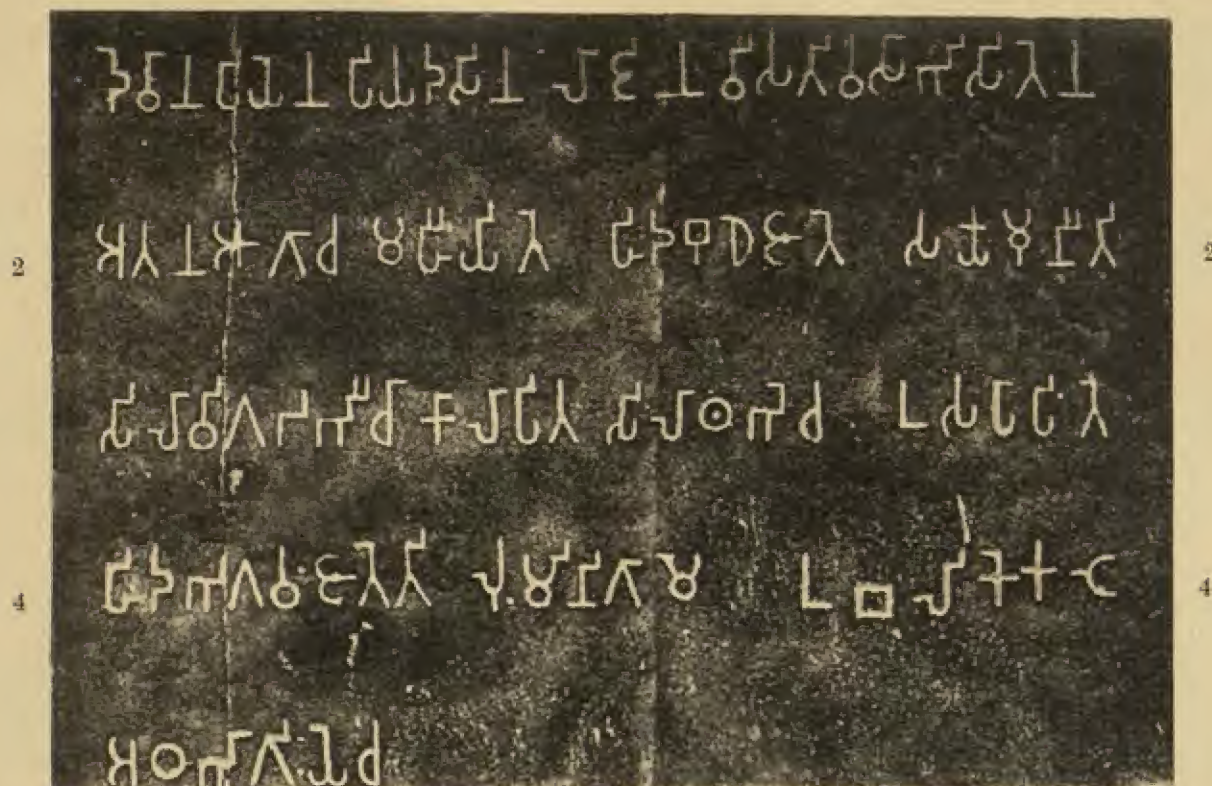
<sup>2</sup> In the *Mahāparinibbāna-sutta* (JRAS, 1876. 241), the Buddha himself is reported to have said: 'āgamiṣanti kho Ānanda saddhā bhikkhu-bhikkhuniyo upāsaka-upāsikāyo idha Tathāgato jāto ti.' In accordance with this quotation I connect the words from *hida* to *ti* with section A, while Fleet (JRAS, 1908. 486) joined them to B.

<sup>3</sup> This is Charpentier's explanation of the obscure and much-discussed word *vigaḍabhi*; see IA, 43. 19 f. The syllable *-bhi* might certainly represent Skt. *-bhrit*; but, that *vigaḍa* means 'a horse', remains to be proved by more substantial evidence. Sir R. Bhandarkar (JBBRAS, 20. 366, n. 14) and Fleet (JRAS, 1908. 477, 823) joined *bhichā* into one word, and explained it by Skt. *\*bhittikā*, 'a wall'. As, according to Pischel's *Grammatik*, §§ 49, 219, *vigaḍa* is an Ardhamāgadhī form of Skt. *vikṛita*, *silā-vigaḍa bhichā* might mean 'a (brick) wall decorated with stone'. But, as Charpentier (IA, 43. 17) remarks, the change of *\*bhittikā* to *bhichā* 'is wholly improbable from a linguistic point of view, as consonants were not dropped to such an extent at that early stage of Prākṛit dialects.'

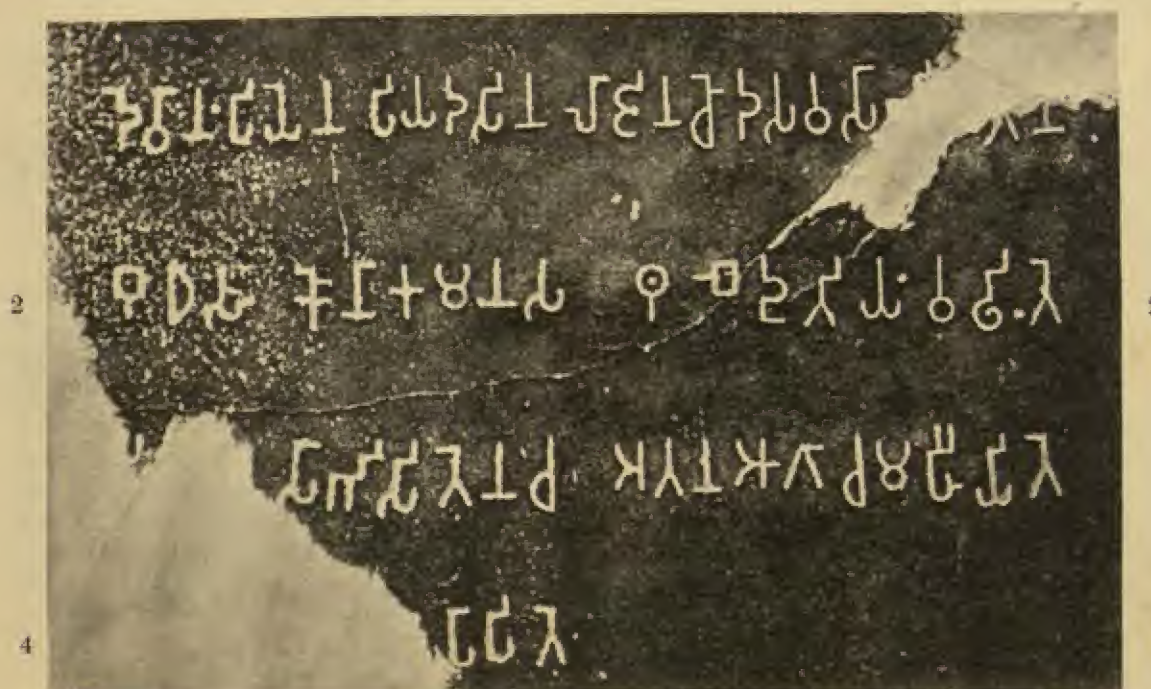
<sup>4</sup> With the words *hida Bhagavaṁ jāte* cf. *Divyāvadāna*, p. 389: 'asmin mahārāja pradēśe Bhagavān jātaḥ.'



RUMMINDEI PILLAR-INSCRIPTION



NIGALI SAGAR PILLAR-INSCRIPTION









(C) (He) made the village of Lumbini<sup>1</sup> free of taxes,<sup>2</sup> and paying (only) an eighth share (of the produce).<sup>3</sup>

#### IV. THE NIGALI SAGAR PILLAR

- 1 (A) देवानंपियेन पियदसिन लाजिन चोदसवसाभिसितेन  
2 बुधस कोनाकमनस शुवे दुत्तियं वद्धिते  
3 (B) ..... साभिसितेन च अतन आगाच महीयिते  
4 ..... पापिते

- 1 (A) Devānāmpiyena Piyadasina lājina chodasa-vasā[bh]i[si]t[e]n[a]  
2 Budhasa Konākamanasa thube dutiyam vaddhite  
3 (B) ..... sābhisitena<sup>4</sup> cha atana āgācha mahīyite  
4 ..... pāpita<sup>5</sup>

#### TRANSLATION

(A) When king Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin had been anointed fourteen years, he enlarged the Stūpa of the Buddha Kōnākamana<sup>6</sup> to the double (of its original size).<sup>7</sup>

(B) And when he had been anointed [twenty] years, he came himself and worshipped (this spot) [and] caused [a stone pillar to be set up].

<sup>1</sup> In the *Nidānakathā* (*Jātaka*, vol. I, pp. 52 and 54), the site of the Buddha's birth is called Lumbini-vana. For other forms of the name see Charpentier in IA, 43. 18. The word Lumbini survives in the modern designation Rummindēi; see V. A. Smith in IA, 34. 1.

<sup>2</sup> For *ubalika* = Skt. \**udbalika* see Barth, *Journal des Savants*, 1897, p. 73, n. 2; Bühler, EI, 5. 5; Fleet, JRAS, 1908. 478 f.; Sir Charles Lyall, id. 850 f.; and Thomas (id. 1909. 466 f.), who quotes the similar term *uchchhulka* from the *Kaṇṭīya*.

<sup>3</sup> The *Divyāvadāna* (p. 390) reports that Aśoka spent at Lumbini-vana 100,000 (gold pieces). In accordance with this legend, Barth (loc. cit.), Bühler (EI, 5. 5), and Neumann (ZDMG, 68. 721 f.) took *aṭha* = Skt. *artha* and translated *aṭha-bhāgiya* by 'partaking of riches'. Fleet (JRAS, 1908. 479 f.) explained *aṭha-bhāga* by Skt. *ashṭa-bhāga*, 'an eighth share', which the king is permitted by Manu (VII, 130) to levy on grains. In the *Kaṇṭīya* (p. 116, l. 2 from bottom) *chaturtha-pañcha-bhāgika* is actually used with the meaning 'paying a fourth or a fifth share (of the produce)'. I therefore agree with Thomas (JRAS, 1914. 391 f.) in believing that *-bhāgiya* must mean 'paying a share', and not, as Fleet thought, 'entitled to a share'. In the case of the village of Lumbini, bureaucracy prevailed against charity. For the affix *-iya* (= Skt. *-ika*) see above, p. 124, n. 4.

<sup>4</sup> Bühler restored *visati-vasābhisitena*, as on the Rummindēi pillar, l. 1.

<sup>5</sup> Bühler restored *silā-thabhe cha usapāpita* on the strength of l. 3 of the same inscription.

<sup>6</sup> This mythical Buddha is called Kōṇāgamana by the Southern Buddhists (*Konāgamena* at Bharaut; IA, 21. 229, No. 30), and Kanākamuni or Kōnākamuni by the Northern ones; see Kern's *Manual of Indian Buddhism*, p. 64.

<sup>7</sup> With *dutiyam vaddhite* cf. *diyadhiyam vaddhisati* (or *vaddhisiti*) at Sahasrām, section I, and in the corresponding sections of the other minor rock-edicts. Previous translators rendered *dutiyam* by 'for the second time'.



## FOURTH PART: MINOR ROCK-INSCRIPTIONS

## I. THE RUPNATH ROCK-INSCRIPTION

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये हेवं आहा (B) सातिरकेकानि अढतियानि व य सुमि प्रकास  
सके (C) नो चु बाढि पकते (D) सातिलेके चु छवछरे य सुमि हकं  
सघ उपेते
- 2 बाढि च पकते (E) या इमाय कालाय जंबुदिपसि अमिसा देवा हुसु ते  
दानि मिसा कटा (F) पकमसि हि एस फले (G) नो च एसा महतता  
पापोतवे खुदकेन
- 3 पि पकममिनेना सकिये पिपुले पा स्वगे आरोधेवे (H) एतिय अठाय च  
सावने कटे खुदका च उडाला च पकमतु ति अता पि च जानंतु इय  
पकरा व
- 4 किति चिरठितिके सिया (I) इय हि अठे वढि वढिसिति विपुल च वढिसिति  
अपलधियेना दियढिय वढिसत (J) इय च अठे पवतिमु लेखापेत वालत  
(K) हध च अयि
- 5 सालाठभे सिलाठभसि लाखापेतवय त (L) एतिना च वयजनेना यावतक  
तुपक अहाले सवर विवसेतवाय ति (M) व्युदेना सावने कटे (N) २००  
५० ६ स-
- 6 त विवासा त

- 1 (A) Devānāmpiye heva[m] āhā (B) sāti[ra]kekāni<sup>1</sup> aḍhati[y]āni va<sup>2</sup> ya sumi  
prakāsa [Sa]k[e]<sup>3</sup> (C) no chu bādhi pakate (D) sātileke chu chhavachhare<sup>4</sup>  
ya sumi haka[m] sagh[a] up[e]te
- 2 bādhi ch[a]<sup>5</sup> pakate (E) yā<sup>6</sup> [i]māya kālāya Jambudipasi amisā devā husu te dāni  
m[i]s[ā] kaṭā (F) pakamasi<sup>7</sup> hi [e]sa phale (G) no cha esā mahatātā p[ā]potave  
khudakena<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> sāti[le]kāni Senart and Bühler; read sātirekāni.

<sup>2</sup> This seems to be an abbreviation for *vasāni*, which is the reading of the Bairāt, Brahmagiri, and Śiddāpura rock-inscriptions.

<sup>3</sup> The first *akshara* of *prakāsa* looks like *pā*; but cf. above, p. 9, l. 10. There is a vacant space after this word. Bühler read *pākā* (which he considered a mistake for *hakā*, i. e. *hakam*) [*sava*]ke. The reading [Sa]k[e] was suggested to me by the new Maski rock-inscription, which reads Bu[dha]-Śake.

<sup>4</sup> As the Brahmagiri and Śiddāpura versions prove, this is a clerical mistake for *savachhare*; see 1A, 37. 23, and JRAS, 1910. 145 f.

<sup>5</sup> chu Bühler.

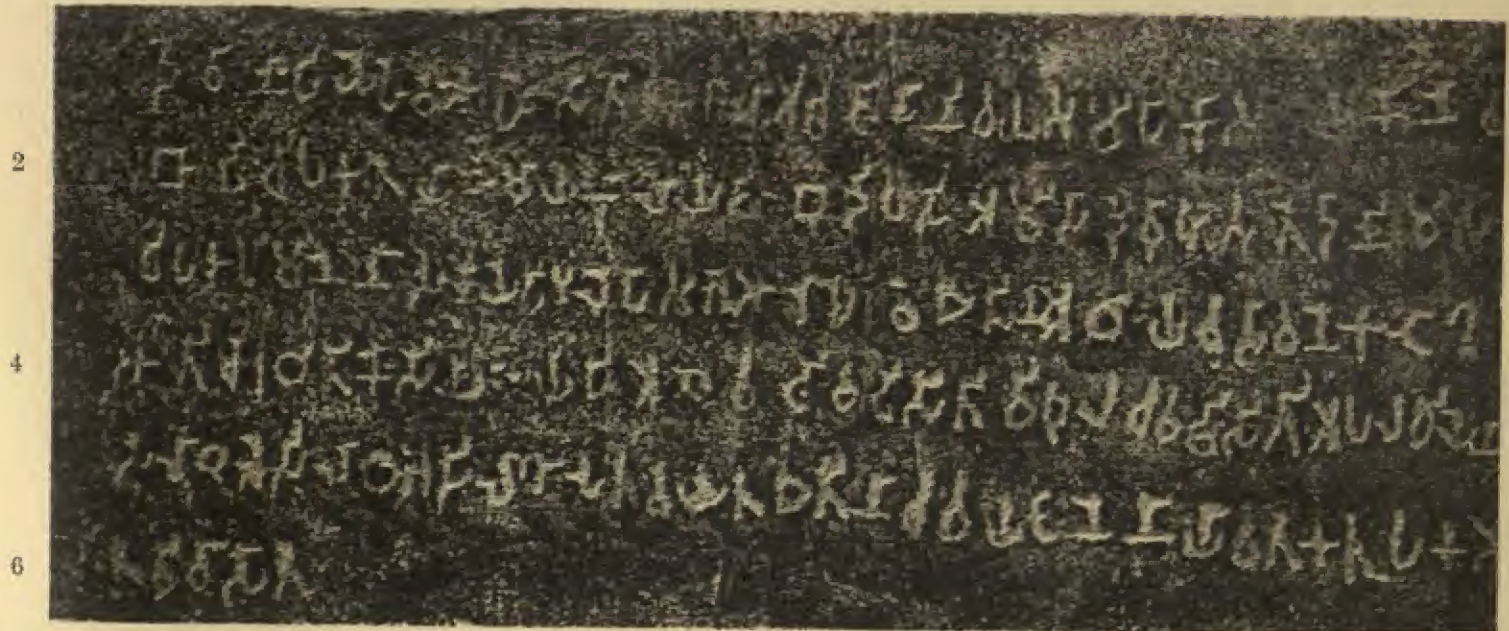
<sup>6</sup> y[i] Bühler.

<sup>7</sup> Three other versions of this edict read *pakamasa*.

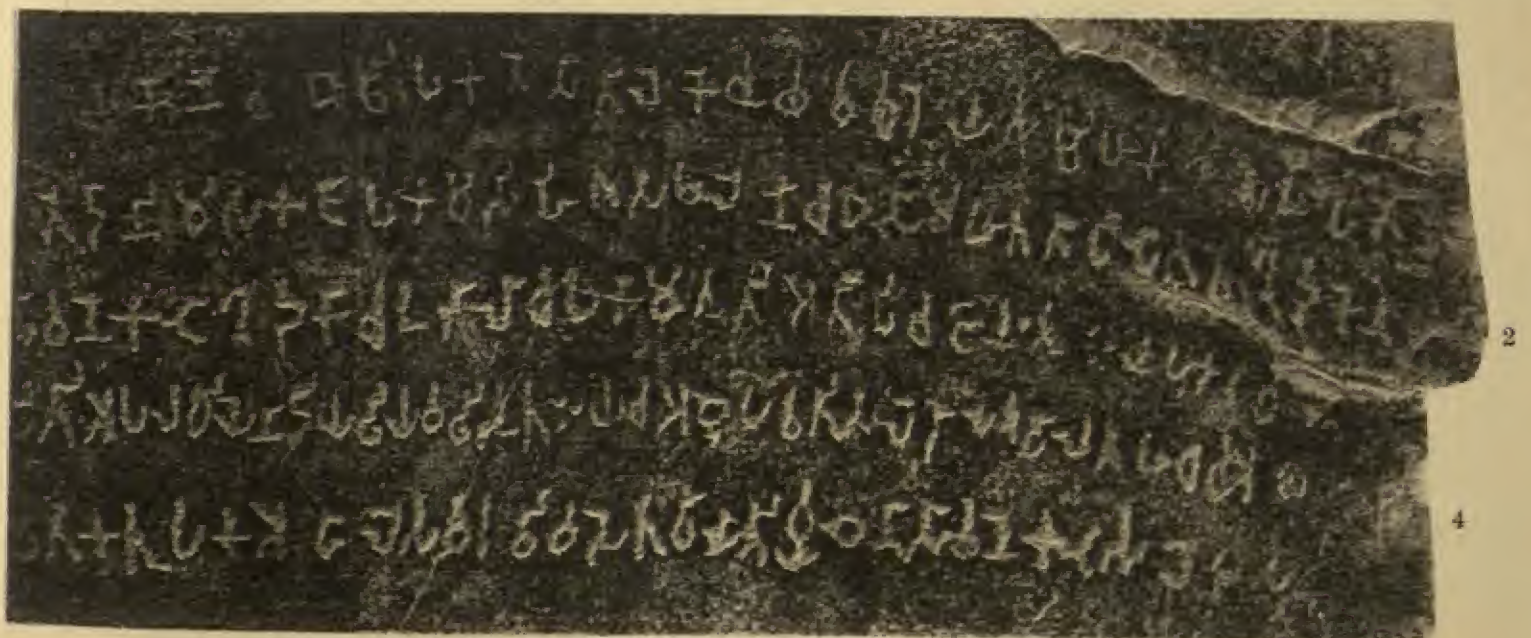
<sup>8</sup> Senart and Bühler add the two syllables *hi ka*. I believe these are in reality meaningless scratches, beyond the proper area of the inscription.



## LEFT HALF



## RIGHT HALF









- 3 pi pa[ka]mam[i]nenā<sup>1</sup> sakiye pipule<sup>2</sup> pā<sup>3</sup> svage ārodheve<sup>4</sup> (H) etiya aṭhāya cha  
sāvane kaṭe kh[u]dakā cha uḍālā cha pakamatu<sup>5</sup> ti atā pi cha jānamtu iya<sup>6</sup>  
paka[rā<sup>7</sup> va]
- 4 kiti chira-ṭhitike siyā (I) iya hi aṭhe vaḍhi vaḍhisiti vipula cha vaḍhisiti apaladhiyenā  
diyadhiya vaḍhisata<sup>8</sup> (J) iya cha aṭhe pavatis[u] lekhāpeta vālata (K) hadha<sup>9</sup>  
cha athi
- 5 sālā-ṭh[abh]e<sup>10</sup> silā-ṭha[m]bhasi lākhāpetavaya<sup>11</sup> ta<sup>12</sup> (L) etinā cha vayajanenā  
yāvataka tupaka<sup>13</sup> ahāle savara<sup>14</sup> vivasetavā[ya]<sup>15</sup> ti (M) vy[u]ṭhenā sāvane  
kaṭe (N) 200 50 6 sa-
- 6 ta vivāsā ta<sup>16</sup>

## TRANSLATION

(A) Dēvānāmpriya speaks thus.

(B) Two and a half years<sup>17</sup> and somewhat more (have passed) since I am  
openly a Śākya.<sup>18</sup>

(C) But (I had)<sup>19</sup> not been very zealous.<sup>20</sup>

(D) But a year and somewhat more (has passed) since I have visited<sup>21</sup> the  
Saṅgha<sup>22</sup> and have been very zealous.

<sup>1</sup> *parumaminena* Bühler.

<sup>2</sup> Read *vipule*.

<sup>3</sup> Read *pi*, which is the reading of Senart and Bühler.

<sup>4</sup> *ārodhave* Bühler; read *ārādhe[ta\*]ve*.

<sup>5</sup> *pakamanitu* Senart and Bühler.

<sup>6</sup> *iyam* Senart and Bühler.

<sup>7</sup> Senart proposes to read *pakame*; cf. the Śiddāpura and Sahasrām rock-inscriptions.

<sup>8</sup> Read *vaḍhisiti*.

<sup>9</sup> Bühler and Senart correct *hidha*. Instead of it, the context seems to require *yata* (= Skt. *yatra*); but this change would be so violent that it cannot be seriously entertained.

<sup>10</sup> Read *silā*, which is the reading of Senart and Bühler; *-ṭhubhe* Bühler.

<sup>11</sup> Read *likhā*.

<sup>12</sup> Read *ti*.

<sup>13</sup> Read perhaps *tuphākam*, as on the Sārnāth pillar, l. 9.

<sup>14</sup> Read *savata*, as on the Sārnāth pillar, l. 10.

<sup>15</sup> *viya* Senart, *va[ya]* Bühler; read *vivāsetaviye* and cf. *vivāsayātha* at Sārnāth, l. 10.

<sup>16</sup> Read *ti*.

<sup>17</sup> As was first remarked by Oldenberg (*Vinaya-piṭaka*, Introduction, p. xxxviii, note, and ZDMG, 35. 474, note), *aḍḍhatiya* is the Pāli *aḍḍhatiya*, 'two and a half'.

<sup>18</sup> Instead of this, the Sahasrām, Bairāt, and Śiddāpura versions read *upāsake*, 'a lay-worshipper', but the Maski version reads *Bu[dha]-Śake*. On the Rummindēi pillar the Buddha himself receives his well-known epithet *Śākyamuni*. Varāhamihira uses the tribal name *Śākya* in the sense of 'a Buddhist'; see Böhtlingk and Roth's Dictionary, s.v. In the *Kaṇṭhīya* the word *Śākya* has the same meaning; see Shama Sastri's Translation, p. 251, n. 2. As Professor Jolly kindly informs me, the Munich MS. reads *शकाजीवकादीन्*, which is meant for *शकाजीवकादीन्*; the *editio princeps* (p. 199, l. 3 f.) has *शकाः । जीवकादीन्*.

<sup>19</sup> The word *husam* is inserted in the Mysore versions.

<sup>20</sup> The Mysore versions add 'for one year'. Thomas (JA (10), 15. 515 f.) and Sylvain Lévi (id. 17. 121 f.) take *pakamati* in the sense of 'travelling about'. But the various readings of the Sahasrām and Bairāt edicts suggest that *pakamati* has to be understood as a synonym of *palakamati*, 'to exert one's self, to be zealous'; see Fleet's remarks in JRAS, 1909. 993, and cf. the rock-edict VI, L and N, and X, C and E. In section G the participle *pa[ka]mam[i]nenā* (Rūpnāth) or *palakamaminenā* (Sahasrām) corresponds to *dhama-yute[nā]*, 'devoted to morality', at Maski, E.

<sup>21</sup> Bühler translated *up[ṣ]te* by 'entered'; see IA, 6. 156, and EI, 3. 140. I adopt Senart's very cautious rendering, which is more natural and supported by Buddhist tradition; see IA, 20. 234.

<sup>22</sup> i. e. the Buddhist clergy.



(E) Those gods who during that time had been unmingled (with men)<sup>1</sup> in Jambudvīpa,<sup>2</sup> have now been made (by me) mingled (with them).<sup>3</sup>

(F) For this is the fruit of zeal.

(G) And this cannot be reached by (persons of) high rank<sup>4</sup> (alone), (but) even a lowly (person) is able to attain even the great heaven if he is zealous.<sup>5</sup>

(H) And for the following purpose has (this) proclamation been issued,<sup>6</sup> (that) both the lowly and the exalted may be zealous, and (that) even (my) borderers<sup>7</sup> may know (it), (and) that this same zeal may be of long duration.

(I) For, this matter<sup>8</sup> will (be made by me to) progress,<sup>9</sup> and will (be made to) progress considerably; it will (be made to) progress to at least one and a half.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Sylvain Lévi (JA (10), 17. 124 f.) first showed that *misā* represents Skt. *miśrāḥ*; but his translation of *devā* by 'kings' is inadmissible. The word *deva* is not used anywhere else in the Aśoka edicts except in the title *Devānampriya*, where it certainly does not mean 'a king', for which the word *rājā* is regularly employed; see JRAS, 1911. 1114. Senart (JA (11), 7. 438 ff.) still upholds Bühler's view that *misā* stands for Skt. *mṛishā*, which is represented by *musā* in Pāli, in Ardhamāgadhī (Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 78), and in the Calcutta-Bairāt rock-inscription, l. 6. Granted that this explanation might account for the curious compounds *misām-deva* and *an̄misām-deva* at Sahasrām,—the nasalized final occurring also in the Ardhamāgadhī form *musām*,—it would create two serious difficulties: (1) the compound *misibhūtā* at Maski would offend against the *Vārttika* on Pāṇini, VII, 4, 32, which prohibits the change of the final *ā* of indeclinables to *i* (cf. *Mahābhāṣya* on I, 1, 41), and (2) it forces Senart (loc. cit., p. 441) to render the words *misā devehi*, 'mingled with the gods', in the Mysore edicts, by 'ont été (réduits à apparaître comme) faussement (*mis au nombre*) des dieux', and to consider the instrumental *devehi* an ablative partitive (?).

<sup>2</sup> i. e. in India.

<sup>3</sup> As I have shown in JRAS, 1913. 652 f., this enigmatical sentence can be explained by comparing a similar, but more explicit statement in the fourth rock-edict. It refers to certain religious shows at which Aśoka had exhibited to his subjects *in effigie* the gods whose abodes they would be able to reach by the zealous practice of *Dharma*. The word *devā* corresponds to *divyāni rūpāni* in the Gīmār edict IV, B.

<sup>4</sup> As the Brahmagiri version suggests, *mahatātā* corresponds to Skt. *mahātmatvāt*.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. the parallel passage in the rock-edict X, E.

<sup>6</sup> Fleet (JRAS, 1909. 1014) and Thomas (JA (10), 15. 510) were of opinion that the few following words: 'let both the lowly and the exalted be zealous' represent the text of an address delivered by Aśoka himself on a previous occasion, and quoted succinctly by him here. But a glance at the parallel passages collected by Thomas himself on the next page (511) will suffice to show that Senart was right in believing that the following words are rather referred to by *etiya aṭṭhāya*, and that here, as well as in section M, the word 'proclamation' refers to the whole of the Rūpnāth edict itself.

<sup>7</sup> According to the Kālsī and Shāhbāzgarhī rock-edict XIII, Q, these borderers were Antiochus II of Syria and four other Greek kings (in the west), and the Chōḍas and Pāṇḍyas in the south. Cf. also the rock-edict II, A, and V, J.

<sup>8</sup> i. e. apparently the subject-matter or contents of Aśoka's proclamation, viz. the Buddhist propaganda; see section J.

<sup>9</sup> With *vaḍḍhi*[*n̄*\*] *vaḍḍisiti* cf. *dhamma-vaḍḍhi vaḍḍhitā* in the Delhi-Tōprā pillar-edict VII, JJ and NN.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. above, p. 165, n. 7.



(J) And cause ye this matter<sup>1</sup> to be engraved on rocks where an occasion presents itself.<sup>2</sup>

(K) And (wherever) there are stone pillars here,<sup>3</sup> it must be caused to be engraved on stone pillars.<sup>4</sup>

(L) And according to the letter of this (proclamation)<sup>5</sup> (you) must dispatch (an officer)<sup>6</sup> everywhere, as far as your district<sup>7</sup> (extends).

(M) (This) proclamation was issued by (me) on tour.<sup>8</sup>

(N) 256 (nights)<sup>9</sup> (had then been) spent on tour.<sup>10</sup>

## II. THE SAHASRAM ROCK-INSCRIPTION

- 1 (A) देवानापिये हेवं आ ..... ियानि सबद्धलानि । अं उपासके  
सुमि । (C) न चु बाढं पलकंते  
2 (D) सबद्धले साधिके । अं ..... ते (E) एतेन च अंतलेन । जंबुदीपसि ।  
अमिसंदेवा । संत

<sup>1</sup> Instead of the nominative *iya cha aṭṭhe* we should have expected the accusative *ima cha aṭṭham*, as at Sahasrām, l. 7. The nominative would be in its proper place if we adopt Senart's conjecture *lekkāpetaviye ti* for *lekkāpeta vāṭata*; but this change is so extensive that it must be pronounced doubtful.

<sup>2</sup> Literally: 'in consequence of an occasion' (*vārataḥ*); see JRAS, 1911. 1116.

<sup>3</sup> viz. 'in my territory'. Cf. above, p. 2, n. 3.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. the Delhi-Tōprā pillar-edict VII, SS.

<sup>5</sup> See above, p. 163, n. 13.

<sup>6</sup> See above, p. 163, n. 12. Fleet (JRAS, 1911. 1106) translated *vivaseti* by 'spending a night in worship'. I have shown that this meaning is rendered improbable by the context of the corresponding passage of the Sārnāth edict; see JRAS, 1912. 1053 ff.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. above, p. 163, n. 11.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. the rock-edict VIII. For the two terms *vyūṭha* and *vivāsa*, which have greatly exercised all earlier interpreters, see now Thomas, JA (10), 15. 512 ff. The instrumental *vy[u]thenā*, which depends on *sāvane kaṭe*, must refer to Aśoka himself, because the preceding text of the proclamation shows the latter to have been the edict of a king to his officers, who are addressed in the second person plural (*tupaka*, l. 5); see JRAS, 1909. 729. I therefore follow Thomas (IA, 37. 22) in supplying *mayā*.

<sup>9</sup> The three figures '256' were explained by Bühler as a date after the *Nirvāṇa* of the Buddha. Other scholars interpreted them in different ways (see Fleet, JRAS, 1908. 817), until in 1910 (JA (10), 15. 507 ff.) Thomas showed that the Sahasrām version of the Rūpnāth edict combines with them the word *lāti* = Skt. *rātri*, 'a night'. On the (redundant) word *sata*, 'a hundred', see Thomas, ibid., p. 521, and Fleet, JRAS, 1911. 1104, n. 2. Since the publication of Thomas' discovery of the word *lāti* at Sahasrām, the '256 nights' have been discussed by Fleet (JRAS, 1910. 1301 ff., 1911. 1091 ff., and 1913. 655 ff.), Sylvain Lévi (JA (10), 17. 119 ff.), D. R. Bhandarkar (IA, 41. 170 ff.), Neumann (translation of the *Dīgha-nikāya*, 2. 225 f., and *R. Accademia dei Lincei, Rendiconti*, 22. 695 ff.), Thomas himself (JRAS, 1916. 113 ff.), and Senart (JA (11), 7. 434 f.), who takes *lāti* = Skt. *rati*, as at Kālsī, VIII, F.

<sup>10</sup> In JRAS, 1910. 1309, I interpreted the word *vivāsā*, which corresponds to *vivūthā* at Sahasrām, as an ablative singular. But it seems more natural to follow Thomas, who considers it a nominative plural.



- 3 मुनिसा मिसंदेव कटा । (F) पल . . . . . इयं फले (G) नो . . . . . यं  
महतता व चकिये पावतवे । खुदकेन पि पल-
- 4 कममीनेना विपुले पि सुअग . . किये आला . . . . . वे । (H) से एताये  
अठाये इयं सावाने । खुदका च उडाला चा प-
- 5 लकमंतु अंता पि च जानंतु । चिलठितीके च पलाकमे होतु । (I) इयं च अठे  
वढिसति । विपुलं पि च वढिसति
- 6 दियादियं अवलधियेना दियदियं वढिसति । (J) इयं च सवने विवुथेन (K) दुवे  
सपंना लाति-
- 7 सता विवुथा ति २०० ५० ६ (L) इम च अठं पवतेसु लिखापयाथा (M) य . .  
वा अ-
- 8 थि हेता सिलाथंभा तत पि लिखापयथ ति

- 1 (A) Devānāmpīye he[vaṃ] [[ā]]<sup>1</sup> . . . . . [[iyāni savachhalā]]ni | a]m  
upāsake sumi | (C) na chu bādham [palaka]m[t]e
- 2 (D) sav[a]chhale<sup>2</sup> sādhi[ke] [[i am]] . . . . . [[te]] (E) [ete][[na cha aṃta]]lena |  
Jambudīpasi | aṃmisaṃ-[de]vā<sup>3</sup> | saṃta<sup>4</sup>
- 3 munisā [m]isaṃ-deva [[kaṭā | (F) pala]] . . . . . [[iyam phale (G) [n]o]] . . .  
[[yam]] mahatata va chakiye pāv[a]t[ā]ve | khudakena pi pala-
- 4 kamamīnenā vipule pi s[u]ag . . . [k]iye<sup>5</sup> [ā][lā] . . . . . [[ve]] [i] (H) se etāye  
aṭh[ā]ye iyaṃ sāvāne<sup>6</sup> | khudakā cha uḍālā chā pa-
- 5 [la]kamaṃtu aṃtā pi ch[a] jānaṃtu | chila-ṭhiṭṭīke<sup>7</sup> cha p[a][ā]kame<sup>8</sup> hotu | (I)  
iya[m] cha [aṭhe] vadhisati | vipulaṃ pi cha vadhisati
- 6 diyādhīyaṃ aval[a]dhiyenā diy[a]dhiyaṃ vadhisati | (J) iyaṃ [[cha savane]]  
[v]ivuthena (K) duve sapāṇnā lāti-
- 7 satā vivuthā ti 200 50 6 (L) ima cha aṭham pavatesu [l][ikhā][pa]yāthā (M)  
ya . .<sup>9</sup> [vā] a-
- 8 th[i] hetā silā-thaṃ[bh]ā tata pi<sup>10</sup> [likhāpayatha t]i

<sup>1</sup> The letters enclosed in double brackets are now broken away, but are still visible on an old photograph of the rock which I owe to the kindness of Sir John Marshall.

<sup>2</sup> The top of *va* is damaged by a slanting cross-line, and there happens to be a faint vertical stroke behind it which gave rise to the imaginary syllable *viṃ* in Cunningham's copy. A later idea of Bühler's (IA, 22. 299), the group *ḍva*, is equally non-existent; as stated by Fleet (JRAS, 1910. 147), it is already impossible because the *ḍa* would then have to stand on the level of the line, but not above it, and the *va* would have to be entered below, but not on the level of the line. These tedious details have to be noted here because the fanciful reading *saḍvachhale*, combined with the actual blunder *chhavachhare* at Rūpnāth, is the starting-point of a (now exploded) theory which has obscured the chronology of Aśoka's inscriptions for a long time.

<sup>3</sup> Read *amisaṃ*.

<sup>4</sup> *saṃ[tā]* Bühler.

<sup>5</sup> Restore *snage chakiye*.

<sup>6</sup> Read *sāvane*.

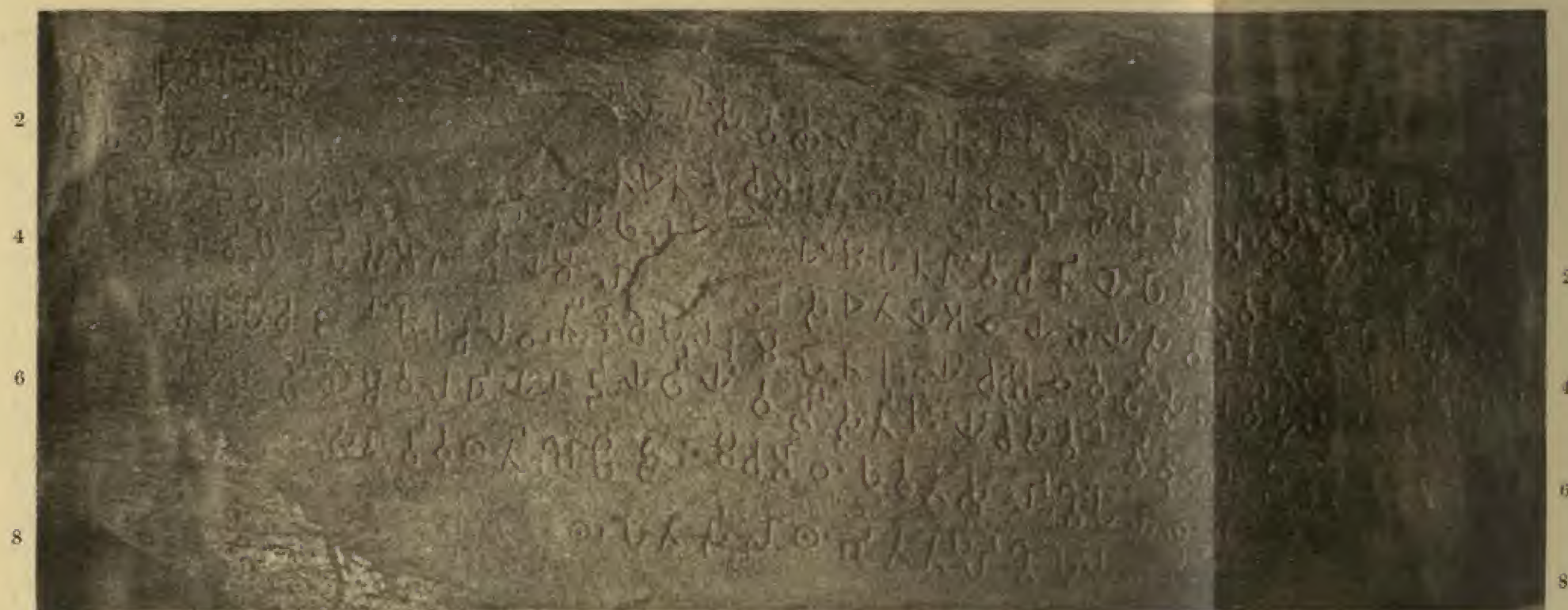
<sup>7</sup> *-[ṭh]itik*. Bühler.

<sup>8</sup> *palakame* Senart and Bühler.

<sup>9</sup> Restore *yata*.

<sup>10</sup> The syllable *pi* was entered above the line.





FROM MR. BEGLAR'S PHOTOGRAPH



FROM AN INKED ESTAMPAGE







## TRANSLATION

- (A) *Dēvānāmpriya* [speaks] thus.  
 (B) . . . . . years since I am a lay-worshipper (*upāsaka*).  
 (C) But (I had) not been very zealous.  
 (D) A year and somewhat more (has passed) since . . . . .  
 (E) And men in *Jambudvīpa*, being during that time unmingled with the gods, have (now) been made (by me) mingled with the gods.  
 (F) [For] this is the fruit [of zeal].  
 (G) . . . . . cannot<sup>1</sup> be reached by (persons of) high rank alone, (but) even a lowly (person) is able to attain even the great heaven if he is zealous.  
 (H) Now, for the following purpose (has) this proclamation (been issued), (that) both the lowly and the exalted may be zealous, and (that) even (my) borderers may know (it), and (that this) zeal may be of long duration.  
 (I) And this matter will (be made by me to) progress, and will (be made to) progress even considerably; it will (be made to) progress to one and a half, to at least one and a half.  
 (J) And this proclamation (was issued by me) on tour.  
 (K) Two hundred and fifty-six nights (had then been) spent on tour,<sup>2</sup>—(in figures) 256.<sup>3</sup>  
 (L) And cause ye this matter to be engraved on rocks.  
 (M) And where there are stone pillars here (in my dominions), there also cause (it) to be engraved.

## III. THE BAIRAT ROCK-INSCRIPTION

- 1 (A) देवानांप्रिये आहा (B) सान्ति . . . . .  
 2 वसानि य हकं उपासके (C) नो चु वाढं . . . . .  
 3 अं ममया सधे उपयाते वाढ च . . . . .  
 4 जंबुदिपसि अमिसा न देवेहि . . . . . मि . . . . . कमस एस . . ले  
 5 (G) नो हि एसे महत्तनेव चकिये . . . . . कममिनेना  
 6 विपुले पि श्वगे चक्ये आलाधेतवे (H) . . . . . का च उडाला चा  
 पलकमतु ति

<sup>1</sup> For *chak*, a variant of the root *śak*, see above, p. 97, n. 4.

<sup>2</sup> Thomas (JA (10), 15. 520, note) compares the word *vivuthā* (corresponding to *vivāsā* at Rūpnāth) with *vyushṭam*, a division of time which is mentioned in the *Kaṇṭhīya*, p. 60, l. 3 from bottom. His suggestion that the latter may have the sense of *νυχθήμερον*, 'a night and a day', is perhaps correct. At any rate, in Aśoka's time both *vivutha* and *vivāsa* apparently meant 'a civil day spent in travelling, an absence of twenty-four hours from headquarters'.

<sup>3</sup> The actual purport of this important passage was cleared up by Thomas (JA (10), 15. 520), who discovered in it the word *lāti*, 'a night', which had escaped the attention of his predecessors for thirty-three years. He pointed out, at the same time, that *pannā* is a recognized Prākṛit form of *pañchāśat*, and that expressions like *dvē śatpañchāśe rātri-śatē* are used in archaic Sanskrit as well. Cf. *ekam rattim vippavasati*, 'to spend a night away from home', in Childers' *Pāli Dictionary*, p. 581.



- 7 अंता पि च जानंतु ति चिलठित ..... लं पि वढिसति .....  
 8 दियदियं वढिसति .....

- 1 (A) Devānāmpīye āh[ā] (B) s[ā]ti .....  
 2 vasān[i] ya hakaṁ<sup>1</sup> upāsake (C) [no chu] bādham .....  
 3 aṁ mamayā saghe<sup>2</sup> [u]payāte [bā]dha cha .....  
 4 Jambudipasi<sup>3</sup> amisā<sup>4</sup> na devehi ..... [m]i ..... [ka]masa esa .. l[e]  
 5 (G) [no] hi e[s]e ma[ha]taneva chakiye ..... kamamīnenā  
 6 vipule pi śvage [cha]kye [ā]lādheta[v]e (H) ..... kā cha [u]d[ā]lā chā<sup>5</sup>  
 [pala]kamatū [t]i  
 7 [aṁ]tā pi cha jānaṁtu ti [ch]īla-ṭhit ..... laṁ pi vadhisati .....  
 8 diyadhiyaṁ vadhi[s]ti .....

#### IV. THE CALCUTTA-BAIRAT ROCK-INSCRIPTION

- 1 (A) प्रियदसि लाजा मागधे संघं अभिवादेतूनं आहा अपावाधतं च फासु-  
 विहालतं चा  
 2 (B) विदिते वे भंते आवतके हमा बुधसि धंमसि संघसी ति गालवे चं प्रसादे च  
 (C) ए केचि भंते  
 3 भगवता बुधेन भासिते सर्वे से सुभासिते वा (D) ए चु खो भंते हमियाये दिसेया  
 हेवं सधंमे  
 4 चिलठित्तीके होसती ति अलहामि हकं तं वातवे (E) इमानि भंते धंम-  
 पलियायानि विनयसमुक्से  
 5 अलियवसाणि अनागतभयानि मुनिगाथा मोनेयसूते उपतिसपसिने ए चा  
 लाघुलो-  
 6 वादे मुसावादं अधिगिच्य भगवता बुधेन भासिते एतानि भंते धंमपलियायानि  
 इहामि  
 7 किंति बहुके भिखुपाये चा भिखुनिये चा अभिखिनं मुनेयु चा उपधालयेयू चा  
 8 (F) हेवंमेवा उपासका चा उपासिका चा (G) एतेनि भंते इमं लिखापयामि  
 अभिप्रेतं मे जानंतू ति

- 1 (A) Pr[i]yadas[i]<sup>6</sup> l[ā]jā Māgadhe<sup>7</sup> saṁghaṁ abhivāde[tū]naṁ<sup>8</sup> āhā ap[ā]bādhatam  
 cha phāsu-vihālatam chā  
 2 (B) vidite v[e] bhaṁte āvatake h[a]mā Budhasi dhammasi saṁghasi ti gālave<sup>9</sup>  
 chaṁ prasāde<sup>10</sup> cha (C) e kechi<sup>11</sup> bhaṁte

<sup>1</sup> haka Bühler.

<sup>2</sup> sa[n]ghe Bühler.

<sup>3</sup> dipasi Bühler.

<sup>4</sup> The syllable *mi* was entered above the line.

<sup>5</sup> cha Bühler.

<sup>6</sup> Piya<sup>o</sup> Senart.

<sup>7</sup> Māgadham Senart; but the *e* of *dhe* is quite distinct, and what has been taken for an Anusvāra is in reality a horizontal dash.

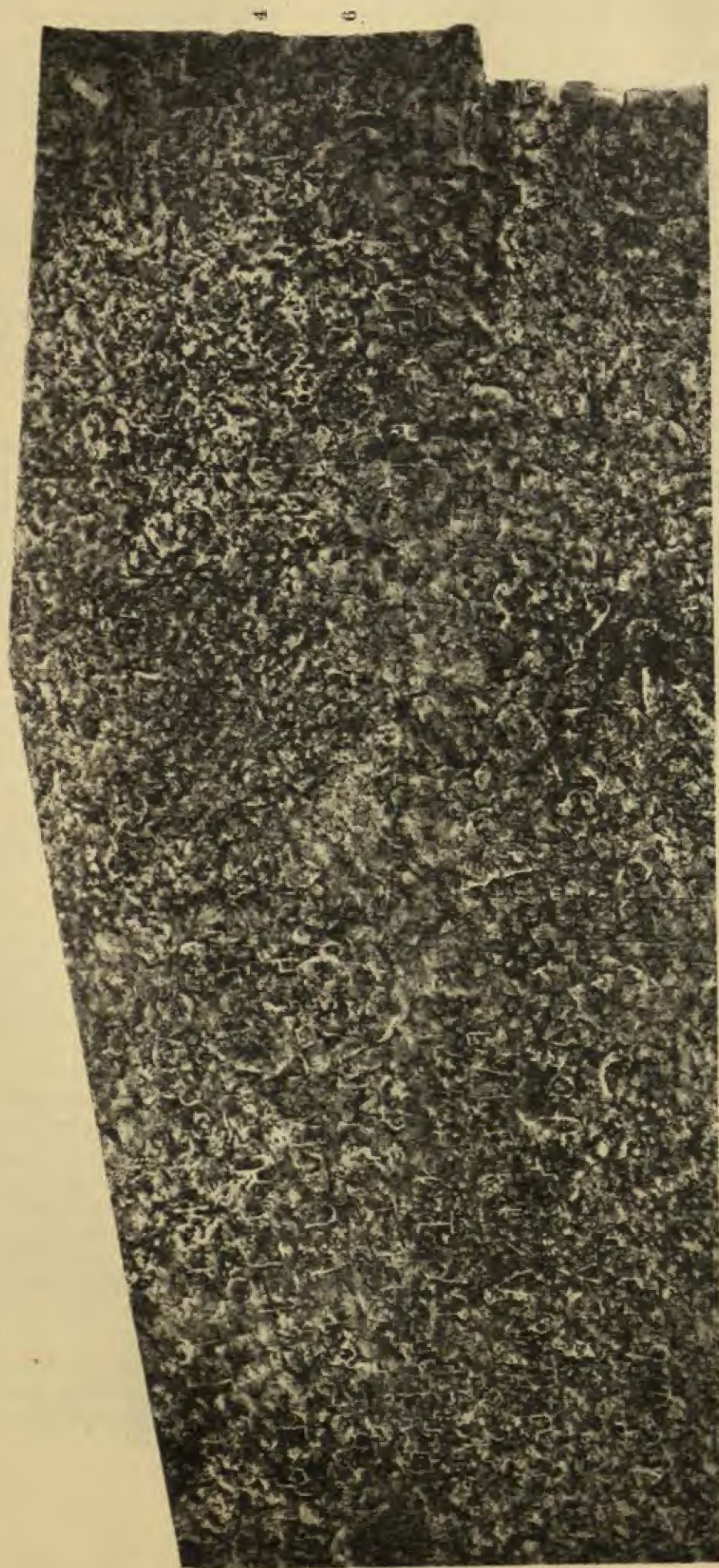
<sup>8</sup> abhivādanam Senart; but see JRAS, 1909. 727.

<sup>9</sup> galave Senart.

<sup>10</sup> pasāde Senart.

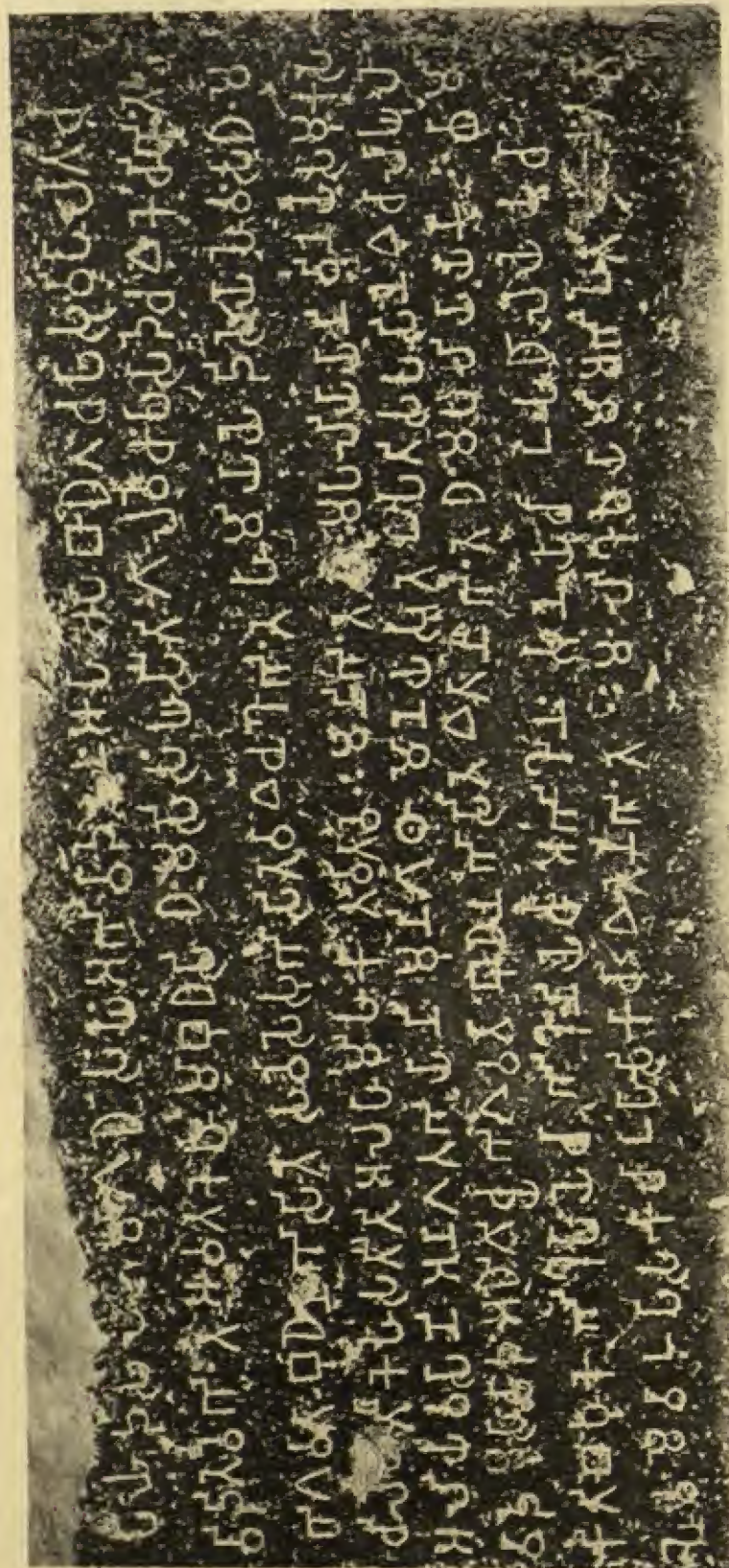
<sup>11</sup> keuchi Senart.





SCALE ONE-NINTH





SCALE ONE-FOURTH



- 3 bhagavatā **Budhe[na]** bhāsīte sarve<sup>1</sup> se subhāsīte vā (D) e chu kho bhamte  
hamiyāye diseyā hevaṃ sadhamme  
4 chil[a-ṭhi]tike hosatī ti alahāmi hakam ta[m] v[ā]tave<sup>2</sup> (E) imāni bhamt[e dha]mma-  
paliyāyāni Vinaya-samukase  
5 Aliya-vasāni<sup>3</sup> Anāgata-bhayāni Muni-gāthā Moneya-sūte Upatissa-pasine e chā  
Lāghulo-  
6 vāde musā-vādam adhigichya<sup>4</sup> bhagavatā **Budhena** bhāsīte etāni<sup>5</sup> bhamte  
dhamma-paliyāyāni ichhāmi  
7 kiṃti bahuke bhikhu-[p]āye chā bhikhuniye<sup>6</sup> ch[ā] abhikhinam sun[e]yu<sup>7</sup> chā  
upadhāl[a]yeyū<sup>8</sup> chā  
8 (F) hevaṃmevā upāsakā chā upāsikā chā (G) eteni<sup>9</sup> bhamte imam likhā[pa]yāmi  
abhipretam<sup>10</sup> me jānamtū<sup>11</sup> ti

## TRANSLATION

(A) The Māgadha king Priyadarśin,<sup>12</sup> having saluted the Saṃgha,<sup>13</sup> hopes they are both well and comfortable.<sup>14</sup>

(B) It is known to you, Sirs, how great is my reverence and faith in the Buddha, the Dharma,<sup>15</sup> (and) the Saṃgha.<sup>16</sup>

(C) Whatsoever, Sirs, has been spoken by the blessed Buddha, all that is quite well spoken.

(D) But, Sirs, what would indeed appear to me<sup>17</sup> (to be referred to by the words of the scripture): 'thus the true Dharma will be of long duration',<sup>18</sup> that I feel bound to declare.

(E) The following expositions of the Dharma, Sirs, (viz.) (1) the Vinaya-samukasa, (2) the Aliya-vasas,<sup>19</sup> (3) the Anāgata-bhayas, (4) the Muni-gāthās, (5) the Moneya-sūta,

<sup>1</sup> save Senart.

<sup>2</sup> vatave Senart.

<sup>3</sup> -vasāni Senart.

<sup>4</sup> This word is quite distinct, and the reading *adhigichya* proposed by Michelson (IF, 27. 194 f.) is impossible.

<sup>5</sup> etāna Senart.

<sup>6</sup> bhakhuniye Senart.

<sup>7</sup> sunayu Senart.

<sup>8</sup> upādhāleyeyu Senart.

<sup>9</sup> Read *etenā*.

<sup>10</sup> *abhihetam* Senart; but the horizontal stroke attached to *pa* is probably intended for *r*. Cf. *aparakaramhi* in the Girnār edict XII, l. 3.

<sup>11</sup> *ma jānamta* Senart.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. e.g. *rājā Māgadho Seniyo Bimbisāro* in the *Vinaya-piṭaka* (passim); *rājā Māgadho Ajātasattu* at the beginning of the *Mahāparinibbāna-sutta* (JRAS, 1875. 49); and *rājā Pasenaji Kosalo* in a Bharaut inscription (IA, 21. 232, No. 58).

<sup>13</sup> i.e. the Buddhist clergy.

<sup>14</sup> Literally: 'pronounces both (their) being in good health and (their) being (in the enjoyment) of pleasant life'. Cf. at the beginning of the *Mahāparinibbāna-sutta*: '*appābādham appātāṇkam lahuṭṭhānam balaṃ phāsu-vihāram pucchha*', and see Neumann's translations of the *Majjhima-nikāya* (2. 617, note) and *Dīgha-nikāya* (2. 216, n. 3).

<sup>15</sup> i.e. the Buddhist doctrine.

<sup>16</sup> These are the so-called 'three jewels'; see Childers' *Pāli Dictionary*, s. v. *ratanam*.

<sup>17</sup> Kern (IA, 5. 257) explained *diseyā* as the optative of the Pāli *dissati* = Skt. *drīṣyatī*; cf. JRAS, 1909. 728.

<sup>18</sup> As suggested by the late Professor Hardy (JRAS, 1901. 314), these words seem to contain a quotation from the Buddhist scriptures.

<sup>19</sup> *vasa* is a defective spelling for *vaṃsa*; see IA, 41. 39.



(6) the *Upatisa-pasina*, and (7) the *Lāghulovāda* which was spoken by the blessed Buddha concerning falsehood,<sup>1</sup>—I desire, Sirs, that many groups of monks and (many) nuns may repeatedly listen to these expositions of the *Dharma*, and may reflect (on them).

(F) In the same way both laymen and laywomen (should act).

(G) For the following (purpose), Sirs, am I causing this to be written, (viz.) in order that they may know my intention.

## V. THE MASKI ROCK-INSCRIPTION

- 1 (A) देवानंपियस असोकस ..... अढति-
- 2 .. नि वषानि । अं सुमि बुधशके (C) ..... तिरे .....
- 3 .. मि संघं उपगते उठ ..... मि उपगते (D) पुरे जंबु-
- 4 ..... सि ये अमिसा देवा हुसु ते दानि मिसिभूता (E) इय अठे खुद-
- 5 केन पि धमयुतेन सके अधिगतवे (F) न हेवं दखितविये उडा-
- 6 लके व इम अधिगछेया ति (G) खुदके च उडालके च वत-
- 7 विया हेवं वे कलंतं भदके से अ ..... तिके च वढि-
- 8 सिति चा दियढियं हेवं ति

- 1 (A) Dev[ā]na[m]piyasa Asok[a]sa .....<sup>2</sup> [a]dh[a]t[i]-
- 2 .. ni<sup>3</sup> vashā[ni] ; am<sup>4</sup> sum[i] Bu[dha]-Śake<sup>5</sup> (C) ..... [t]ire .....
- 3 .. [m]i<sup>6</sup> [s]aṃgha[m] u[pa]gate [uṭh] ..... m[i] u[pa]gate<sup>7</sup> (D) pure Jambu-
- 4 ..... s[i]<sup>8</sup> ye amisā devā husu] te [dā]n[i] misibhūtā (E) iya a[the khu]da-

<sup>1</sup> For identifications of these texts see Oldenberg, *Vinaya-piṭaka*, Introduction, p. xl, n. 1 ; Sylvain Lévi, JA (9), 7. 475 ff. ; Neumann, VOJ, 11. 159 f. ; Rhys Davids, JRAS, 1898. 639 f. ; Oldenberg, ZDMG, 52. 634 ff. ; Bloch, id., 63. 325 ff. As the late lamented Mr. V. A. Smith kindly informed me, No. 1, *Vinaya-samukasa*, is identified by A. J. Edmunds (*Buddhist Bibliography*, San Francisco, 1904) with Buddha's First Sermon. According to Dharmananda Kosambi (IA, 41. 40), Nos. 2 and 3 occur in the *Aṅguttara-nikāya*, Nos. 4-6 in the *Sutta-nipāta*, and No. 7 in the *Majjhima-nikāya*.

<sup>2</sup> Senart fills up this break by *vachanena adhiḥkāni*. As the instrumental *vachanena* would require a verb, for which there is no room on the stone, I suggest reading *sāvane* (or *sāsane*) (B) *adhiḥkāni*.

<sup>3</sup> Restore *adhatiyāni*.

<sup>4</sup> *vasāni* [ya]m am Krishna Sastri.

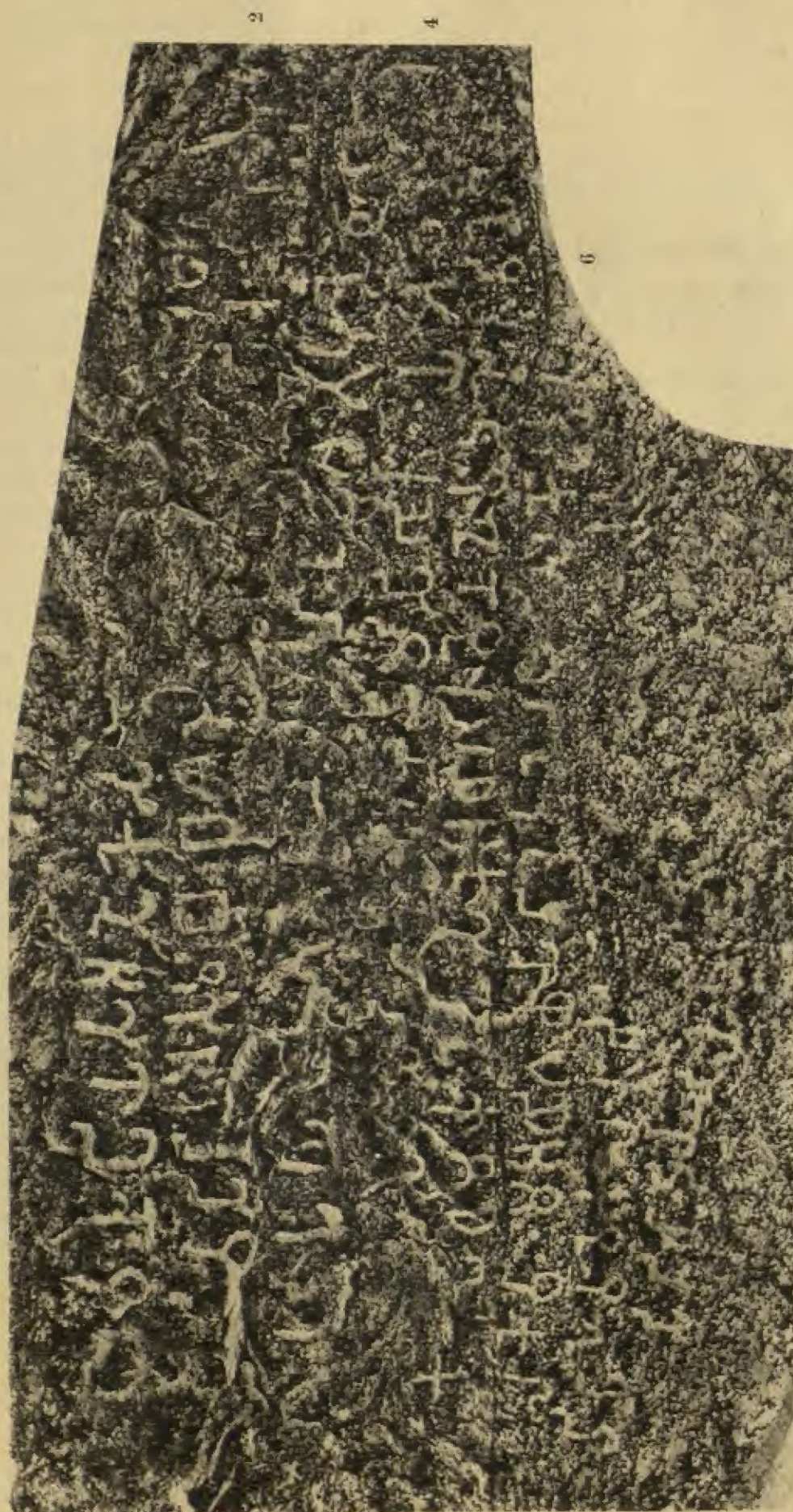
<sup>5</sup> *bum[pā]śake* K.S. The point after *bu* does resemble an Anusvāra, but it stands on a higher level than the other Anusvāras of this inscription. Besides, an Anusvāra would make no sense here. Krishna Sastri remarks that 'the letter *pā* appears to have been corrected from some other', and Senart (JA (11), 7. 428) suggests that the writer may have wavered between *upāsake* and *Budhupāsake*. I agree with him in believing that the writer originally wanted to write *upāsake*, which is the reading of Sahasrām, Bairāt, and Śiddāpura. On second thoughts he changed *upā* to *Budha* and added *Śake*, which corresponds to [Sa]k[e] at Rūpnāth. The abnormal shape of the *dha* of *Budha* is due to its having been corrected from *pā*.

<sup>6</sup> Restore *sātireke am sumi* and, before these three words, perhaps *saṃvachhare*.

<sup>7</sup> Restore perhaps *uṭhānam cha sumi upagate*, which would convey the same meaning as the corresponding passage at Brahmagiri: *bāḍham cha me pakānte*. Krishna Sastri and Senart restore *bāḍham cha sumi upagate*.

<sup>8</sup> Restore *Jambudīpasi*. Of the four next words faint traces are visible.





SCALE ONE-EIGHTH







- 5 ke[na pi]<sup>1</sup> dhama-yute[na] sake adhigatave (F) na hevaṃ dakhitaviye [uḍā]-  
 6 lake va ima adhigachh[e]yā ti (G) [khudak]e [cha uḍ]ālake cha vata-  
 7 viyā hevaṃ ve kalaṃtaṃ bha[dak]e [se a]<sup>2</sup> . . . . . t[i]k[e]<sup>3</sup> cha va[ḍhi]-  
 8 siti chā diya[ḍhi]yaṃ he[vaṃ] ti<sup>4</sup>

## TRANSLATION

(A) [A proclamation] of Dēvānāmpriya Aśoka.

(B) Two and a half years [and somewhat more] (have passed) since I am a *Buddha-Śākya*.<sup>5</sup>

(C) [A year and] somewhat more (has passed) [since] I have visited the *Samgha* and have shown zeal.

(D) Those gods who formerly had been unmingled (with men) in *Jambudvīpa*, have now become mingled (with them).

(E) This object can be reached even by a lowly (person) who is devoted to morality.<sup>6</sup>

(F) One must not think thus,—(viz.) that only an exalted (person) may reach this.

(G) Both the lowly and the exalted must be told: 'If you act thus,' this matter (will be) prosperous and of long duration, and will thus progress to one and a half'.

## VI. THE BRAHMAGIRI ROCK-INSCRIPTION

- 1 (A) सुवर्णगिरीते अयपुतस महामाताणं च वचनेन इसिलसि महामाता आरोगियं  
 वतविया हेवं च वतविया (B) देवाणंपिये आणपयति  
 2 (C) अधिकानि अढातियानि वसानि य हकं . . . . . सके (D) नो तु खो वाढं  
 प्रकंते हुसं एकं सवच्छरं (E) सातिरेके तु खो संवच्छरं  
 3 यं मया संघे उपयीते वाढं च मे पकंते (F) इमिना चु कालेन अमिसा समाना  
 मुनिसा जंबुदीपसि  
 4 मिसा देवेहि (G) पकमस हि इयं फले (H) नो हीयं सक्खे महात्पेनेव पापोतवे  
 कामं तु खो खुट्केन पि  
 5 पकमि . . . . . खेण विपुले स्वगे सक्खे आराधेतवे (I) एतायठाय इयं सावणे  
 सावापिते  
 6 . . . . . महात्पा च इमं पकमेयु ति अंता च मै जानेयु चिरठितीके  
 च इयं

<sup>1</sup> h[ī] K. S.

<sup>2</sup> [the ti] K. S.

<sup>3</sup> Restore perhaps *se aṭṭhe chira-ṭhitike*.

<sup>4</sup> *diyadhiya h[e]sati* K. S.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. above, p. 167, n. 18.

<sup>6</sup> Instead of this, the other versions of the short edicts read 'if he is zealous'. This correspondence is valuable, because it confirms indirectly the meanings which I have assigned to *pra-kram* or *parā-kram* and to *dharma-yukta*; cf. above, p. 167, n. 20, and p. 124, n. 6.

<sup>7</sup> For the nominative singular absolute *kalāntaṃ* see above, p. 35, n. 9. Its subject, *ve* (= Skt. *vaḥ*), is originally an oblique case of the plural.



- 7 पक . . . . . (J) इयं च अठे वढिसिति विपुलं पि च वढिसिति अवरधिया  
दियदियं  
8 वढिसिति (K) इयं च सावणे सावापिते व्यूथेन (L) २०० ५० ६ (M) से हेवं  
देवाणंपिये  
9 आह (N) मातापितिसु सुसूतितविये हेमेव गरुसु प्राणेषु द्रव्यितथं सचं  
10 वतवियं से इमे धंसगुणा पवतितविया (O) हेमेव अंतेवासिना  
11 आचरिये अपचायितविये जातिकेसु च कं य . . रहं पवतितविये  
12 (P) एसा पोरणा पक्किती दीघावुसे च एस (Q) हेवं एस कटिविये  
13 (R) चपडेन लिखिते लिपिकरेण

- 1 (A) [S]uv[a]m̐nagiri<sup>1</sup> ayaputasa mahāmātāṇaṁ cha vachan[e]na Isilasi  
mahāmātā ārogiyaṁ vataviyā hevaṁ cha vataviyā (B) Devāṇaṁpiye  
ānapayati  
2 (C) adhikāni adhātīyāni v[a]sāni ya hakaṁ . . . . sa[ke]<sup>2</sup> (D) no tu kho  
bāḍhaṁ prakānte<sup>3</sup> husaṁ . ekaṁ savachharaṁ (E) sātireke tu kho  
saṁvachhareṁ<sup>4</sup>  
3 yaṁ mayā saṁghe upayīte bāḍhaṁ cha me pakānte (F) iminā chu kālena amisā  
samānā munisā Jambudīpasi  
4 mi[s]ā devehi (G) pakamasa hi iyaṁ phale (H) no hīyaṁ sakyē mahātpeneva  
pāpotave kāmāṁ tu kho khudakena pi  
5 paka[m]i . . . . .<sup>5</sup> nēṇa<sup>6</sup> vipule svage sakyē ārādhetaṇṇa (I) e[t]āyathāya iyaṁ sāvaṇe  
sāvāpīte  
6 . . . . .<sup>7</sup> mahāt[p]ā cha imaṁ pakame[ya t]i aṁtā cha mai<sup>8</sup> jāneyu chira-  
tthitike cha iyaṁ  
7 [paka] . . . . .<sup>9</sup> (J) iyaṁ cha aṭṭhe vadhisiti vipulaṁ pi cha vadhisiti avaradhiyā  
diyaḍhiyaṁ  
8 [vaḍh]isiti (K) iyaṁ cha sāvaṇ[e] sāv[ā]p[i]te vyūthēna (L) 200 50 6 (M) se hevaṁ  
Devāṇaṁpiye  
9 āha (N) mātā-pitisu susūs[i]taviye hemeva garu[su]<sup>10</sup> prāṇesu drahayitavyaṁ  
sachāṁ  
10 vataviyaṁ se ime dhamma-guṇā pavatitaviyā (O) hemeva aṁtevāsina  
11 āchariye apachāyitaviye nātikesu cha [ka]m̐<sup>11</sup> ya . . . . .<sup>11</sup> pavatitaviye

<sup>1</sup> This word looks almost like *Suvenṇa*<sup>o</sup>, but the Śiddāpura version reads *Suvanṇa*<sup>o</sup> distinctly.

<sup>2</sup> Restore *upāsake*, as at Śiddāpura.

<sup>3</sup> Read *saṁvachhare*; *sa[m̐]vachhar[a]m̐* Bühler.

<sup>4</sup> *pakānte* Bühler.

<sup>5</sup> *paka[mami]nēṇa* Bühler; read *pakamamīnēṇa* and cf. the Sahasrām edict, l. 3 f.

<sup>6</sup> The Śiddāpura version reads *yathā khu[ḍakā cha]*.

<sup>7</sup> Read *me*.

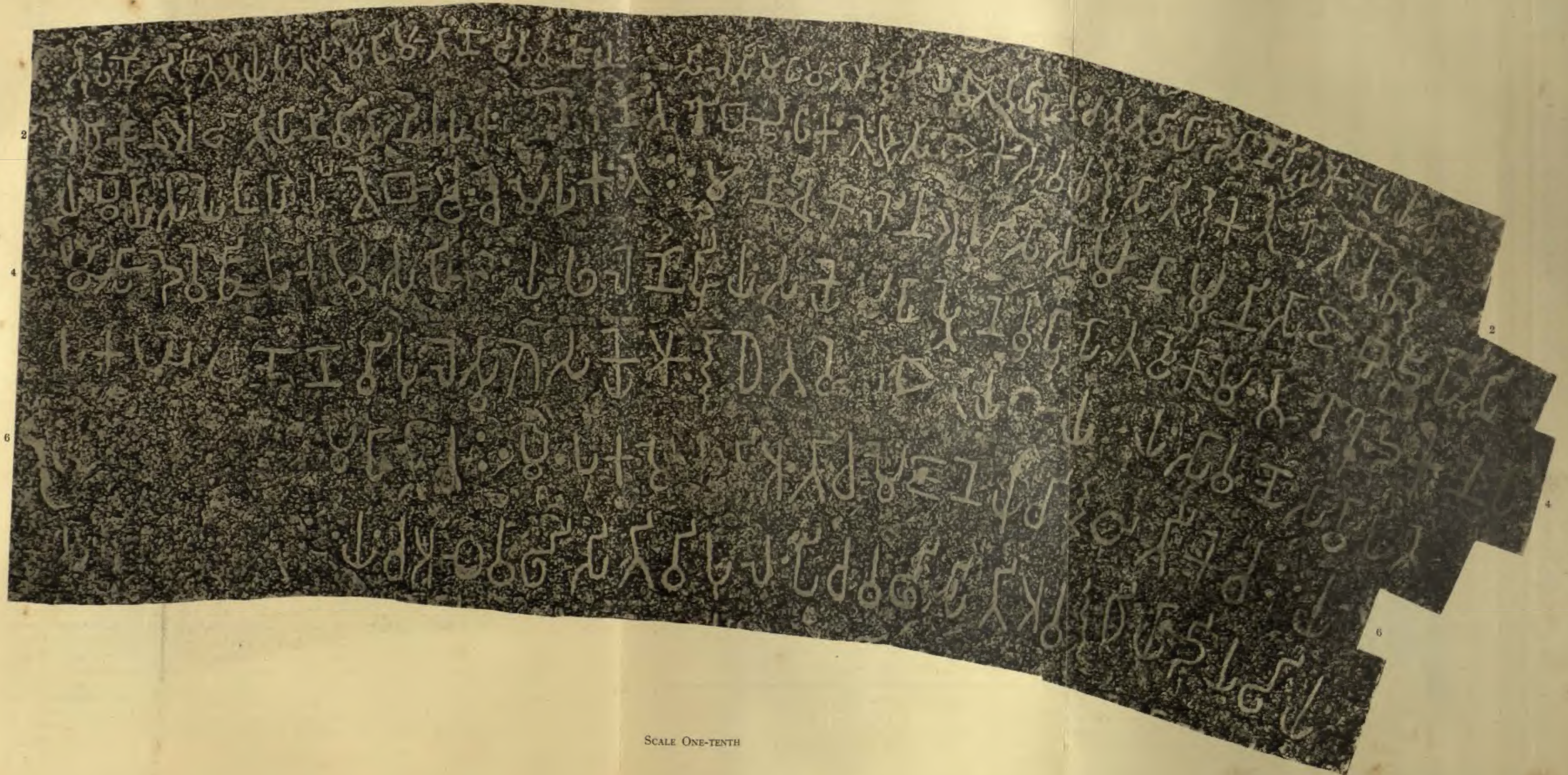
<sup>8</sup> The Śiddāpura version reads *pakame hoti* (*hotu* at Sahasrām).

<sup>9</sup> *garu[sam̐]* Bühler.

<sup>10</sup> *k[u?]* Bühler; see above, p. 31, n. 6.

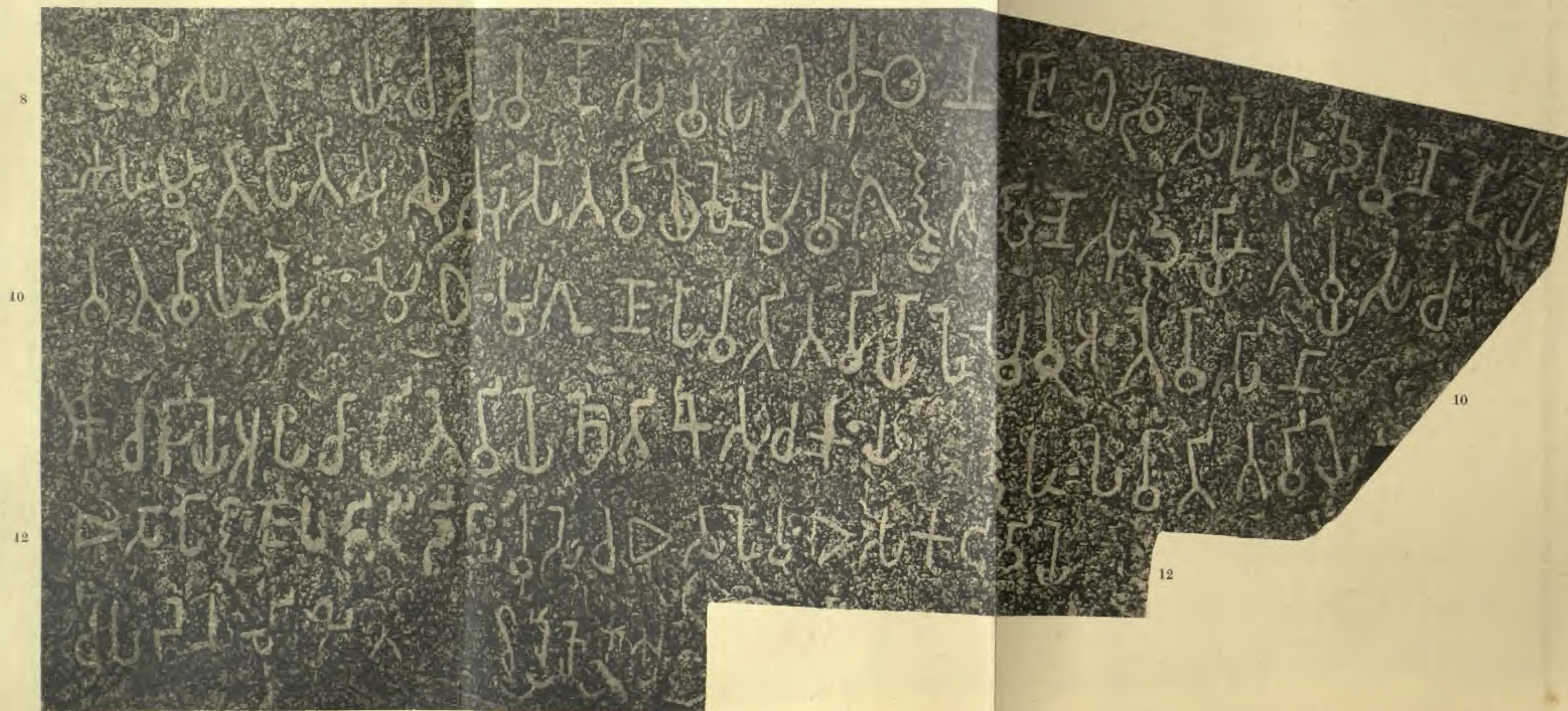
<sup>11</sup> Restore *yathārahāṁ* and cf. the Śiddāpura version, l. 20, and the Jaṭiṅga-Rāmēśvara version, l. 18.





SCALE ONE-TENTH







- 12 (P) esā porā[n]ā pa[k]iti d[igh]āvuse<sup>1</sup> cha esa (Q) hevaṃ esa kaṭiviye<sup>2</sup>  
 13 (R) Chapaḍena likhite<sup>3</sup> li[pi]kareṇa<sup>4</sup>

## TRANSLATION

(A) From Suvarṇagiri,<sup>5</sup> at the word of the prince (*āryaputra*)<sup>6</sup> and of the *Mahāmātras*, the *Mahāmātras* at Isila must be wished good health<sup>7</sup> and be told this:

(B) Dēvānāmpriya commands (as follows).

(C) More than two and a half years (have passed) since I (am)<sup>8</sup> a lay-worshipper (*upāsaka*).

(D) But indeed I had not been very zealous for one year.<sup>9</sup>

(E) But indeed a year and somewhat more (has passed) since I have visited the *Samgha* and have been very zealous.

(F) But men in Jambudvīpa, being during that time unmingled, (are now) mingled with the gods.<sup>10</sup>

(G) For this is the fruit of zeal.

(H) For this cannot be reached by (a person) of high rank alone, but indeed even a lowly (person) can at liberty attain the great heaven if he is zealous.

(I) For the following purpose has this proclamation been issued,<sup>11</sup> [that both the lowly] and those of high rank may be zealous in this manner,<sup>12</sup> and (that even) my borderers may know (it), and (that) this zeal may be of long duration. X

(J) And this matter will (be made by me to) progress, and will (be made to) progress even considerably; it will (be made to) progress to at least one and a half.

(K) And this proclamation was issued by (me) on tour.

<sup>1</sup> d[igh]āvuse Bühler.

<sup>2</sup> Read kaṭaviye.

<sup>3</sup> li[kh]it[am] Bühler.

<sup>4</sup> This word is written in Kharōṣṭhī characters.

<sup>5</sup> This place seems to have been the capital of the province administered by the *Āryaputra* and his *Mahāmātras*. Bühler (EI, 3, 137) compared the second separate edict at Dhauli, according to which a *Kumāra* and his *Mahāmātras* resided at Tōsalī. The separate edicts of Dhauli and Jaugada were addressed by the king to the local authorities themselves, while in the Mysore edicts the king commands the authorities of the Suvarṇagiri province to communicate his orders to their subordinates at Isila. In Fleet's opinion the Mysore edicts were issued from Suvarṇagiri by Aśoka himself; and he identified this place with one of the hills, still known as Sōnagiri, near Rājagriha in Bihār; see JRAS, 1909, 998. H. Krishna Sastri connects Suvarṇagiri, i.e. 'the gold mountain', with the country around Maski, which abounds in ancient gold-workings; see his remarks on the Maski edict, p. 1. Perhaps it may be identified with its synonym Kanakagiri, south of Maski and north of the ruins of Vijayanagara; see Constable's *Hand-Atlas of India*, plate 34, C, b.

<sup>6</sup> Bühler (VOJ, 12, 75 f.) traced the word *āryaputta*, 'a prince', in the *Ātaka*, vol. VI, p. 146 f.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. the preamble of the Calcutta-Bairāt rock-inscription.

<sup>8</sup> The word *sumi* is added in the Rūpnāth, Sahasrām, and Maski edicts.

<sup>9</sup> The words 'for one year' are missing at Rūpnāth and Sahasrām. As Senart (JA (8), 19, 481 f.) has shown, they are of great importance for the chronology of the Aśoka inscriptions, because they imply that the period of 'more than two and a half years', for which, at the time of the Sahasrām, Bairāt, and Śiddhāpura edicts, Aśoka had been an *upāsaka* (or Śākya, as the Rūpnāth and Maski edicts read), must be subdivided into two shorter periods, viz. (1) one year (with, no doubt, a little more) during which he had not been very zealous, and (2) a year with the balance of the whole period, during which he displayed great zeal, and which commenced from his visit to the *Samgha*. Cf. chapter IV of the Introduction.

<sup>10</sup> For the meaning of this section see above, p. 168, n. 3.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. the Delhi-Tōprā pillar-edict VII, K and M, and above, p. 168, n. 6.

<sup>12</sup> With *imam* supply *pakaman*; cf. *vaḍhi[ni\*]* *vaḍhisiti* in the Rūpnāth edict, section I, and above, p. 168, n. 9.



(L) 256 (nights had then been spent on tour).<sup>1</sup>

(M) Moreover, *Dēvānāmpriya* speaks thus.<sup>2</sup>

(N) Obedience must be rendered to mother and father, likewise to elders; firmness (of compassion) must be shown towards animals; the truth must be spoken: these same moral virtues must be practised.

(O) In the same way the pupil must show reverence to the master, and one must behave in a suitable manner towards relatives.

(P) This is an ancient rule, and this conduces to long life.

(Q) Thus one must act.<sup>3</sup>

(R) Written by *Chapada* the writer.

## VII. THE SIDDAPURA ROCK-INSCRIPTION

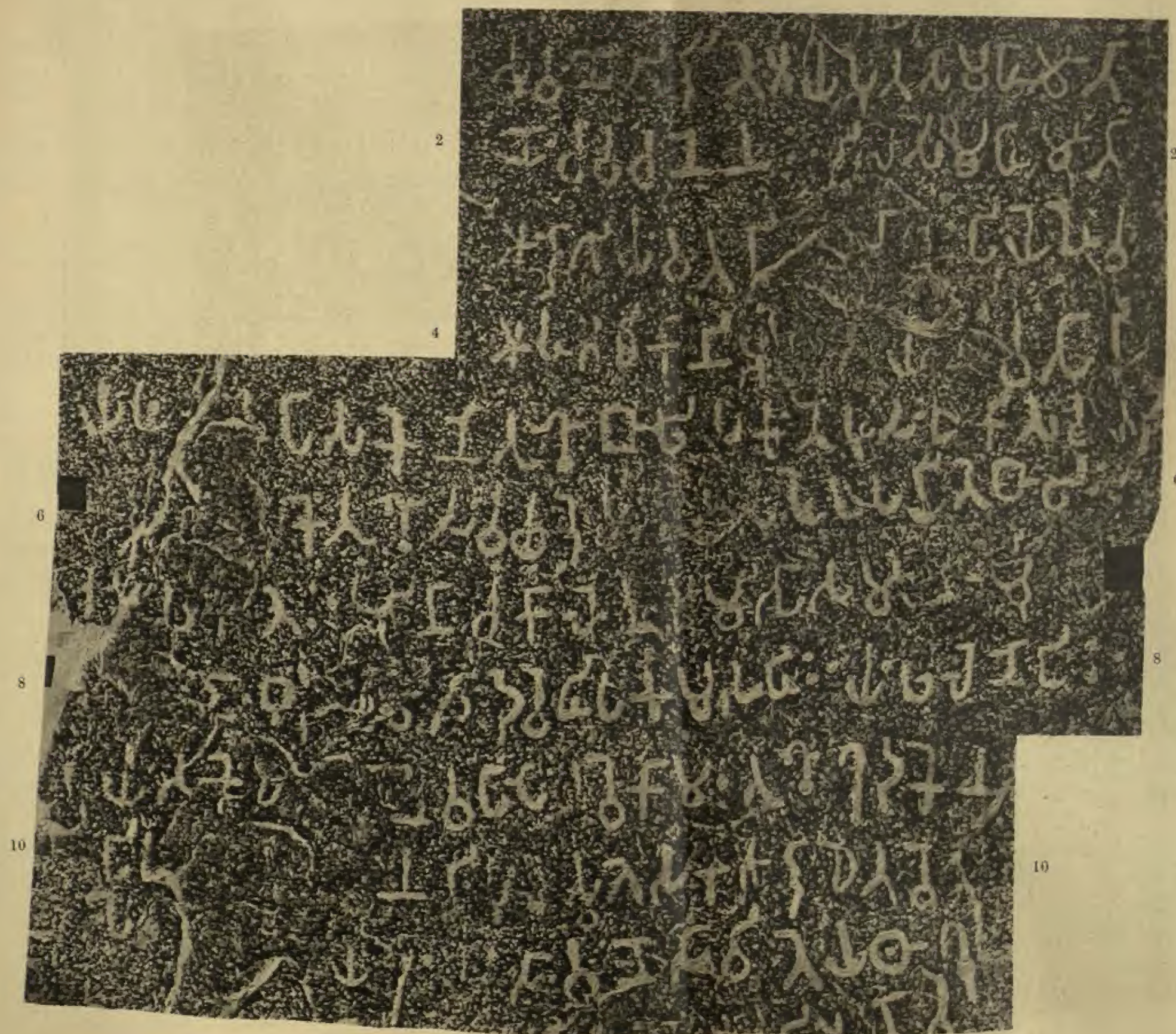
- 1 (A) सुवर्णगिरीते अयपुतस महामाता-
- 2 णं च वचनेन इसिलसि महामाता
- 3 आरोगियं वतविया (B) देवानंपिये हेवं
- 4 आह (C) अधिकानि अढातियानि वसानि
- 5 य हकं उपासके (D) नो तु खो वाढ पकंते हुसं एकं सवछ . .
- 6 (E) सातिरेके तु खो संवछरे यं मया संघे उपयीते बाढं
- 7 च मे पकंते (F) इमिना चु कालेन अमिसा समाना सु
- 8 . . . . . जंबुद . . . . . मिसा देवेहि (G) पकमस हि इयं फले H) नो हि इ-
- 9 य सके म . . . . . नेव पापोतवे कामं तु खो खुदकेन
- 10 पि प . . . . . न विपुले स्वगे सके आराधेतवे
- 11 (I) से . . . . . य इयं सावणे साविते यथा खु-
- 12 दका च महात्पा च इमं पकमेयु ति अता च
- 13 . . . . . चिरटितीके च इयं पकमे होति
- 14 (J) . . . . . वढिसिति विपुलं पि च वढिसिति अ
- 15 . . . . . यढियं वढिसिति (K) इयं च सावणे
- 16 . . . . . (L) २०० ५० ६ (M) मा . . . . . सितविये
- 17 . . . . . ह्यितथं शचं वत . . यं इमे धंमगु
- 18 . . . . . (N) हेमेव अं . . . . . आचरिये अपचायितविये सु
- 19 . . . . . (O) एसा पोराणा . . किती दीघावुसे च (P) हेमेव . .
- 20 तेविसिने च
- 21 आचरिये . . . . . थारहं पवतितव . . . . . म . .
- 22 . . . . . स तथा कटविये (R) चप . . . . .
- 23 . . . . . ण

<sup>1</sup> Cf. section J of the *Sahasrām* edict.

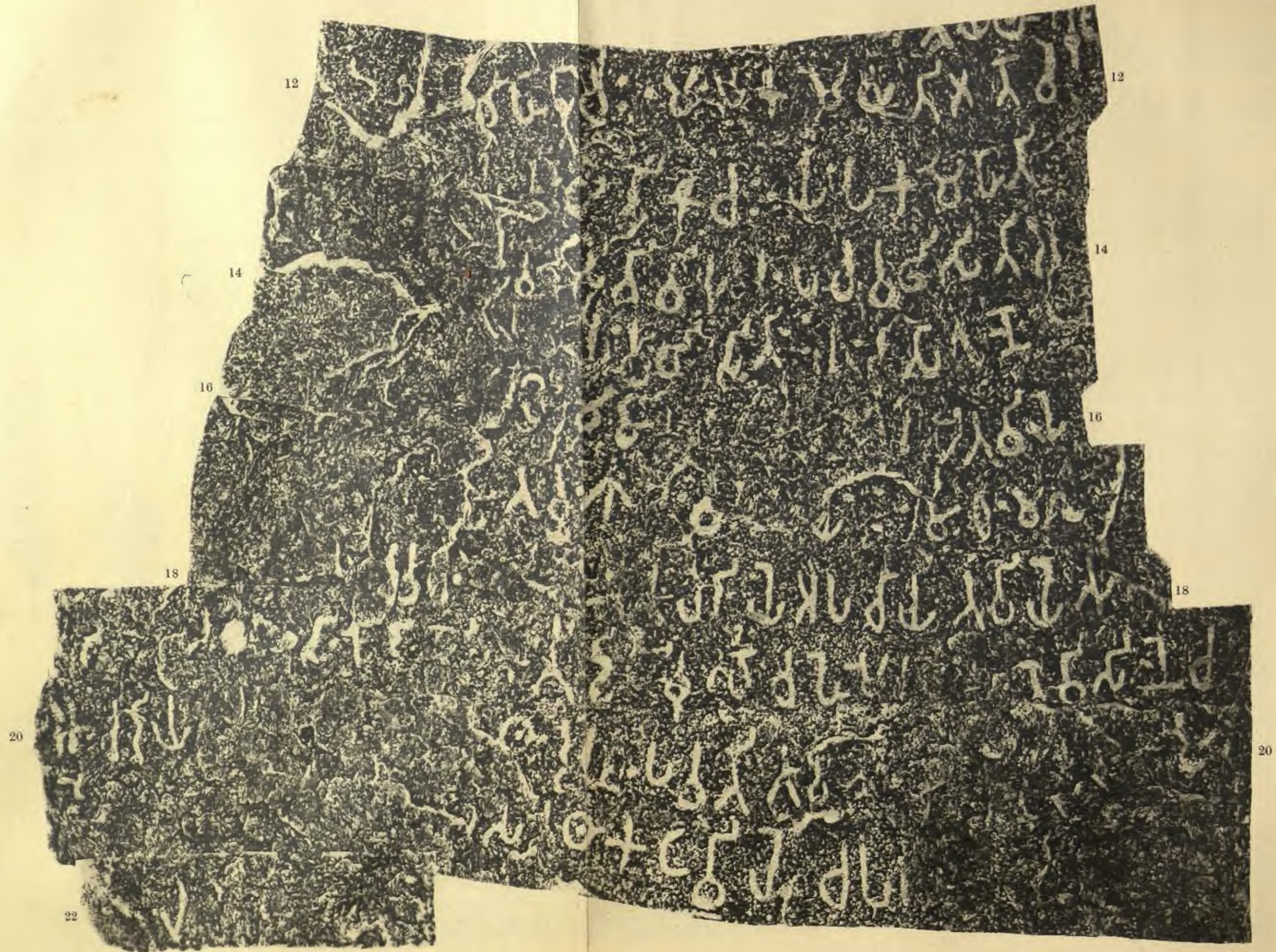
<sup>2</sup> This section is omitted in the *Siddāpura* and *Jaṭiṅga-Rāmēśvara* versions.

<sup>3</sup> At the beginning of this section, the *Jaṭiṅga-Rāmēśvara* version inserts: 'This is the morality of *Dēvānāmpriya*'.











- 1 (A) Suvam̐nagirīte ayaputasa mahāmātā-  
 2 nam̐ cha vachanena I[s]ilasi mahāmātā  
 3 ārogiyam̐ vata[v]i[yā] (B) [Dev]ā[na]m̐piye hevam̐  
 4 āha (C) adhikāni a[dhā]t[i]y[āni] vasāni  
 5 ya ha[kam̐ u]pāsake (D) no tu kho bādha pakam̐te husam̐ ek[am̐] sa[vachha] . . .<sup>1</sup>  
 6 (E) [sātire]ke tu kho sam̐vachhare [yam̐ mayā sam̐]ghe upayīte bādham̐  
 7 [cha me] p[akam̐]te (F) i[m]inā chu kālena [a]misā samā[nā] mu  
 8 . . . . Jambud . . . . [mi]sā devehi (G) pakamasa hi iyam̐ phale (H) no [h]i i-<sup>2</sup>  
 9 ya sake [ma] . . . . [ne]va pāpo[ta]ve kāmam̐ tu kho khudakena  
 10 pi [pa] . . . . . na [v]ipul[e] svage sak[e] ārādhētave  
 11 (I) [s]e . . . . . ya [iya]m̐ sāvaṇe sāvite yathā khu-  
 12 [dakā cha ma]hātpā cha imam̐ [pa]kameyu ti atā<sup>3</sup> cha  
 13 . . . . . [chira]-thi[t]ik[e]<sup>4</sup> cha iyam̐ pakame hoti<sup>5</sup>  
 14 (J) . . . . . va[dh]isiti vipu[la]m̐ p[i] cha vadhisiti [a]  
 15 . . . . . [yadhiya]m̐ vadhisiti (K) i[ya]m̐ [cha] sā[va]ṇe  
 16 . . . . . (L) [200] 50 6 (M) [mā] . . . . . [si]taviye  
 17 . . . . . [hyi]tavyam̐ śa[cha]m̐ va[ta] . . [ya]m̐ im[e] dham̐ma-gu  
 18 . . . . . (N) [heme]va [a]m̐ . . . . . [ācha]riye apachāyitaviye su  
 19 . . . . . (O) [es]ā [p]o[r]ā[nā] . . [ki]tī dī[ghā]vu[se] cha (P) heme[va]  
 . . . m̐[t]evisine<sup>6</sup> cha  
 20 āchariy[e] . . . . . thāraham̐ pavatitav . . . . . m . . .  
 21 . . . . . sa<sup>7</sup> [ta]thā kaṭaviye (R) Chapa . . . . .  
 22 . . . . . [ṇa]<sup>8</sup>

## VIII. THE JATINGA-RAMESVARA ROCK-INSCRIPTION

- 1 (A) . . . . . तान च व . . . . .  
 2 इसि . . . . . विया (B) देवान . . . . .  
 3 . . . . . य हकं . . . . .  
 4 खो वाढ . . . . . (E) . . तिरेके . . . . .  
 5 यं . . . . . या . . . . .  
 6 ए . . . . .  
 7 हि इयं . . . . .  
 8 . . . . .  
 9 . . . . .  
 10 . . . . . च . . . . . दिस . . .  
 11 . . पुलं पि . . . . . यदियं . . . . .

<sup>1</sup> sam̐va . . . . Bühler.<sup>4</sup> -thitike Bühler.<sup>6</sup> . . [te]vāsine Bühler. Read am̐tevāsine.<sup>8</sup> This syllable is in the Kharōshthī alphabet.<sup>2</sup> Bühler omitted i-.<sup>5</sup> hot[ti] Bühler.<sup>7</sup> esa Bühler.<sup>3</sup> am̐tā Bühler.



- 12 (K) इ . . . . . सावणे . . . . . येन (L) २०० ५० ६ (M) हेमेव  
 13 मातापितुसु . . . . . सितविये हेमेव . . . . . न तेसु  
 14 . . . . . हितथं सचं वतवियं से इमे . . . . .  
 15 हेवं पवतितविया (N) स्वञ्चं न ते सतवस . . . . .  
 16 तविय हेमेव आचरिये अंतेवासिना . . . . .  
 17 . . . . . राणा पकिती . . . . . सितविया . . . . . विये  
 18 . . . . . चरिये अ . . . . . आचरियं जातिका ते . . . . . यथारहं पव-  
 19 तितविये (O) एसा पोराणा पकिती दीघा . . . . . च (P) हेमेव श . . . . .  
 20 च य . . . . . वतितविये (Q) हेवं धंमे देवाणंपिय . . . . .  
 21 . . . . . वं कटविये (R) . . . . . डेन लिखितं  
 22 . . . . . पिकरेण

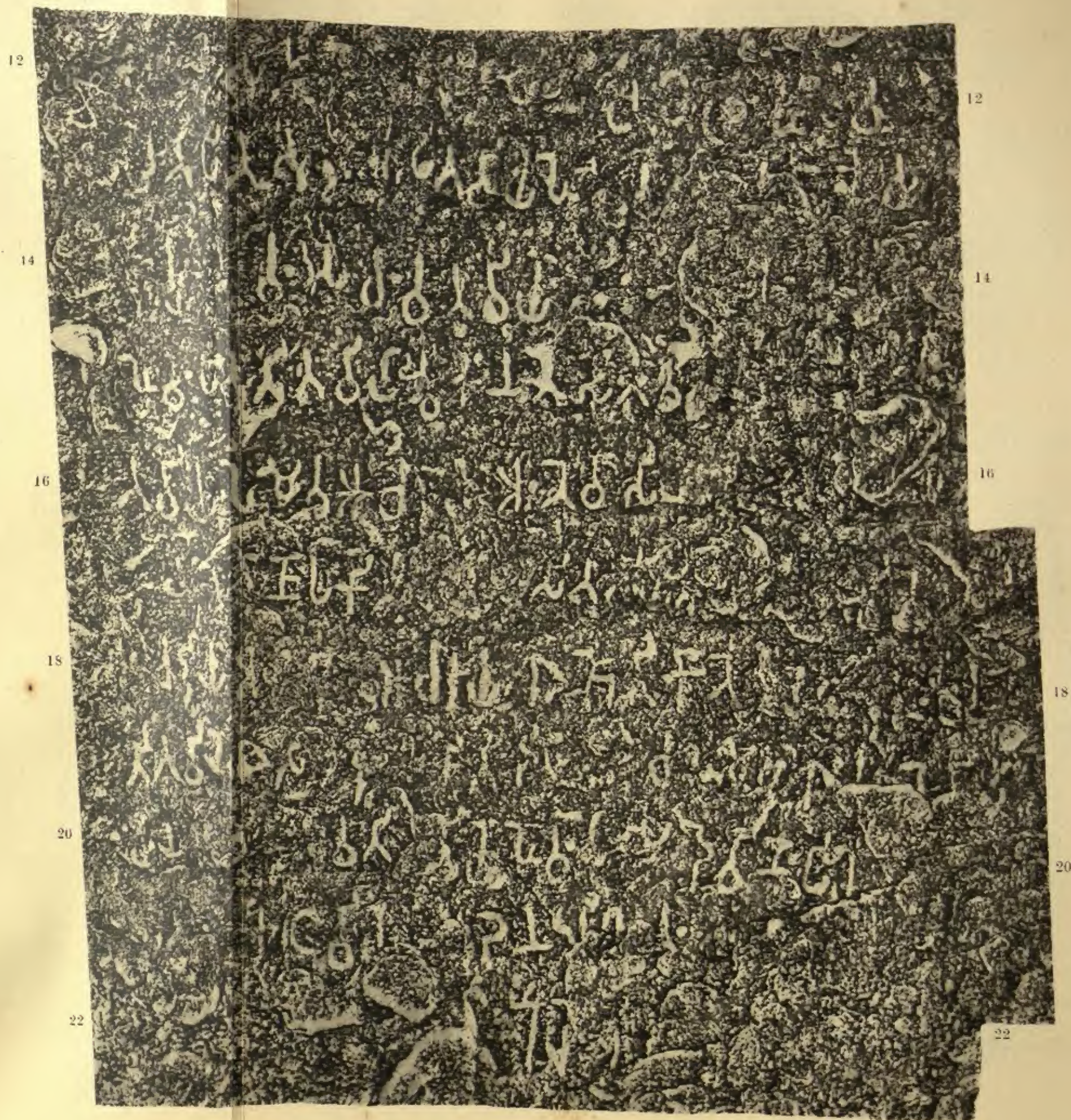
- 1 (A) . . . . . [t]āna [cha va] . . . . .  
 2 Isi . . . . . [vi]yā (B) Dev[ā]n[a] . . . . .  
 3 . . . . . ya hakaṁ . . . . .  
 4 kho bādha . . . . . (E) . . . . . ti[reke] . . . . .  
 5 [ya]m . . . . . [yā] . . . . .  
 6 [ṇa] . . . . .  
 7 [h]i i[ya]m . . . . .  
 8 . . . . .  
 9 . . . . .  
 10 . . . . . [cha] . . . . . [dhi]s . . . . .  
 11 . . . . . [p]ulaṁ pi . . . . . [ya]dhiyaṁ . . . . .  
 12 (K) i . . . . . s[āvaṇe] . . . . . [th]e[na] (L) 200 50 6 (M) [heme]va  
 13 [mā]t[ā]-pitu . . . . . [s]itav[i]y[e] he[m]e[va] . . . . . [na] . . . . . es[u]  
 14 . . . . . hy[ita]v[y]aṁ sachaṁ vataviyaṁ [se] <sup>1</sup> i[me] . . . . .  
 15 hevaṁ pa[va]titaviyā (N) [svaa]m na te s . t . va[s] . . . . .  
 16 taviya <sup>2</sup> hemeva āchari[ye] aṁtevaśin[ā] . . . . .  
 17 . . . . . [r]āṇā paki[ti] . . . . . sita[v]iy[ā] . . . . . [v]i[y]e <sup>3</sup>  
 18 . . . . . chariy[e] a <sup>4</sup> . . . . . [ā]char[i]yaśa nātikā te . . . . . ya[thāraha]m [pava]-  
 19 titaviye (O) eśā [po]rā[ṇā pa]kiti <sup>5</sup> d[īgh]ā . . . . . cha (P) [he]me[va] śa . . . . . e . . . . . ā . . . . .  
 20 [cha] ya . . . . . vati[tav]iye (Q) hevaṁ [dhamm]e <sup>6</sup> Devāṇaṁpiy . . . . .  
 21 . . . . . [va]m kaṭaviye (R) . . . . . ḍeṇa [likhita]m  
 22 . . . . . [pika]reṇa <sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> e Bühler.<sup>2</sup> I am unable to make out the meaning of the opening words of this section.<sup>3</sup> s[ā]v[e] Bühler.<sup>4</sup> aṁ Bühler.<sup>5</sup> [pak]iti Bühler.<sup>6</sup> hevaṁ [m]e Bühler.<sup>7</sup> p[ā]ṇ[e] Bühler. Restore °piyasa.<sup>8</sup> This word is written in Kharoṣṭhī characters.











## IX. THE BARABAR HILL CAVE-INSRIPTIONS

## FIRST CAVE-INSRIPTION: BARABAR HILL

1 लाजिना पियदसिना दुवादसवसाभिसितेना

2 इयं निगोहकुभा दिना आजीविकेहि

1 lājinā Piyadasinā duvādasa-[vasābhisitenā]<sup>1</sup>2 [iyam Nigoha]-kubhā<sup>2</sup> di[nā ājivikehi]<sup>1</sup>

## TRANSLATION

✓ By king Priyadarśin, (when he had been) anointed twelve years, this Banyan-cave<sup>3</sup> was given to the Ājīvikas.<sup>4</sup>

## SECOND CAVE-INSRIPTION: BARABAR HILL

1 लाजिना पियदसिना दुवा-

2 डसवसाभिसितेना इयं

3 कुभा खलतिकपवतसि

4 दिना आजीविकेहि

1 lājinā Piyadasinā duvā-

2 ḍasa-vasābhisitenā iyam

3 kubhā Khalatika-pavatasi

4 dinā [ājivi]kehi<sup>4</sup>

## TRANSLATION

✓ By king Priyadarśin, (when he had been) anointed twelve years, this cave in the Khalatika mountain was given to the Ājīvikas.

<sup>1</sup> The bracketed letters are more or less injured. Evidently an attempt has been made to efface them.

<sup>2</sup> This seems to have been the name of the cave. Cf. the other names of caves at the beginning of the three cave-inscriptions of Daśaratha (IA, 20. 364 f.).

<sup>3</sup> The Ājīvika sect was founded by Gōśāla, a contemporary of both Gautama and Mahāvīra. Kern, with whom Bühler sided, considered the Ājīvikas to have been a Vaishṇava sect; see IA, 20. 361 f. This view was combated by D. R. Bhandarkar, JBBRAS, 21. 399 ff., and IA, 41. 90, 286 ff. Cf. Neumann's translation of the *Dīgha-nikāya*, 2. 248, n. 139, and Charpentier in JRAS, 1913. 669 ff. For full information see the late Dr. Hoernle's learned article 'Ājīvikas' in Hastings' *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*.

<sup>4</sup> The bracketed letters are effaced; cf. above, n. 1. In the first of the three Nāgārjūnī Hill cave-inscriptions of Daśaratha also an attempt has been made to chisel away the word *ājivikehi*; see the plate in IA, 20. 365, D.



## THIRD CAVE-INSCRIPTION: BARABAR HILL

- 1 लाज पियदसी एकुनवी-
- 2 सतिवसाभिसिते जलघो-
- 3 सागमथात मे इयं कुभा
- 4 सुपिये ख ..... दि-
- 5 ना

- 1 lāja Piyadasī ekunavi-
- 2 sati-vasā[bh]isi[t]e ja[lagh]o-
- 3 [sāgama]thāta [me] i[yañ kubhā]
- 4 su[p]i[y]e Kha .....<sup>1</sup> [di]-
- 5 nā<sup>2</sup>

## TRANSLATION

When king Priyadarśin had been anointed nineteen years, this cave in the very pleasant Kha[latika mountain] was given by me<sup>3</sup> for (shelter during) the rainy season.<sup>4</sup>

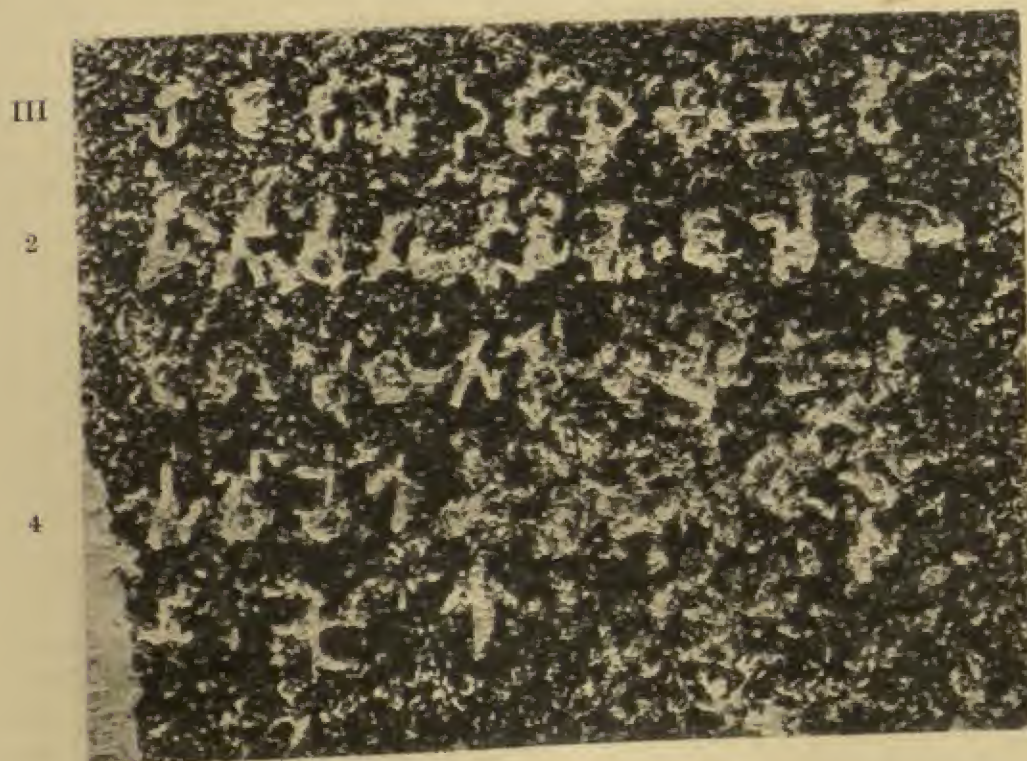
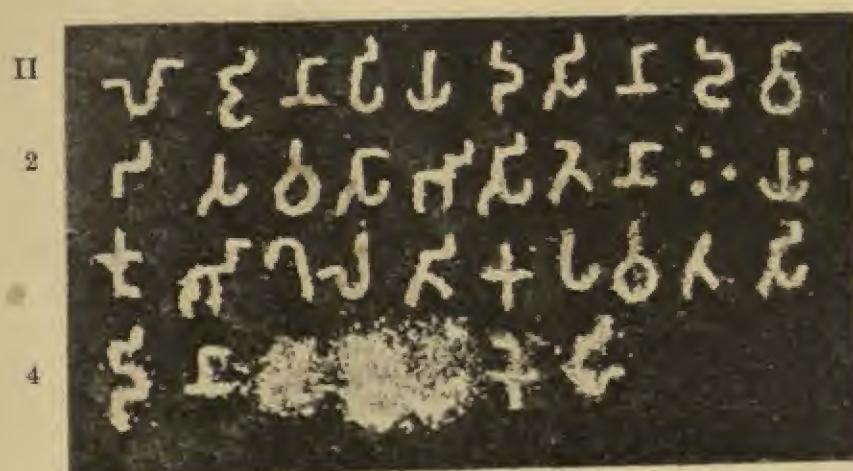
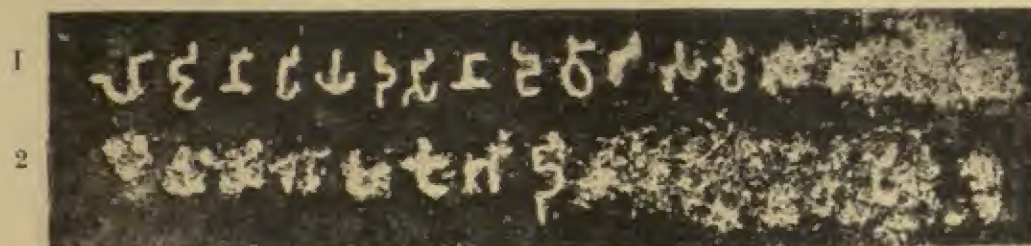
<sup>1</sup> Restore *Khalatika-pavatasi* in accordance with the second inscription on p. 181, above.

<sup>2</sup> The end of the inscription is marked by a *svastika* and a dagger, and by a fish below them.

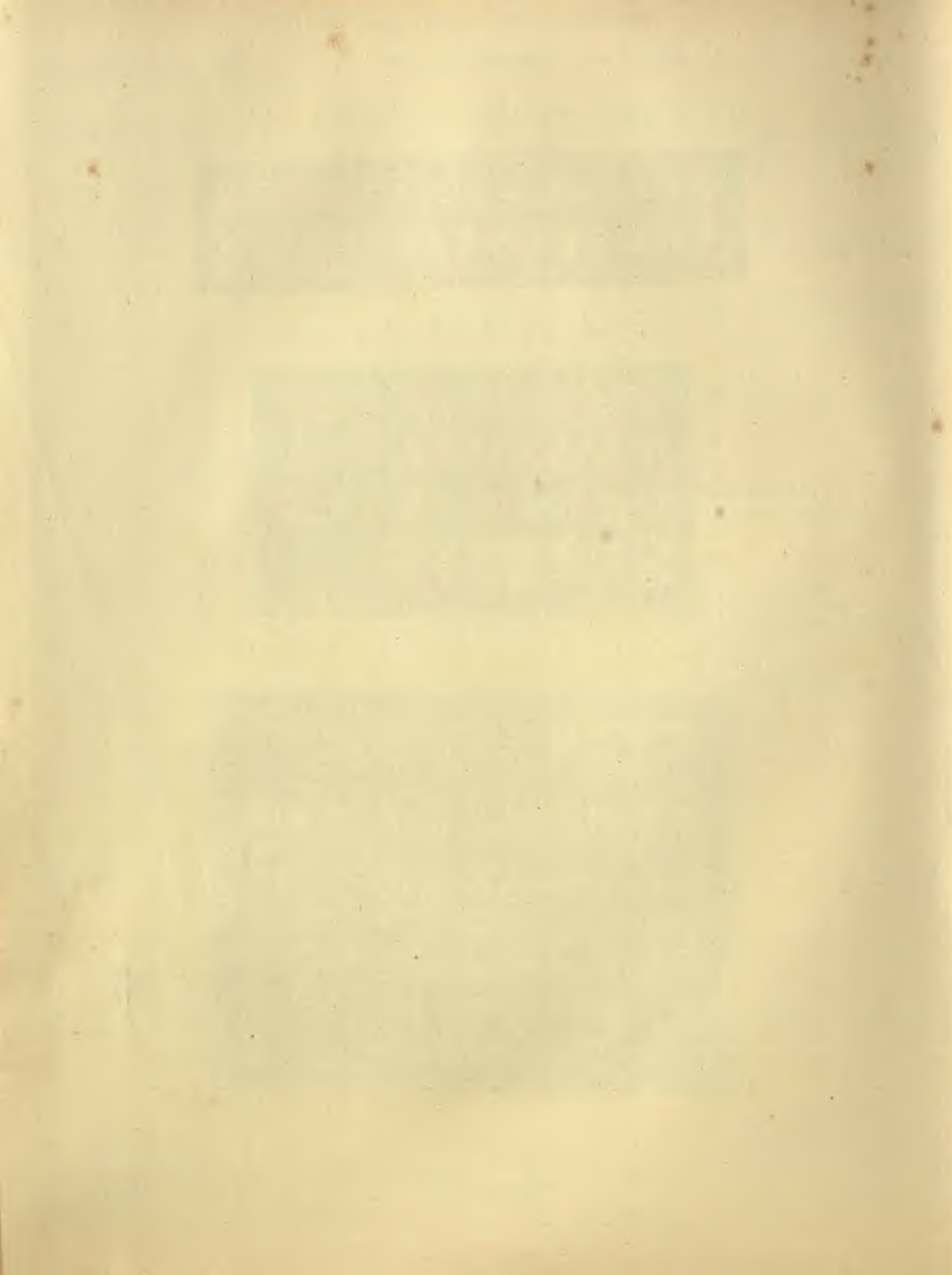
<sup>3</sup> This pronoun may refer to an unnamed donor or, with a clumsy change in the construction, to the king himself. In either case the words *lāja* to °*site* are nominatives absolute.

<sup>4</sup> Literally: 'for the sake (*athāta* = Skt. *arthataḥ* in the sense of *arthāya*?) of the approach of the roar of waters'. Cf. *vāsha-nishidiyāye*, 'for a dwelling during the rainy season', in the three cave-inscriptions of Daśaratha (IA, 20. 364 f., and EI, 2. 274).











# APPENDIX: SYNOPTICAL TEXTS

## I. THE FOURTEEN ROCK-EDICTS

### FIRST ROCK-EDICT

<i>Gir.</i>	(A)	iy[am]	dhamma-lipī				Devānampriyena
<i>Kāl.</i>	(A)	iyam	dhamma-lipī				Devānampiyenā
<i>Shāh.</i>	(A)	[aya]	dhrama-dipi				Devanapriasa
<i>Mān.</i>	(A)	ayi	dhra[ma]-dip[i]				Devanam[priye]na
<i>Dhau.</i>	(A)	.	.	[si	pava]tasi	[D]e[v]ā[na]mp[iy]	...
<i>Ṭau.</i>	(A)	iyam	dhamma-lipī	Khepi[m]	galasi	pavatasi	Devānampiyena

<i>Gir.</i>	Priyadasinā	rānā	lekh[ā]pitā	(B)	[i]dha	na	kimchi	jīvam	ārabhitpā
<i>Kāl.</i>	Piyadas[i]nā		[lekhit]ā	(B)	[h]idā	no	kichhi	jīve	ālabhitu
<i>Shāh.</i>		raño	likhapitu	(B)	hida	no	kich[i]	jīve	ara[bhitu]
<i>Mān.</i>	Priya[dra]sina	rajina	li[khapita]	(B)	hi[da]	no	kichhi	ji[ve]	ara[bhitu]
<i>Dhau.</i>	.....	[nā	lājinā	l]i[khā]	.	.	.	[i]vam	ālabhitu
<i>Ṭau.</i>	Piyadasinā	lājinā	likhāpitā	(B)	hida	no	kichhi	jīvam	ālabhi[t]u

<i>Gir.</i>	prajūhitavyam	(C)	na	cha	samājo	katavyo	(D)	bahukam	hi	dosam
<i>Kāl.</i>	pajohitaviye	(C)	no	pi	ch[ā]	samāje	kaṭaviye	(D)	bahuk[ā]	hi dosā
<i>Shāh.</i>	[p]rayuhotave	(C)	no	pi	ch[a]	sama[ja]	kaṭava	(D)	ba[hu]ka	[hi] dosha
<i>Mān.</i>	prajohi]taviye	(C)	no	pi	[cha]	samaj[e]	kaṭaviye	(D)	bahu[ka]	hi [dosha]
<i>Dhau.</i>	pajo[h].....	(C)	[no	pi	cha	sam]ā[je]	.	.	.	.
<i>Ṭau.</i>	pajohitaviye	(C)	no	pi	cha	samāje	kaṭaviye	(D)	bahukam	hi dosam

<i>Gir.</i>	samājamhi	pasati	Devānampriyo	Priyadasi	rājā		(E) asti
<i>Kāl.</i>	samājasā		Devān[am]piye	Pi[ya]dasī	lājā	dakhati	(E) athi
<i>Shāh.</i>	sa[maya]spi		Devanapriy[e]	Priadraśi	ray[a	da]khati	(E) [a]sti
<i>Mān.</i>	[samajasa		Devanampriye]	Priyadraśi	raja	[da]kha[ti]	(E) asti
<i>Dhau.</i>	[samā]ja	[d]					(E) . . . .
<i>Ṭau.</i>	samājasa	drakhati	Devānampiye	Piyadasi	lājā		(E) athi

<i>Gir.</i>	pi	tu	ekachā	samājā	sādhu-matā	Devānampriyasa
<i>Kāl.</i>	pi	ch[ā]	e]katiyā	samājā	sādh[u]-matā	Devānampiyasā
<i>Shāh.</i>	pi	chu	ekatia	samaye	sasu-mate	Devanapiasa
<i>Mān.</i>	[pi	chu	eka]tiya	samaja	sa[dhu]-mata	Devanapriyasa
<i>Dhau.</i>	[pi	chu]	.... [t]i[y]ā	[sam]ā[jā]	s[ā]dhu-matā	Dev .....
<i>Ṭau.</i>	pi	chu	ekatiyā	samājā	sādhu-matā	Devānampiyasa



<i>Gir.</i>	Priyadasino	rāño	(F) purā	mahānas[amhi]	Devānāmpriyasa
<i>Kāl.</i>	Piyadasis[ā]	lājine	(F) [p]ule	mahānasasi	Devānāmpiyasā
<i>Shāh.</i>	Priadraśisa	raño	(F) pura	mahana[sas]i	[Devana]pr[i]asa
<i>Mān.</i>	Priyadraśi[sa]	rajine	(F) pura	maha[nasa]si	[Devana]pri[ya]sa
<i>Dhau.</i>	[Piyadasine	lāj[ine]	(F) . . . . .	[mah] . . . . .	. . . . .
<i>Ṭau.</i>	Piyadrasine	lājine	(F) puluvaṁ	mahā[nasa]si	Devānāmpiyasa

<i>Gir.</i>	Priy[a]dasino	rāño	anudivasam	bahūni	prāṇa-sata-sahasrāni
<i>Kāl.</i>	Piyadasisā	lājine	anudivasam	bahuni	pāta-sahasāni
<i>Shāh.</i>	Priadraśisa	raño	anudivaso	bahuni	pra[ṇa]-śata-sahasani
<i>Mān.</i>	Pri[yadra]śisa	rajine	anudiva[sa]	ba]huni	praṇa-śa[ta]-sahas[r]ani
<i>Dhau.</i>	Piy[a]	. . . . .	. . . . .	[n]i	[p]āna-[sa]ta . . . . .
<i>Ṭau.</i>	Piyadasine	lājine	anudivasam	bah[ū]ni	pāna-sata-sah[a]sāni

<i>Gir.</i>	ārabhisu	sūpāthāya	(G) se	aja	yadā	ayam	dha[m]ma-lip[ī]
<i>Kāl.</i>	alāmbhiyisu	supaṭhāy[e]	(G) se	i[d]āni	ya[dā]	iyam	dhamma-lipi
<i>Shāh.</i>	[arabhi]yis[u]	supaṭhay[e]	(G) s[o]	i]dani	yada	aya	dhrama-dipi
<i>Mān.</i>	[arabh]isu	supa[thra]ye	(G) s[e]	. . . . .	..[da]	ayi	dhrama-dipi
<i>Dhau.</i>	[ā]labhiyisu	sūpāthāy[e]	(G) se	a[ja]	adā	[iyam	dha]m[ma]-lipi
<i>Ṭau.</i>	ālabhiyisu	sūpa[th]āye	(G) se	aja	adā	iyam	dhamma-lipi

<i>Gir.</i>	likhitā	tī	eva	prāṇā	ārabhare	sūpāthāya	dvo
<i>Kāl.</i>	lekhitā	tadā	timni	yevā	pānāni	alabhi[ya]m]ti	duve
<i>Shāh.</i>	likhita	tada	trayo	vo	praṇa	hamñamti	majura
<i>Mān.</i>	likhi[ta]	ta[da]	ti[ni]	y[eva]	pra[ṇa]ni	[ara]bh[iya]m]ti	du[v]e [2]
<i>Dhau.</i>	likhitā	tim . . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	[āla]bh[iy] . . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .
<i>Ṭau.</i>	likhitā	timni	yeva	pānāni	āla[m]bhiyaṁti	. . . . .	duve

<i>Gir.</i>	morā	eko	mago	so	pi		mago	na	dhruvo
<i>Kāl.</i>	majūl[ā]	eke	mige	se	pi	[chū]	mige	no	dhruve
<i>Shāh.</i>	duv[i] 2	mrugo	1	so	pi		mrugo	no	dhruva[m]
<i>Mān.</i>	majura	[e]k[e]	m[r]ig[e]	s[e]	p[i]	chu	mrig[e]	no	dhruvaṁ
<i>Dhau.</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
<i>Ṭau.</i>	majūlā	eke	mige	se	pi	chu	mige	no	dhruvaṁ

<i>Gir.</i>	(H) ete	pi	trī	prāṇā	pachhā	na	ārabhisare
<i>Kal.</i>	(H) e[t]āni	pi	ch[u]	tini	pānā[n]i	no	alābhi[y]isa[m]ti
<i>Shāh.</i>	(H) eta	pi		praṇa	trayo	pacha	na
							arabhiśamti
<i>Mān.</i>	(H) [e]tani	pi	chu	[tini]	praṇani	pacha	no
							ara[bhi] . . . . .
<i>Dhau.</i>	. . . . .	. . . . .		[t]imni	pānāni	pachhā	n[o]
							āl[aṁ]bhiyisa[m]t[i]
<i>Ṭau.</i>	(H) etāni	pi	chu	timni	pānāni	pachhā	no
							āla[bh]iyisaṁti

## SECOND ROCK-EDICT

<i>Gir.</i>	(A) sarvata	vijitamhi	Devānāmpriyasa	Piyadasino	rāño
<i>Kāl.</i>	(A) sav[a]tā	vijitasi	Devānāmpiyas[ā]	Piyadasis[ā]	lājine
<i>Shāh.</i>	(A) sav[r]atra	vijite	[De]va[nam]priyasa	Priyadraśisa	. . . . .
<i>Mān.</i>	(A) sa[vatra	vi]jitasi	Devanapriyasa	Priyadraśisa	rajine
<i>Dhau.</i>	(A) [sa]vata	[v]i[ji]tasi	[D]e[v]ānāmpiyasa	Piyadasi[ne	l] . . . . .
<i>Ṭau.</i>	(A) savata	vijitasi	Devānāmpiyasa	Piyadasine	lājine



<i>Gir.</i>	evamapi	pracharntesu	yathā	Choḍā	Pāḍā	Satiyaputo
<i>Kāl.</i>	ye cha	arntā	[a]thā	Choḍā	Paṁ[ḍi]yā	Sātiyaputo
<i>Shāh.</i>	y[e] cha	[a]ṁta	yatha	[Choḍa]	Paṁḍiya	Satiyaputro
<i>Mān.</i>	ye cha	ata	atha	[Choḍa]	Pa[ṁḍi]ya	Sa[tu]ya[p]u[tra]
<i>Dhau.</i>	. . . . .	. . . . .	[athā]	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .
<i>Ḥau.</i>	e vā pi	arntā	athā	Choḍā	Paṁḍiyā	Satiyapu[t]e

<i>Gir.</i>	Ketalaputo	ā	Tāmbapamñi	Arntiyako	Yona-rājā	ye vā pi
<i>Kāl.</i>	Ke[lala]puto		Tāmba[pa]mñi	Arntiyoge	[n]āma	Yona-lājā ye chā arñne
<i>Shāh.</i>	Keraḍaputro		Tāmbapamñi	Arntiyo[k]o	nama	Yona-raja ye cha arñne
<i>Mān.</i>	Keralaputra		[Tāṁ]bapañi	[A]tiyoge	nama	Yona-[raja] ye cha [a] . .
<i>Dhau.</i>	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . [t]iyoke	nāma	Yo[na]-lājā [e] vā [p]i
<i>Ḥau.</i>	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .

<i>Gir.</i>	tasa	Arntiy[a]kas[a]	sāmīp[arñ]	rājāno	sarvatra	Devānampriyasa
<i>Kāl.</i>	tas[ā]	A]rntiyogasā	sā[ma]rntā	lā[j]āno	[sa]vatā	Devānampiyasā
<i>Shāh.</i>	tasa	Arntiyokasa	samarnta	rajano	savratra	Devanampriyasa
<i>Mān.</i>	. . sa	. . . . . [gasā]	samata	ra[jane	sa]vratra	. . . . . priyasa
<i>Dhau.</i>	[ta]sa	Arntiyo[k]a]sa	sāmarntā	lājāne	savat[a]	D]evā[naṁp]i[ye]na
<i>Ḥau.</i>	tasa	Arntiyokasa	sāmarntā	lājāne	savata	Devānampiyena

<i>Gir.</i>	Priyadasino	rāño	dve	chikīchha	katā	manusa-chikīchhā	cha
<i>Kāl.</i>	Piyadasisā	lājine	duve	chikisakā	kaṭā	manusa-chikisā	chā
<i>Shāh.</i>	Priyadraśisa	raño	du[vi] 2	chik[i]sa	[kr]i[ṭa]	manuśa-chikisa	. .
<i>Mān.</i>	Priyadraśisa	rajine	[duve 2]	chikisa	[ka]ṭa	manuśa-chik[isa]	cha]
<i>Dhau.</i>	P[i]yadasi[nā]	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	[s]ā	cha
<i>Ḥau.</i>	Piyadasinā	lāji	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	[ch]ikisā	cha

<i>Gir.</i>	pasu-chikīchhā	cha	(B) osuḍhāni	cha	yāni	m[a]nusopagān[i]	cha
<i>Kāl.</i>	pasu-chikisā	chā	(B) osadhāni			manusopagāni	chā
<i>Shāh.</i>	pa[śu-ch]ikisa	[cha]	(B) [o]sha[ḍha]ni			manuśopakani	cha
<i>Mān.</i>	paśu-[chi]kisa	cha	(B) osha[ḍha]ni			manu . . . ka[ni]	cha]
<i>Dhau.</i>	p[asu-ch]i[k]is[ā]	cha	(B) . . . dhāni	ān[i]	m]u[nisopa]gāni		
<i>Ḥau.</i>	pasu-chikisā	cha	(B) osadhāni	āni	munisopagāni		

<i>Gir.</i>	pasopagāni	cha	yata	yata	nāsti	sarvatrā	hārāpitāni	cha
<i>Kāl.</i>	pasopagāni	chā	a[ta]tā		n[a]th[i]	sa]vatā	[h]ālāpitā	chā
<i>Shāh.</i>	paśopakani	chā	yat[r]a	yatra	nasti	savatra	harapita	cha
<i>Mān.</i>	pa . . . . [kani	cha	atra	atra	nasti	savra]tra	[ha]rapit[ta	cha]
<i>Dhau.</i>	pasu-opagān[i]	cha	atata		na[thi]	savata	hā]lāpit[ā]	cha
<i>Ḥau.</i>	pasu-opagāni	cha	atata		nathi	sava[ta]	. . . . .	

<i>Gir.</i>	ropāpitāni	cha	(C)	mūlāni	cha	phalāni	cha	yata yatra
<i>Kāl.</i>	lo[p]āpit[ā]	chā	(C) [e]vamevā	mulāni	chā	phalāni	chā	a[ta]t[ā]
<i>Shāh.</i>	vuta	cha						
<i>Mān.</i>	ropa[pita]	cha	(C) e[va]meva	mulani	[cha]	phalani	[cha]	a[tra a]tra
<i>Dhau.</i>	[lo]pāp[i]tā	[cha]	(C)	mū[l]	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	
<i>Ḥau.</i>	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	cha	atata



<i>Gir.</i>	nāsti	sarvata	hārāpitāni	cha	rop[ā]pitāni	cha	(D)	paṁthesū	kūpā
<i>Kāl.</i>	nathi	savatā	hālāp[i]tā	chā	lopāpitā	[ch]ā	(D)	ma[g]e[s]u	[lu]khāni
<i>Shāh.</i>									
<i>Mān.</i>	[na]sti	[savra]tra	harapita	cha	ro[pa]pita	cha	(D)	ma[geshu]	ruchhani
<i>Dhau.</i>	. . . . .	v[a]t[a]	hālāpitā	[cha]	lo[p]āpitā	cha	(D)	ma[g]e[su]	udu]pānāni
<i>Ṭau.</i>	nathi	s[a]vatra	hālāpitā	cha	lopāpitā	cha	(D)	magesu	udupānāni

<i>Gir.</i>	cha	khānāpitā	vrachhā	cha	ropāpit[ā]	paribhogāya	pasu-manusānam
<i>Kāl.</i>		lopitāni	ud[u]pānā[n]i	chā	khānāpitāni	paṭibhogāye	pasu-munis[ā]nam
<i>Shāh.</i>		(C)	kupa	cha	khanapita	pratibh[o]gaye	paṣu-manuśanam
<i>Mān.</i>	[ropa]pi[tani]	. . . . .		[pi]tani	paṭibhogaye	paṣu-m[uni]śanam	
<i>Dhau.</i>	khānāpitāni	lukhāni	cha	lopā[p]itāni	p[a]ṭibhogāye	. . . . .	[na]m
<i>Ṭau.</i>	khānāpitāni	lukhāni	cha	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .

## THIRD ROCK-EDICT

<i>Gir.</i>	(A)	Devānampiyo	Piyadasi	r[ā]jā	evam	āha	(B)	dbādasa-
<i>Kāl.</i>	(A)	De[vā]nampiye	Piyadasi	lājā	h[e]vam	āhā	(B)	du[v]ādasa-
<i>Shāh.</i>	(A)	Devanampiyo	Priyadraśi	raja		ahati	(B)	badaya-
<i>Mān.</i>	(A)	Devanapriye	Priyadraśi	raja	eva	a[ha]	(B)	duva[da]śa-
<i>Dhau.</i>	(A)	Devānampiye	Piyadasī	lājā	hevam	āhā	(B)	duvādasa-
<i>Ṭau.</i>	(A)	Devā[na]m̐piye	Piyadasī	lājā	hevam	āhā	(B)	duvādasa-

<i>Gir.</i>	vāsābhisitena	mayā	idam	ān[a]pitam	(C)	sarvata	vijite	mama
<i>Kāl.</i>	v[a]sābhisitena	me	iyam	ānapayite	(C)	savatā	vijitasi	[mama]
<i>Shāh.</i>	vashabh[i]sī[tena]	. . . . .	[a]napi[tam]	(C)	savatra	ma[a]	vijite	
<i>Mān.</i>	vashabhisetena	me	iyam	[anapayit]e	(C)	savrat[r]a	vijitasi	. . . . .
<i>Dhau.</i>	vasābhisitena	me	iy[a]m	ānāp[ay]i	. . . . .	[ta]	v[ji]t[ā]si	m[e]
<i>Ṭau.</i>	vasābhisitena	me	iyam	[ā]	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .

<i>Gir.</i>	yutā	cha	rājūke	cha	prādesike	cha	paṁchasu	paṁchasu	vāsesu
<i>Kāl.</i>	yutā		laj[ū]k[e]		pādesike		pa[m]cha[s]u	paṁchasu	vasesu
<i>Shāh.</i>	yuta		rajuko		pradeśi[ka]		paṁcha]shu	paṁchashu	5 vasheshu
<i>Mān.</i>	. . ta		[ra]ju . .		pradeśike		[paṁ]chashu	paṁ[chashu]	5 vashesh[u]
<i>Dhau.</i>	yut[ā]		la[j]u[k]e . . . . .				paṁchasu	paṁchasu	vasesu
<i>Ṭau.</i>	. . . . .			cha	pād[e]sike	cha	paṁchasu	paṁchasu	vasesu

<i>Gir.</i>	anusam̐y[ā]na[m]	n]iyātu	etāyeva	athāya	imāya	dhammānusastīya
<i>Kāl.</i>	[a]nusa[m]yānam	nikham[am]tu	etāye vā	a[th]āye	imāya	dhammanusathiyā
<i>Shāh.</i>	anusam̐yanam	nik[r]amatu	etisa	vo karaṇa	imisa	dhammanusastīye
<i>Mān.</i>	anusa[m]yana[m]	nikramatu	etaye	va athraye	imaye	dhammanusastīye
<i>Dhau.</i>	anusayānam	nikhamāvū				
<i>Ṭau.</i>	anusayānam	nikhamāvū				

<i>Gir.</i>	yathā	añāya	pi	kaṁmāy[a]		
<i>Kāl.</i>	yathā	am[nāye]	pi	kaṁmāye		
<i>Shāh.</i>	[tha]	añāye	pi	kraṁmaye		
<i>Mān.</i>	ya[tha]	añāye	pi	krama[ṇe]		
<i>Dhau.</i>	athā	amñāye	pi	[ka]m[ma]ne	hevam	imā[y]e [dham]mānus[ath]iy[e]
<i>Ṭau.</i>	athā	amñāye	pi	kaṁma[n]e	. . . . .	. . . . .



<i>Gir.</i>	(D)	[s]ādhu	mātari cha pitari cha susrūsā	mitra-saṁstuta-ñātinaṁ
<i>Kāl.</i>	(D)	sādhu	māta-pitisu	sususā mita-saṁthuta-nātikyān[am] chā
<i>Shāh.</i>	(D)	sadhu	mata-pitushu	suśrūsha mitra-saṁst[u]ta-ñatikanam
<i>Mān.</i>	(D)	[sadhu	mata]-pi[tu]shu	[s]u[śrūsha mitra]-sa[m]stuta-ñatikanam cha
<i>Dhau.</i>	(D)	[s]ād[h]u	māt[ā]-p[i]t[i]su	su[s]ūs[ā m] . . . . . nātisu cha
<i>Ṭau.</i>	.	.	.	[s]ā mita-saṁthute[s] . . . nātisu ch[a]

<i>Gir.</i>	bāmbhana-samañānam	sādh[u d]ānam	prāñānam	sādhu	anārambho
<i>Kāl.</i>	bambhana-sama[nā]nam	[chā] sādhu	d[ā]ne	pāñānam	anālambh[e]
<i>Shāh.</i>	bramaṇa-[śra]maṇa[nam]	.	.	[pra]ñanam	[anaram]bho
<i>Mān.</i>	bra[ma]ṇa-śramaṇana[m]	sadhu	dane	prañana	[anara]bhe
<i>Dhau.</i>	bambhana-samanehi	sādhu	dāne	jivesu	anālambhe
<i>Ṭau.</i>	bambhana-samanehi	sādhu	dāne	jivesu	[a]nālambhe

<i>Gir.</i>	apa-vyayatā	apa-bhādatā	sādhu (E)	parisā	pi	yute
<i>Kāl.</i>	sādhu [a]pa-v[i]yātā	[a]pa-[bha]m[da]t[ā]	sādhu (E)	palisā	pi	cha yutāni
<i>Shāh.</i>	sadhu apa-vayata	apa-bhamdata	sadhu (E)	pari	[pi]	yutani
<i>Mān.</i>	sadhu apa-[va]yata	apa-bha[ḍata]	sadhu (E)	parisha	pi	cha yutani
<i>Dhau.</i>	sādhu apa-viy[a]t[ā]	apa-bh[am]ḍatā	sādhu (E)	p[a]lisā	pi	cha . . . [nas]i
<i>Ṭau.</i>	sādhu	.	.	.	.	.

<i>Gir.</i>	āṇapayisati	gaṇanāyam	hetuto	cha	vyamjanato	cha
<i>Kāl.</i>	[ga]ṇanasi	anap[a]yisaṁti	hetuvatā	chā	viyamjanat[e]	chā
<i>Shāh.</i>	[ga]ṇanasi	aṇapeśaṁti	hetuto	cha	vamñanato	cha
<i>Mān.</i>	ga[ṇa]nasi	[aṇapa]yisa[ti]	he[tute]	cha	vi[yamja]nate	cha
<i>Dhau.</i>	y[u]t[ān]i	ā[na]p[ay]is[a]ti	[he]tut[e]	ch[a]	vi[yamja]	. . . . .
<i>Ṭau.</i>	.	[y]i . . . . .	hetute	cha	viyamjanate	cha

## FOURTH ROCK-EDICT

<i>Gir.</i>	(A)	atikātām	aṁt[a]raṁ	bahūni	vāsa-satāni	vaḍhito	eva
<i>Kāl.</i>	(A)	atika[m]taṁ	a[m]ta[la]m	bahuni	vasa-satāni	v[adh]it[e]	vā
<i>Shāh.</i>	(A)	atikratām	aṁtaraṁ	bahuni	vasha-śatani	vaḍhito	vo
<i>Mān.</i>	(A)	atikratām	ata[raṁ]	bahuni	vasha-śa[ta]ni	vadhite	vo
<i>Dhau.</i>	(A)	atikamtaṁ	aṁtalaṁ	bahūni	vasa-satāni	vaḍhite	va
<i>Ṭau.</i>	(A)	a[t]jikamtaṁ	aṁtalaṁ	bahūni	vasa-satāni	vaḍhite	va

<i>Gir.</i>	prāñārambho	vihiṁsā	cha	bhūtānam	ñātisu	a[s]aṁpratipatī
<i>Kāl.</i>	pā[nā]lambhe	vi[h]isā	chā	bhutanam	nātinā	asaṁ[pa]tīp[a]ti
<i>Shāh.</i>	prañarambho	vihisa	cha	bhuta[na]m	ñatina	asaṁpaṭipati
<i>Mān.</i>	prañaram[bh]e	vihi[sa]	cha	bhutanam	ñatina	asapa[t]ipati
<i>Dhau.</i>	pānā[la]mbhe	vihisā	cha	bhūtānam	nātisu	asaṁpaṭipati
<i>Ṭau.</i>	pānālambhe	.	.	.	.	.

<i>Gir.</i>	brā[m]haṇa-sramañānam	asaṁpratipatī	(B) ta	aja	Devānampriyasa
<i>Kāl.</i>	samana-b[am]bhanānam	asaṁpaṭipati	(B) s[e]	ajā	Devānampiyasā
<i>Shāh.</i>	śramaṇa-bramaṇana[m]	a[sam]paṭipati	(B) [so	aja	Devana]mpriyasa
<i>Mān.</i>	śrama[ṇa]-bramaṇana	asa[m]paṭipati	(B) se	aja	[De]vanapriyasa
<i>Dhau.</i>	samana-bābha[ne]su	asaṁpaṭipati	(B) se	aja	Devānampiyasa
<i>Ṭau.</i>	.	.	(B) se	aja	Devānampiyasa



<i>Gir.</i>	Priyadasino	rāṇo	dhamma-charaṇena	[bhe]rī-ghoso	aho
<i>Kāl.</i>	Piyadasine	lājine	dhamm[a]-chal[an]enā	bheli-ghose	aho
<i>Shāh.</i>	Priyadraśisa	[raṇo]	dhrama-charaṇena	bheri-ghosha	aho
<i>Mān.</i>	Priyadraśine	rajine	dhrama-[cha]ra[ṇe]na	bheri-ghoshe	aho
<i>Dhau.</i>	Piyadasine	lājine	dhamma-chalanena	bheli-ghosam	a[h]o
<i>Jau.</i>	Piyadasine	lājine	dhamma-chalanena	bhe[l]	.

<i>Gir.</i>	dhamma-ghoso	vimāna-darsaṇā	cha hasti-da[sa]ṇā	cha agi-kh[a]m̐dhāni
<i>Kāl.</i>	dhamma-ghose	vimana-dasan[ā]	[ha]thini	agi-kam̐dh[ā]ni
<i>Shāh.</i>	dhrama-ghosha	vimanana[m̐]draśanaṁ	[a]stina	joti-kam̐dhani
<i>Mān.</i>	dhama-ghoshe	vimana-draśana	asti[ne]	agi-kam̐dhan[i]
<i>Dhau.</i>	dhamma-[gho]sam	vimāna-dasanaṁ	hathini	[a]gi-kam̐dhāni
<i>Jau.</i>	.	.	.	.

<i>Gir.</i>	cha	[a]ñāni	cha	divyāni	rūpāni	dasayitpā	janam	(C) yārise
<i>Kāl.</i>		añnāni	chā	divyāni	lupāni	dasayitu	jana[sa]	(C) [ā]disā
<i>Shāh.</i>		añani	cha	divani	rupani	draśayitu	janasa	(C) yadiśam
<i>Mān.</i>		aña[ni]	cha	di[vani]	rupani	draśeti	janasa	(C) [a]diśe
<i>Dhau.</i>		añnāni	cha	[di]vi[y]āni	lūpān[i]	dasayitu	munisānam	(C) ād[i]se
<i>Jau.</i>	.	.	.	divi[y]āni	lūpāni	drasayitu	munisānam	(C) ādise

<i>Gir.</i>	bahūhi	v[āsa]-satehi	na	bhūta-puve	tārise	aja	vaḍhite
<i>Kāl.</i>	ba[h]u[hi]	v]asa-[sa]tehi	nā	huta-puluve	tādise	ajā	vaḍhite
<i>Shāh.</i>	bahuhi	vasha-śatehi	na	bhuta-pruve	tadiśe	aja	vaḍhite
<i>Mān.</i>	bahuhi	vasha-śa[tehi]	na	[hu]ta-pr[u]ve	tadiśe	[a]ja	vaḍhite
<i>Dhau.</i>	b[a]hūhi	vasa-sa[t]ehi	no	hūta-puluve	tādise	aja	va[ḍhite]
<i>Jau.</i>	bahūhi	vasa-sate	.	.	.	.	.

<i>Gir.</i>	Devānam̐priyasa	Priyadasino	rāṇo	dhammānusastiyā	anāram̐[bh]o
<i>Kāl.</i>	Devānam̐piyasā	Piyadasine	[l]ājine	dhammanusathiye	a[n]ālambhe
<i>Shāh.</i>	Devanam̐priyasa	Priyadraśisa	raṇo	dhrammanuśa[sti]ya	anaram̐bho
<i>Mān.</i>	[De]vanapriyasa	Priyadraśine	rajine	dhramanusastiya	anarabhe
<i>Dhau.</i>	[De]vānam̐piyasa	Piy[a]dasine	lājin[e]	dham[m]ānus[a]thi[y]ā	an[āla]mbhe
<i>Jau.</i>	.	.	.	dhammānusathiyā	anālambhe

<i>Gir.</i>	prāṇānam̐	avihisā	bhūtānam̐	ñātīnam̐	sam̐paṭipatī	bramhaṇa-samaṇānam̐
<i>Kāl.</i>	pānānam̐	avihisā	bhutānam̐	nāti[nam̐]	sam̐paṭipati	bam̐bha[na-sa]manānam̐
<i>Shāh.</i>	praṇa[nam̐]	avihisa	bhutanam̐	ñatina[m̐]	sampa[ṭi]pati	[bra]maṇa-śramaṇana
<i>Mān.</i>	praṇana	avihisa	bhutana	ñatina	sam̐paṭipati	bamaṇa-śramaṇana
<i>Dhau.</i>	pānānam̐	avihisā	bhūtānam̐	nātisu	sam̐paṭipat[i]	sama[na-b[ā]bhanesu
<i>Jau.</i>	pānānam̐	avihisā	bhūtānam̐	nātisu	[sam̐pa]	.

<i>Gir.</i>	sam̐paṭipatī	mātari pitari	[s]usrusā	thaira-susrusā	(D) esa	añe
<i>Kāl.</i>	sam̐paṭipati	mātā-pitisu	sususā		(D) ese	chā am̐ne
<i>Shāh.</i>	sam̐paṭipati	mata-pitushu		vuḍhana[m̐]suśrusa	(D) e[ta]	añam̐
<i>Mān.</i>	sa[m̐]paṭipati	mata-pitushu	suśru[sha]	vudhrana	[su]śrusa	(D) eshe
<i>Dhau.</i>	sam̐paṭipati	m[ā]t[i]-pitu-	sususā	vu[ḍha]-susūsā	(D) esa	añ[e]
<i>Jau.</i>	.	.	.	.	(D) esa	am̐ne



<i>Gir.</i>	cha	bahuvidhe	[dha]m̐ma-charaṇe	va[dhi]te	(E) vadhayisati	cheva
<i>Kāl.</i>	chā	ba[h]uvidhe	dham̐ma-chalane	vadh[i]te	(E) vadhiyisati	chevā
<i>Shāh.</i>	cha	bahuvidham̐	dhrama-charaṇam̐	vaḍhitam̐	(E) vaḍhiṣati	cha yo
<i>Mān.</i>	cha	bahuvidhe	dhrama-charaṇe	vadhrite	(E) vadhrayisati	yeva
<i>Dhau.</i>	cha	ba[h]uvidhe	dh[a]m̐ma-chalane	vaḍhite	(E) vaḍhayis[a]ti	cheva
<i>Ṣau.</i>	cha	bahuvidhe	dham̐ma-chalane	vaḍhite	(E) va[dhay]i	.

<i>Gir.</i>	Devānam̐priyo	[Pri*]ya[da]si	rājā		dham̐ma-[cha]raṇam̐	idam̐
<i>Kāl.</i>	Devānam̐piy[e]	Piyadasi	lāja	ima[m̐]	dha[m̐]ma-chalanam̐	
<i>Shāh.</i>	Devanam̐priyasa	Priyadraṣisa	raño		dhrama-charaṇam̐	ima[m̐]
<i>Mān.</i>	Devanapriye	Priyadraṣi	raja		dhama-[cha]raṇa	ima[m̐]
<i>Dhau.</i>	Devānam̐piye	Piyada[s]i	l[ā]jā		dham̐ma-chalanam̐	imam̐
<i>Ṣau.</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.

<i>Gir.</i>	(F) putrā	cha	[p]otrā	cha	prapotrā	cha	Devānam̐priyasa
<i>Kāl.</i>	(F) putā	cha	kaṁ	nataḷe	chā	panātikyā	ch[ā] Devānam̐piyasā
<i>Shāh.</i>	(F) putra	pi	cha	kaṁ	nataro	cha	pranatika cha Devanam̐priya[sā]
<i>Mān.</i>	(F) [putra]	pi	cha	ka	natare	cha	paṇatika De[va]napriyasa
<i>Dhau.</i>	(F) putā	pi	chu	nati	[panati]	.	[cha] Devānam̐piyasa
<i>Ṣau.</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	.

<i>Gir.</i>	Priyadasino	rāño	[pra*]vadhayisaṁti		idam̐	[dha]m̐ma-charaṇam̐
<i>Kāl.</i>	Piyadasine	lājine	[pa]v[a]dhayisaṁti	ch[ev]a		dham̐ma-chalanam̐
<i>Shāh.</i>	Priyadraṣisa	raño	pra[va]dh[e]ṣaṁti	[yo]		dhrama-charaṇam̐
<i>Mān.</i>	Priyadaṣine	rajine	pavaḍhayisaṁti	yo		dhrama-charaṇa
<i>Dhau.</i>	Piyadasine	lājine	pavaḍhayisaṁti	yeva		dham̐ma-chalanam̐
<i>Ṣau.</i>	Piyadasine	lājine	pavaḍhayi[sā]m̐[t]i	[y]e[va]		dham̐ma-cha[la]

<i>Gir.</i>	āva	savaṭa-kapā	dham̐mam̐hi	sīlam̐hi	tisṭam̐to	[dha]m̐mam̐
<i>Kāl.</i>	i[m̐am̐]	āva-kapa[m̐]	dham̐masi	s[i]lasi	chā	chiṭhit[u]
<i>Shāh.</i>	ima[m̐]	ava]-kapa	dhrame	śīle	cha	tiṭhiti
<i>Mān.</i>	imam̐	[a]va-kapam̐	dhrame	śīle	cha	[chi]ṭhiti
<i>Dhau.</i>	imam̐	ā-k[a]pam̐	dham̐masi	[s]ilasi	ch[a]	ch[i]ṭh[itu]
<i>Ṣau.</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.

<i>Gir.</i>	anusāsisaṁti	(G) [e]sa	hi	seṭhe	kaṁme	ya	dham̐mānusāsanaṁ
<i>Kāl.</i>	anusāsisaṁti	(G) ese	hi	seṭhe	kaṁm[am̐]	am̐	dham̐mānusāsanaṁ
<i>Shāh.</i>	anuśaṣisaṁti	(G) eta	h[i]	s]reṭham̐	k[r]ama[m̐]	yam̐	dhraman[u]śaṣana[m̐]
<i>Mān.</i>	anu[śa]ṣisaṁti	(G) eshe	hi	sreṭhe		a[m̐]	dhramanuśaṣana
<i>Dhau.</i>	[a]nus[ā]sisam̐[t]i	(G) esa	h[i]	se[ṭhe]	kaṁme	yā	dham̐mānusāsana
<i>Ṣau.</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	.

<i>Gir.</i>	(H) dham̐ma-charaṇe	pi	na	[bha]vati	asilasa	(I) [ta]	imam̐hi
<i>Kāl.</i>	(H) dham̐ma-chalane	pi	chā	no	hoti	asilasā	(I) se im[a]s[ā]
<i>Shāh.</i>	(H) dhrama-charaṇa[m̐]	pi	cha	na	bhoti	aśilasa	(I) so imisa
<i>Mān.</i>	(H) dhrama-[cha]ra[ṇe]	pi	[cha]	na	hoti	aśi[la]sa	(I) se imasa
<i>Dhau.</i>	(H) dham̐ma-chalane	pi	chu	no	hoti	asilasa	(I) se imasa
<i>Ṣau.</i>	(H) dham̐ma-chalane	pi	chu	no	ho[t]i	.	.



[illegible]







<i>Gir.</i>	.	.	.	.	[y]e	vā	pi	me	añe
<i>Kāl.</i>		bhā[tina]	m̐	cha ne bh[agi]ni[nā]	e	vā	[pi]	am̐n[e]	
<i>Shāh.</i>		bhratuna	cha me spasana	cha ye va pi				am̐ne	
<i>Mān.</i>		bhatana	cha spas[u]na	[cha] ye va pi				añe	
<i>Dhau.</i>	[me] e vā	pi bhāt[i]nam̐	me bhaginīnam̐	va		am̐nesu		vā	
<i>Zan.</i>	.	.	e [v]ā	.	.	.	.	.	.



<i>Gir.</i>	ñātikā	sarvata	vyāpatā	te	(N) yo	ayaṃ	dhamma-nisrito	ti	va
<i>Kāl.</i>	nātikye	savatā	viyā[pa]tā		(N) e	iyam	dhamma-nisite	ti	vā
<i>Shāh.</i>	ñatika	savatra	viyapuṭa		(N) y[e]	ayaṃ	dh[r]ama-nisite	ti	va
<i>Mān.</i>	ñatike	savratra	viyapaṭa		(N) [e]	iyam	dhrama-nisito	to	va
<i>Dhau.</i>	[nāt]i[su]	sava[t]a	v[i]yāpatā		(N) e	iyam	dhamm[a-n]isite	ti	va
<i>Ṭau.</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.

<i>Gir.</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
<i>Kāl.</i>	.	.	dāna-suyute	ti	[v]ā sav[a]tā	v[i]jitas[i]	mamā	[dha]mma-	.
<i>Shāh.</i>	.	dhrama[dhitha]ne	ti	va	dana-s[a]yute	ti	va	savata	vijite
<i>Mān.</i>	.	dhramadhiithane	ti	va	dana-sam̐yute	ti	va	savratra	vijitasi
<i>Dhau.</i>	.	dhānimādhithāne	ti	va	dāna-sayute	va	sava-put̐haviyam	dha[m]ma-	.
<i>Ṭau.</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.

<i>Gir.</i>	.	.	.	.	[t]e	[dha]mma-mahāmātā	(O) etāya	athāya	ayaṃ	dhamma-
<i>Kāl.</i>	.	yutasi	viyāpatā	te	dhamma-m[a]hām[a]tā	(O) etāye	aṭhāye	[i]yam	dhamma-	.
<i>Shāh.</i>	.	yu[ta]si	viyapaṭa	te	dhrama-mahamatra	(O) etaye	aṭhaye	[a]yi	dhrama-	.
<i>Mān.</i>	.	yutasi	vapuṭa	[te]	dhrama-mahamatra	(O) etaye	athraye	ayi	dhrama-	.
<i>Dhau.</i>	.	yutasi	viyāpatā	ime	dhamma-mahām[ā]tā	(O) [i]m[ā]ye	aṭhāye	iyam	dhamma-	.
<i>Ṭau.</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.

<i>Gir.</i>	lipi	likhitā	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
<i>Kāl.</i>	lipi	lekhitā	chi[la]-thitikyā	hotu	[tathā] cha	me	[pa]jā	[a]nuva[ta]tu	.	.
<i>Shāh.</i>	dipi	nipista	ch[i]ra-thitika	bhot[u]	ta[tha] cha	[m]e	p[r]aja	anuvatatū	.	.
<i>Mān.</i>	dipi	likhita	chira-ṭhitika	hotu	tatha	cha	me	praja	anuvatatū	.
<i>Dhau.</i>	lip[i]	li[kh]i[tā]	chila-ṭhitik[ā]	ho]tu	t[athā] cha	me	pa[jā]	anu]vatatu	.	.
<i>Ṭau.</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.

## SIXTH ROCK-EDICT

<i>Gir.</i>	(A) [Devā]. . . . .	[s]i rājā	evaṃ	āha	(B) atikrāt[a]m	aṃtara[m]	.
<i>Kāl.</i>	(A) Dev[ā]naṃpi[y]e	Piyadas[i]	lājā	hevaṃ	āhā	(B) atikaṃtaṃ	aṃtalaṃ
<i>Shāh.</i>	(A) Devanaṃpriyo	Priyadraśi	raya	eva	ahati	(B) atikrataṃ	aṃtara
<i>Mān.</i>	(A) Devanapriye	Priyadraśi	raja	[e]va[m]	aa	(B) atikrataṃ	ataraṃ
<i>Dhau.</i>	(A) Dev[ā]naṃpi]ye	Pi[yada]si	lājā	[he]vaṃ	[ā]hā	(B) atikaṃ[taṃ a]m[ta]laṃ	.
<i>Ṭau.</i>	(A) . . . . [na]ṃpiye	Piyadasī	lājā	hevaṃ	āhā	(B) atikaṃtaṃ	aṃtalaṃ

<i>Gir.</i>	na	bhūta-pru[v].	[s]. [v]. . . [l].	atha-kaṃme	va	paṭivedanā	vā
<i>Kāl.</i>	no	huta-puluv[e]	sav[a]m̐	kalam̐	aṭha-k[aṃ]me	[v]ā	[paṭ]i[veda]nā
<i>Shāh.</i>	na	bhuta-pruvaṃ	sava[m̐]	kala[m̐]	aṭha-kramaṃ	va	paṭivedana
<i>Mān.</i>	na	huta-pruve	[sa]vraṃ	kala	athra-[krama]	va	[pa]ṭivedana
<i>Dhau.</i>	no	[h]ū[ta]-puluve	s[a]vaṃ	kālam̐	aṭha-ka[m̐]me	va	[pa]ṭiveda[n]ā
<i>Ṭau.</i>	no	hūta-puluve	savaṃ	kālam̐	aṭha-kaṃm[e]	va	paṭivedanā

<i>Gir.</i>	(C) ta	mayā	evaṃ	kataṃ	(D) s[a]ve	kāle	bhuṃj[a]mānasa	me
<i>Kāl.</i>	(C) s[e]	ma[may]ā	hevaṃ	kaṭe	(D) s[a]vaṃ	kālam̐	adamānas[ā]	me
<i>Shāh.</i>	(C) ta[m̐]	maya	eva[m̐]	kiṭa[m̐]	(D) savraṃ	kalam̐	aśamanasa	me
<i>Mān.</i>	(C) ta	maya	evaṃ	kiṭaṃ	(D) savra	kalam̐	aśatasa	me
<i>Dhau.</i>	(C) se	mamayā	kaṭe	(D) sa[va]m̐	[kalam̐]	. . . .	[māna]sa	me
<i>Ṭau.</i>	(C) se	mamayā	kaṭe	(D) savam̐	kalam̐	. . . .	[sa m]e	.



<i>Gir.</i>	orodhanamhi	gabhāgāramhi	vachamhi	va	vinītamhi	cha	uyānesu
<i>Kāl.</i>	olodhanasi	gabhāgālas[i]	va[chas]i		vin[itasi]		u[y[ānasi]
<i>Shāh.</i>	orodhanaspi	grabhagaraspi	vrachaspi		vinitaspi		uyanaspī
<i>Mān.</i>	orodhane	grabhagarasi	vrachaspi		vinitaspi		uyanaspī
<i>Dhau.</i>	amte	olodh[a]nasi	ga[bhā]g[āla]si	v[achas]i	[v]inītasi		[u]y[ā]n[asi]
<i>Ṭau.</i>	amte	olodhanasi	gabhāgālasī	vachasi	vinītas[i]		uyānasi

<i>Gir.</i>	cha	savatra	paṭivedakā	sṭitā	athe	me	[ja]nasa	paṭivedetha
<i>Kāl.</i>		[sava]t[ā]	paṭive[dakā]		aṭha[m]		janasā	.... vedetu
<i>Shāh.</i>		savatra	paṭivedaka		aṭham		janasa	paṭivedetu
<i>Mān.</i>		savratra	pa[t]i[ve]da[ka]		athra		janasa	paṭivedetu
<i>Dhau.</i>	[cha sa]vata		paṭivedakā		janasa		aṭham	[pa]ṭived[a]yamtu
<i>Ṭau.</i>	cha	savata	paṭivedakā		janasa		aṭham	paṭivedayamtu

<i>Gir.</i>		iti	(E)	sarvatra	cha	janasa	athe	karomi
<i>Kāl.</i>	[m]e		(E)	sa[va]tā	[ch]ā	ja[nas]ā	aṭham	kachhāmi
<i>Shāh.</i>	me		(E)	savatra	cha	ja[na]sa	aṭh[r]a	karomi
<i>Mān.</i>	me		(E)	savratra	cha	janasa	athra	kar[o]mi
<i>Dhau.</i>	m[e]	ti	(E)	sava[ta]	ch[a]	j[a]nasa	aṭham	kalāmi
<i>Ṭau.</i>	me	ti	(E)	savata	cha	janasa		h[aka]m

<i>Gir.</i>	(F)	ya	cha	kiṁchi	mukhato	āṇapayāmi	svayaṁ	dāpakam	vā
<i>Kāl.</i>	(F)	yam	pi	ch[ā] k[i]chhi	m[u]kha[t]e	āṇapayāmi	[ha]kam	dā[pakam]	v[ā]
<i>Shāh.</i>	(F)	ya[m]	pi	cha ki[chi]	mukhato	aṇapayami	a[ham]	dapa[ka]	va
<i>Mān.</i>	(F)	yam	pi	cha kichhi	mukhato	aṇapemi	aham	dapakam	va
<i>Dhau.</i>	(F)	am	pi	cha ki[m]chhi	mukh[a]te	āṇapay[ā]mi		dāpakam	v[ā]
<i>Ṭau.</i>	(F)	am	pi	cha kiṁchhi	mukhate	āṇapayāmi		dāpakam	vā

<i>Gir.</i>	srāvāpakam	vā	ya	vā	puna	mahāmātresu	āchāyi[kē]	aropitam	bhavati
<i>Kāl.</i>	[sāvakam]	vā	ye	vā	punā	mahāmat[e]hi	a[tiyāyike]	ālopite	h[o]t[i]
<i>Shāh.</i>	śravaka	va	ye	va	p[ā]na	mahamatrana	a[cha]yika	a[ro]pitam	bhoti
<i>Mān.</i>	śravakam	va	ye	va	puna	mahamatrehi	achayike	aropite	hoti
<i>Dhau.</i>	[sā]v[a]kam	vā	e	vā		mahām[āte]hi	atiyāyike	ālopite	hoti
<i>Ṭau.</i>	sāvakam	vā	e	v[ā]		mah[ā]mātehi	a[t]i[yā]yike	[ā]lopite	hoti

<i>Gir.</i>	tāya	athāya	vivādo	nijhatī	v[a s]amto	parisāyam	ānamtaram
<i>Kāl.</i>	tā[yeth]ā[ye]		vivāde	n[ij]hati	v[ā] samtam	palis[ā]ye	anam[ta]l[i]yenā
<i>Shāh.</i>	taye	aṭhaye	viva[de]	nijha[t]i	va sataṁ	parishaye	anamtariyena
<i>Mān.</i>	taye	athraye	vivade	nijati	va samta	par[isha]ye	a[na]taliyena
<i>Dhau.</i>	tasi	aṭhasi	v[i]vāde	va	[n]ijhati	vā samtam	palisāyā
<i>Ṭau.</i>	tasi	aṭhasi	vivāde	va		lisāy[am]	ānam[ta]liyam

<i>Gir.</i>	paṭ[i]vedeta[v]yam	me	sa[r]vatra	sarve	kāle	(G)	evam	mayā
<i>Kāl.</i>	paṭ[i]	.... viye	me	sav[a]t[ā]	savam	kālam	(G)	hevam
<i>Shāh.</i>	paṭivedetavo	me <sup>1</sup>	savatra	savam	kala[m]	(G)	eva	aṇapita[m]
<i>Mān.</i>	paṭivedetaviye	me	savratra	savra	kala	(G)	evam	aṇapita
<i>Dhau.</i>	paṭi[ve]detav[i]y[e]	me	ti	savata	savam	kālam	(G)	heva[m]
<i>Ṭau.</i>	paṭivedetaviye	me	ti	savata	savam	kālam	(G)	hevam

<sup>1</sup> The preceding passage from section E is repeated thus: (E) *savatra cha aṭham janasa karomi a[ham]* (F) *yam cha kichī mukhato aṇapemi aham dapa[ka]m* va śravaka va ye va pana maha-



<i>Gir.</i>	āñapitaṃ	(H)	nāsti	hi	me	to[s]o	uṣṭānamhi	atha-saṃtīraṇāya	va
<i>Kāl.</i>	m[a]mayā	(H)	nathi	hi	me	dose	uṭhān[a]sā	aṭha-saṃtil[a]nāye	chā
<i>Shāh.</i>	maya	(H)	[na]sti	hi	me	tosho	uṭhanas[i]	aṭha-sa[m]tiraṇaye	[cha]
<i>Mān.</i>	maya	(H)	nasti	hi	me	toshe	[uṭhanasi]	ath[r]a-sa[m]tiraṇaye	cha
<i>Dhau.</i>	anusathe	(H)	nath[i]	hi	m]e	[tos]e	u[ṭhāna]si	aṭha-saṃtilānāya	cha
<i>Ṭau.</i>	anusathe	(H)	nathi	hi	me	tose	uṭhānasi	aṭha-saṃtilan[ā]y[a]	cha

<i>Gir.</i>	(I)	katavya-mate	hi	me	sa[rva]-loka-hitaṃ	(Ṣ)	tasa	cha	puna
<i>Kāl.</i>	(I)	kaṭ[a]viya-mute	hi	me	s[a]va-loka-hi[te]	(Ṣ)	t[asā]	ch]ā	[p]u[n]ā
<i>Shāh.</i>	(I)	kaṭava-mataṃ	hi	me	sava-loka-hitaṃ	(Ṣ)	ta[sa]	cha]	
<i>Mān.</i>	(I)	kaṭaviya-mate	hi	me	savra-loka-h[i]te	(Ṣ)	[ta]sa	chu	puna
<i>Dhau.</i>	(I)	kaṭaviya-m[at]e	hi	me	sava-loka-hite	(Ṣ)	tasa	cha	pana
<i>Ṭau.</i>	(I)	. . . . .		me	sava-loka-hite	(Ṣ)	tasa	cha	pana

<i>Gir.</i>	esa	mūle	uṣṭānaṃ	cha	atha-saṃtīraṇā	cha	(K)	nāsti	hi
<i>Kāl.</i>	es[e]	mule	uṭh[āne]		[a]ṭha-saṃtilanā	chā	(K)	[na]thi	hi
<i>Shāh.</i>	mulaṃ	etra	uthanaṃ		aṭha-saṃtiraṇa	cha	(K)	na[sti]	hi
<i>Mān.</i>	eshe	mule	uṭhane		athra-satiraṇa	cha	(K)	nasti	hi
<i>Dhau.</i>	iyam	mūle	[u]ṭhān[e]	cha	a]ṭha-saṃtil[a]n[ā]	cha	(K)	nathi	hi
<i>Ṭau.</i>	iyam	mūle	uṭhāne	cha	aṭha-saṃtilanā	cha	(K)	nathi	hi

<i>Gir.</i>	kaṃmataraṃ	sarva-loka-hitatpā	(L)	ya	cha	kiṃchi	parākramāmi
<i>Kāl.</i>	kaṃ[ma]talā	sava-lo[ka]-hitenā	(L)	yaṃ	cha	kichhi	palakamāmi
<i>Shāh.</i>	k[r]amatara[m]	sava-loka-hite[na]	(L)	yaṃ	cha	kichhi	parak[r]amami
<i>Mān.</i>	kramatara	savra-loka-hitena	(L)	ya[m]	cha	[kichhi]	pa[rakra]mami
<i>Dhau.</i>	kaṃmata . .	[sa]va-lo[ka]-hitena	(L)	[aṃ]	ch[a]	kichhi	p[a]lakamāmi
<i>Ṭau.</i>	k[aṃ]matalā	sava-loka-hiten[a]	(L)	aṃ	cha	kichhi	p[a]lakamāmi

<i>Gir.</i>	ahaṃ	kiṃti	bhūtānaṃ	ānaṃṇaṃ	gachheyam	idha	cha	nāni
<i>Kāl.</i>	hakaṃ	kiti	bhutaṃ	[a]naniyam	ye[haṃ]	hi]da	cha	[kā]ni
<i>Shāh.</i>		kiti	bhutaṃ	anaṇiyam	v[r]acheyam	ia	cha	sha
<i>Mān.</i>	aam	k[i]t[i]	bh[u]tanaṃ	aṇaṇiyam	ye[haṃ]	ia	cha	she
<i>Dhau.</i>	hakaṃ	kiṃti	bhūtānaṃ	ā[na]niyam	yeha[m]	ti [h]i[da]	cha	[k]ān[i]
<i>Ṭau.</i>	hakaṃ . . . . .			[n]iyam	yeham	ti hida	cha	kāni

<i>Gir.</i>	sukhāpayāmi	paratrā	cha	svagam	ārādhayaṃtu	(M)	ta <sup>1</sup>
<i>Kāl.</i>	sukhāyāmi	palata	chā	svagam	ālādhayitu	(M)	s[e]
<i>Shāh.</i>	sukhayami	paratra	cha	spagram	aradhetu	(M)	
<i>Mān.</i>	sukhayami	paratra	cha	spagra	a[ra]dhetu	ti	(M) se
<i>Dhau.</i>	sukhayāmi	pal[a]ta	cha	svag[aṃ]	āl]ādhayaṃtū	ti	(M)
<i>Ṭau.</i>	su[kha]yāmi	palata	cha	svagam	ālādhayaṃtū	ti	(M)

matranam achay[i]k[ā]m aropita[m] bhōti t[a]ye athaye [v]ivade sa[m]tam nijati va parishaye  
anamāriyena paṭivedetavo me.

<sup>1</sup> On p. 12 above, l. 7, place *ta* after (M), and cancel foot-note 2. On p. 13, l. 11, read '(M)  
Now, for the following purpose', &c.



<i>Gir.</i>	etāya	athāya	ayaṁ	dha[m]ma-lipī	lekhāpitā	kiṁti	chiraṁ	tiṣṭeya
<i>Kāl.</i>	etā[y]eṭhāye		iyaṁ	dhama-lipī	lekhitā	chila-ṭhitikyā		hotu
<i>Shāh.</i>	etaye	aṭhaye	ayi	dhrama	nipista	chira-ṭhitika		bhotu
<i>Mān.</i>	etaye	athraye	iyaṁ	dhrama-dipī	likhita	chira-ṭhitika		hotu
<i>Dhau.</i>	et[ā]y[e	aṭhāye	i]yaṁ	dhamma-lipī	likhitā	ch[i]la-ṭh[i]tikā		hotu
<i>Ṭau.</i>	etāye	aṭhāye	i[ya]m	dhamma-lipī	likhitā	chila-ṭhitika		hotu

<i>Gir.</i>	iti	tathā	cha	me	putrā	potā	cha	prapotrā	cha	anuvataṛaṁ
<i>Kāl.</i>		tathā	cha	me	puta-dāle					palakamātu
<i>Shāh.</i>		tatha	cha	me	putra	nataro				parakramaṁtu
<i>Mān.</i>		ta[tha	cha]	me	pu[tra	nata]re				para[kra]mate
<i>Dhau.</i>		ta[th]ā	cha		putā		papotā	me		palakama[m]t[ū]
<i>Ṭau.</i>		.	.	.	.	.	.	[t]ā	me	[pa]lakamaṁtu

<i>Gir.</i>	sava-loka-hitāya	(N)	dukaraṁ	[t]u		idaṁ	aṇatra
<i>Kāl.</i>	sava-loka-hitā[ye]	(N)	dukale	ch[u]		iyaṁ	anat[ā]
<i>Shāh.</i>	sava-lo[ka-hita]ye	(N)	[du]kara	tu	[kh]o	imaṁ	aṇat[r]a
<i>Mān.</i>	sa[vra-lo]ka-hitaye	(N)	dukare	cha	kho		[a]ṇatra
<i>Dhau.</i>	[sava-loka]-hitāye	(N)	dukale	chu		iyaṁ	aṁnat[a]
<i>Ṭau.</i>	sava-loka-hitāye	(N)	dukale	chu		i[ya]m	aṁnata

<i>Gir.</i>	agena	parākramena
<i>Kāl.</i>	agenā	palakam[e]nā
<i>Shāh.</i>	agre	parakramena
<i>Mān.</i>	a[g]rena	para[kra]mena
<i>Dhau.</i>	a[g]en[a	pa]lakamena
<i>Ṭau.</i>	agena	palakamena

## SEVENTH ROCK-EDICT

<i>Gir.</i>	(A)	Devānaṁpiyo	Piyadasi	rājā	sarvata	ichhati	save	pāsaṁdā
<i>Kāl.</i>	(A)	Devānaṁpiye	Piyadasi	lājā	[savat]ā	[i]chhati	sava-[pāsa]mḍa	
<i>Shāh.</i>	(A)	Devanaṁpriyo	Priyaśi	raja	savatra	ichhati	savra-[p]rashamḍa	
<i>Mān.</i>	(A)	Devanapriyo	Priyadraśi	raja	savratra	ichhati	savra-pashaḍa	
<i>Dhau.</i>	(A)	[D]evānaṁ[p]iye	Piy[a]dasī	lājā	savata	ichhat[i	sava-p]āsaṁ[dā]	
<i>Ṭau.</i>	(A)	. . . . .	da[sī]	lājā	savata	ichhati	sava-p[ā]saṁdā	

<i>Gir.</i>	vaseyu	(B)	save	te	sayamaṁ	cha	bhāva-sudhiṁ
<i>Kāl.</i>	vas[e]vu	(B)	[sa]ve	hi	te	sayama[m]	bhāva-sudhi
<i>Shāh.</i>	vaseyu	(B)	save	hi	te	sayame	bhava-sudhi
<i>Mān.</i>	vaseyu	(B)	savre	hi	te	sa[ya]ma	[bha]va-śu[dh]i
<i>Dhau.</i>	[va]sevū	ti	(B)	save	h[i]	t[e	sa]yamaṁ
<i>Ṭau.</i>	va[s]e . .	[t]i	(B)	[sav]e	hi	te	sa[yama]m

<i>Gir.</i>	cha	ichhati	(C)	jano	tu	uchāvacha-chhaṁdo
<i>Kāl.</i>	chā	ichhamti	(C)	jane	[ch]u	uchāvuchā-chh[a]mde
<i>Shāh.</i>	cha	ichhamti	(C)	jano	chu	uchavucha-chhaṁdo
<i>Mān.</i>	[cha	ichham]ti	(C)	jane	chu	uchavucha-chhade
<i>Dhau.</i>	cha	ichhamti	(C)	mun[i]sā	ch[a	u]ch[ā]v[u]cha-[chha]m[d]ā
<i>Ṭau.</i>	cha	ichhamti	(C)	munisā	cha	uchāvucha-chhaṁdā



<i>Gir.</i>	uchāvacha-rāgo	(D)	te sarvaṃ va kāsanti	eka-desam	va	kasa[m]ti
<i>Kāl.</i>	uchāvucha-lā[g]e	(D)	te savaṃ	eka-des[a]m	pi	k[a]chham[t]i
<i>Shāh.</i>	uchavucha-rago	(D)	te savraṃ va	eka-deśam	va	pi kashanti
<i>Mān.</i>	uchavucha-rage	(D)	te savraṃ	eka-deśam	va	pi kashati
<i>Dhau.</i>	uchāvucha-lāgā	(D)	te savaṃ vā	ek[a]-de[sam]	va	kachham[t]i
<i>Ṣau.</i>	uchāvuch[a]-lāgā	(D)	. . . . .	[sa]m	va	kachhamti

<i>Gir.</i>	(E) vip[ul]e	tu	pi	dāne	yasa	nāsti	sayame	bhāva-sudhitā
<i>Kāl.</i>	(E) vipule	pi	chu	dān[e]	asā	nathi	sayame	bhā[va]-sudh[i]
<i>Shāh.</i>	(E) vipule	pi	chu	dane	yasa	nasti	sayama	bhava-sudhi
<i>Mān.</i>	(E) [v]ipule	pi	ch[u]	dane	yasa	nasti	sayame	bhava-śuti
<i>Dhau.</i>	(E) vipul[e]	pi	chā	dāne	asa	n[athi]	sa]yame	[bh]āva-sudhi
<i>Ṣau.</i>	(E) [v]i[pul]e	[p]i	chā	[d]ā[ne]	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	[dhī]

<i>Gir.</i>	va	katamñatā	va	daḍha-bhati[t]ā	cha	nichā	bāḍham
<i>Kāl.</i>		kiṭanāt[ā]		d]iḍha-bhatitā	chā	ni[che]	bāḍham
<i>Shāh.</i>		kiṭrañata		driḍha-bhatita		niche	paḍham
<i>Mān.</i>		kiṭanata		driḍha-bhatita	cha	niche	baḍham
<i>Dhau.</i>					cha	niche	bāḍham
<i>Ṣau.</i>					cha	niche	[b]āḍham

## EIGHTH ROCK-EDICT

<i>Gir.</i>	(A) atikātaṃ	am̐taraṃ	rājāno	viḥāra-yātāṃ	
<i>Kāl.</i>	(A) atikaṃtaṃ	a[m̐]taraṃ	Devānaṃpiyā	[viḥāla-yātāṃ	nāma]
<i>Shāh.</i>	(A) atikrataṃ	ataraṃ	Devanaṃpriya	vihara-yatra	nama
<i>Mān.</i>	(A) a[ti]krataṃ	ataraṃ	Devanapri[ya]	vihara-yatra	nama
<i>Dhau.</i>	(A) [atika]m̐[ta]m̐	am̐t[ala]m̐	lāj[ā]n[e]	v[i]h[ā]la-yātāṃ	nāma
<i>Ṣau.</i>	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .
<i>Sōp.</i>	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .

<i>Gir.</i>	ñayāsu	(B) eta	magavyā	añāni	cha	etārisani
<i>Kāl.</i>	nikhamisu	(B) hidā	migaviyā	aṃnāni	chā	heḍisānā
<i>Shāh.</i>	nikramishu	(B) atra	mrugaya	añani	cha	ediśani
<i>Mān.</i>	nikramishu	(B) ia	mrigaviya	añani	cha	ediśani
<i>Dhau.</i>	[n]i[kha]m̐[i]s[u]	(B) . . [ta	miga]viy[ā]	a[m̐]nāni	ch[a]	edisāni
<i>Ṣau.</i>	. . . . .	. . . . .	[v]i[y]ā	[a]m̐nāni	cha	e[d]i . . . .
<i>Sōp.</i>	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .

<i>Gir.</i>	abhīramakāni	ahumsu		(C) so	Devānaṃpriyo	Piyadasi
<i>Kāl.</i>	abhiḷāmān[i]	husu		(C)	Devānaṃpiye	Piyadasi
<i>Shāh.</i>	abhiramani	abhuvasu		(C) so	Devanaṃpriyo	Priyadraśi
<i>Mān.</i>	abhiramani	husu		(C) s[e]	Devanap[r]iy[e]	P[r]iyādraśi
<i>Dhau.</i>	a[bh]i[l]āmāni	huvaṃti	naṃ	(C) se	Devānaṃpiye	P[i]y[a]dasi
<i>Ṣau.</i>	. . . . . [m]āni	huvaṃti	naṃ	(C) se	Devānaṃpiye	[Piya] . . . .
<i>Sōp.</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.



<i>Gir.</i>	rājā	dasa-varsābhisito	saṁto	ayāya	Sambodhim	(D) tenesā
<i>Kāl.</i>	lājā	das[a]-vasābhisite	saṁtaṁ	nikhamithā	Sambodhi	(D) tenatā
<i>Shāh.</i>	raja	daśa-vashabhisito	sataṁ	nikrami	Sabodhi	(D) tenada
<i>Mān.</i>	raja	daśa-vashabhisite	saṁta[m]	nikrami	Sabodhi	(D) tenada
<i>Dhau.</i>	lājā	d[a]sa-[vas]ābhisi[t]e		[n]ikhami	Sambodh[i]	(D) [t]e[na]tā
<i>Ṭau.</i>	....	[dasa]				
<i>Sōp.</i>				nikhamiṭha	Sa	

<i>Gir.</i>	dhamma-yātā	(E) etayaṁ	hoti	bāmhaṇa-samaṇānaṁ	dasane	
<i>Kāl.</i>	dhamma-yātā	(E) [h]etā	iyam	hoti	samana-bāmbhanānaṁ	dasane
<i>Shāh.</i>	dhramma-yatra	(E) atra	iyam	hoti	śramaṇa-bramaṇanaṁ	draśane
<i>Mān.</i>	dhrama-yada	(E) atra	iya	hoti	śamaṇa-bramaṇana	dra[śa]ne
<i>Dhau.</i>	dha[m]ma-yātā	(E) [tat]esa	[ho]ti	samana-bābhanānaṁ	d[a]s[a]n[e]	
<i>Ṭau.</i>	. . . . . [tā]	(E) [ta]tesa	hoti	[sa]	. . . . .	
<i>Sōp.</i>	. . . . .	(E) heta	iyam	[ho]ti	baṁ[bha]	. . . . .

<i>Gir.</i>	cha	dāne	cha	thairānaṁ	dasane	ch[a]	hiraṁṇa-paṭivīdhāno	cha
<i>Kāl.</i>	chā	dāne	cha	vudh[ā]naṁ	dasā[n]e	ch[a]	hilaṁṇa-paṭi[v]īdhāne	chā
<i>Shāh.</i>		danaṁ		vudhana[m]	daśana		hiraṇṇa-p[r]aṭivīdhane	cha
<i>Mān.</i>		dane	cha	vudhrana	dra[śa]ne	[cha]	hi]ṇa-paṭivī[dhane	cha]
<i>Dhau.</i>	ch[a]	d[āne]	cha	v[u]dhānaṁ	dasane	cha	h[i]lāṁṇa-p[a]ṭivīdhā[ne	cha]
<i>Ṭau.</i>	cha	dāne	cha	vudhānaṁ	dasane	cha	hilaṁṇa-paṭiv[i]dh[ā]ne	[cha]
<i>Sōp.</i>				vudhānaṁ	dasane	[cha]	hiraṁṇa-paṭivīdhāne	cha

<i>Gir.</i>	jānapadasa	cha	janasa	daspanaṁ		dhammānus[a]ṣṭi	cha
<i>Kāl.</i>	[jā]napadasā		[ja]n[a]sā	das[a]ne		dhammanusathi	chā
<i>Shāh.</i>	[jana]padasa		janasa	draśana		dhramanuśasti	
<i>Mān.</i>	janapadasa		janasā	draśane		dhramanuśasti	cha
<i>Dhau.</i>	[jāna]padasa		janasa	[dasa]ne	cha	dhammānu[sath]i	[cha]
<i>Ṭau.</i>	....						
<i>Sōp.</i>	....					[dha*]mmanusa[thi]	

<i>Gir.</i>	dhama-paripucchā	cha	tadipayā	(F) esā	bhuya	rati
<i>Kāl.</i>	dhama-palipucchā	chā	tatopa[yā]	(F) [e]se	bh[u]ye	lāti
<i>Shāh.</i>	dhrama-pa[ri]p[ru]chha	cha	tatopayaṁ	(F) eshe	bhuy[e]	ra]ti
<i>Mān.</i>	dhrama-[pa]r[i]pucchha	cha	tatopaya	(F) eshe	bhuye	rati
<i>Dhau.</i>	... [p]u[chh]ā	cha	[ta]d[o]payā	(F) e[sā]	bhuy]e	abhilāme
<i>Ṭau.</i>	[dha]mma-p[al]i[pucch]ā					ilāme
<i>Sōp.</i>	dhamma				ye	[ra]ti

<i>Gir.</i>	bhavati	Devānaṁpiyasa	Priyadasino	rāṇo	bhā[g]e	amñe
<i>Kāl.</i>	hoti	Devānaṁpiyasā	Piyadas[i]sā	lājine	bh[ā]g[e]	amne
<i>Shāh.</i>	bhoti	Devanaṁpiyasa	Priyadraśisa	raṇo	bhago	amñi
<i>Mān.</i>	hoti	Devanapriyasa	Priyadraśisa	rajine	bhage	aṇe
<i>Dhau.</i>	hoti	Devānaṁpiyasa	Piyada[s]ine	lājine	bhāge	[am]ne
<i>Ṭau.</i>	hoti	De[v]ānaṁpiyasa	Piyadasine	lājine	bhāge	[a]...
<i>Sōp.</i>	hoti	De		n[e]	bhāge	am



## NINTH ROCK-EDICT

<i>Gir.</i>	(A)	Devānaṃpiyo	Priyadasi	rājā	eva	āha	(B)	asti	jano
<i>Kāl.</i>	(A)	Devānaṃpiye	Piy[a]da[s]i	lā[jā]		āhā	(B)		jan[e]
<i>Shāh.</i>	(A)	Devanaṃpriyo	Priyadraśi	r[a]ya	evam	ahati	(B)		jano
<i>Mān.</i>	(A)	Devanapriye	Priyadraśi	raja	evam	aha	(B)		jane
<i>Dhau.</i>	(A)	Devānaṃpiye	Piyadasī	lājā	hevam	āhā	(B)	[athi	ja]ne
<i>Ṭau.</i>	(A)	Devān[am]piye	Piyadasī	lā[jā]					

<i>Gir.</i>	uchāvacham	maṅgalam	karote	ābādhesu	vā	āvāha-vivāhesu	
<i>Kāl.</i>	uch[āv]ucham	maṅgalam	ka[l]eti	ābādhasi		av[āha]si vivāhasi	
<i>Shāh.</i>	uchavucham	maṅgalam	karoti	abadhe		avahe vivahe	
<i>Mān.</i>	uchavucha[m]	ma]gala[m]	karoti	abadhasi		a[va]hasi vi[va]hasi	
<i>Dhau.</i>	uchāvucham	maṅgalam	kal[e]ti	[āb]ādha		[v]i[vāha]..	
<i>Ṭau.</i>							

<i>Gir.</i>	vā	putra-lābhesu	vā	pravāsaṃmhi	vā	etamhī	cha	añamhi	cha
<i>Kāl.</i>		pajopadāne		pavāsasi		e[tā]ye		aṃnāye	chā
<i>Shāh.</i>		pajupadane		pravase		ataye		añaye	cha
<i>Mān.</i>		prajopadaye		pravasaspi		etaye		añaye	[cha]
<i>Dhau.</i>		[ju]padāye		pavās[a]si		etāye		aṃnāye	ch[a]
<i>Ṭau.</i>		[pa]jupadāye		pavāsasi		etāye		aṃnāye	cha

<i>Gir.</i>		jano	uchāvacham	maṅgalam	karote	(C)	eta	tu
<i>Kāl.</i>	edisāye	jane	bahu	magala[m]	k[a]leti	(C)	heta	[ch]u
<i>Shāh.</i>	ediśiy[e]	jano	ba	maṅgalam	karoti	(C)	atra	tu
<i>Mān.</i>	[ed]iśa[ye]	jane	bahu	maṅga]lam	ka]ro[t]i	(C)	atra	tu
<i>Dhau.</i>	hedisāye	j[a]n[e]	bahukam	maṅgalam	k[a]....	(C)	....	[chu]
<i>Ṭau.</i>	hedisāye	jane	[ba]hu[kam]					

<i>Gir.</i>	mahidāyo	bahukam	cha	bahuvidham	cha	chhudam	cha
<i>Kāl.</i>	abaka-jani[yo]	bahu	chā	bahuvidham	chā	khudā	[ch]ā
<i>Shāh.</i>	striyaka	bahu	cha	bahuvidham	cha	putika	cha
<i>Mān.</i>	abaka-janika	bahu	cha	bahuvidha	cha	khuda	cha
<i>Dhau.</i>	ithī	b[ahuka]m	cha	[ba]hu[v]idh[am]	ch[a	kh]ud[am]	cha]
<i>Ṭau.</i>							

<i>Gir.</i>	nirath[am]	cha	maṅgalam	karote	(D)	ta	katavyameva	tu
<i>Kāl.</i>	nilathiyā	chā	magalam	ka[la]ṃti	(D)	se	kaṭavi	cheva
<i>Shāh.</i>	nirathiyam	cha	maṅgalam	karo[t]i	(D)	so	kaṭavo	cha [va]
<i>Mān.</i>	nirathriya	cha	magalam	karoti	(D)	se	ka[ṭaviye	ch]eva
<i>Dhau.</i>	[nilaṭhi]yam	cha	maṅgalam	kaleti	(D)	se	kaṭ[a]viye	che[va
<i>Ṭau.</i>		[cha	ma]m]gala]m	k[a]leti	(D)	se	kaṭaviye	cheva

<i>Gir.</i>	magalam	(E)	apa-phalam	tu	kho	etarisam	maṅgalam
<i>Kāl.</i>	maṅgale	(E)	apa-phale	[ch]u	kho	[e]s[e]	
<i>Shāh.</i>	maṅgala	(E)	apa-phala[m]	tu	kho	eta	
<i>Mān.</i>	magale	(E)	apa-phale	chu	[kho	e]she	
<i>Dhau.</i>	m[a]ṅgale	(E)	[a]pa-phale	chu	kho	esa	h[e]dise
<i>Ṭau.</i>	maṅgale	(E)	apa-[pha]le	chu	[kh]o	e[sa]	he[d]ise



<i>Gir.</i>	(F)	ayam	tu	mah[ā]-phale	maṅgale	ya	dhamma-maṅgale
<i>Kāl.</i>	(F)	[i]yam	chu	kho mah[ā]-ph[a]le		ye	dhamma-magale
<i>Shāh.</i>	(F)	imam	[t]u	kho maha-phala		ye	ma-maṅgala
<i>Mān.</i>	(F)	iyam	chu	kho maha-phale		ye	dhrama-magale
<i>Dhau.</i>	(F)	[ya]m	[ch]u	kho mah[ā]-ph[a]le		e	[dha]mma-maṅgale
<i>Ṭau.</i>	(F)	i[ya]m	[chu]				

<i>Gir.</i>	(G)	ta[te]ta	dāsa-bhatakamhi	samya-pratipati	gurūnam	apachiti
<i>Kāl.</i>	(G)	he[tā]	iyam dāsa-bhaṭakasi	s[a]myā-paṭip[a]ti	gulunā	apachiti
<i>Shāh.</i>	(G)	[a]tra	ima dasa-bhaṭakasa	samma-paṭipati	garuna	apachiti
<i>Mān.</i>	(G)	atra	iyam dasa-bhaṭakasi	samya-paṭipati	guruna	a[pachit]i
<i>Dhau.</i>	(G)	[ta]te[sa]	d[ā]sa-bhaṭakas[i]	sammyā-paṭipat[i]	gulūnam	a[pa]....
<i>Ṭau.</i>			[sa-bha]takasi	sammyā-paṭipati	gulunam	apachiti

<i>Gir.</i>	sādhū	pāṇesu	sayamo	sādhū	bamhaṇa-samaṇānam	sādhū
<i>Kāl.</i>		[p]ā[n]ān[am]	samyame		s[a]man[a]-bambhanānam	
<i>Shāh.</i>		praṇanam	sa[m]yamo		śamaṇa-bramaṇana	
<i>Mān.</i>		pra[ṇa]na	[sa]yame		śramaṇa-bramaṇana	
<i>Dhau.</i>			[me]		samana-bābhan[ā]nam	
<i>Ṭau.</i>		pānesu	say[a]me		saman[a]-bābha[n]ā[nam]	

<i>Gir.</i>	dānam	et[a]	cha	añ[a]	cha	etārisam	dhamma-maṅgalam	nāma
<i>Kāl.</i>	dāne	ese		añne	chā	heḍise	dhamma-magale	nāmā
<i>Shāh.</i>	dana	etam		añam	cha		dhrama-maṅga[lam]	nama
<i>Mān.</i>	[dane]	eshe		aṇe	cha	ediṣe	dhrama-magale	nama
<i>Dhau.</i>	dāne	esa		añne	ch[a]		[dhamma]-maṅga[le]	nāma
<i>Ṭau.</i>	[d]ā[n]e	[esa]		a[m]n[e]				

<i>Gir.</i>	(H)	ta	vatavyam	pitā	va	putena	vā bhātrā	vā svāmikena
<i>Kāl.</i>	(H)	se	vata[v]iye	pitinā	pi	putena	pi bh[ā]tinā	pi suvāmiken[a]
<i>Shāh.</i>	(H)	[s]o	vatavo	pituna	pi	putrena	pi bhratana	pi spamik[e]na
<i>Mān.</i>	(H)	se	vataviye	pi[tu]na	pi	putrena	pi bhratuna	pi spamikena
<i>Dhau.</i>	(H)	[se]	vata[viye]	p[it]inā	pi	pute]na	pi bhātinā	pi suvāmike[na]
<i>Ṭau.</i>				[pi]tinā	pi	putena	pi bhātinā	pi suvāmike[na]

<i>Gir.</i>	vā						idam	sādhū	idam
<i>Kāl.</i>	pi	mita-samthuten[ā]	ava	paṭivesiyenā	[p]i	iyam	sādhū	iyam	
<i>Shāh.</i>	pi	mitra-sastutena	ava	pratīveśiyena		imam	sadhū	[imam]	
<i>Mān.</i>	pi	mitra-sa[m]stutena	[a]va	paṭīveśiyena	pi	iyam	sadhū	iyam	
<i>Dhau.</i>	[p]i								
<i>Ṭau.</i>	pi					iyam	sādhū	iyam	

<i>Gir.</i>	katavya	maṅgalam	āva	tasa	athasa	nistānāya	(I) asti
<i>Kāl.</i>	kaṭaviye	[ma]g[a]le	āva	[ta]sā	athas ā	ni[v]utiyā	
<i>Shāh.</i>	kaṭa[vo]	maṅgala[m]	yava	tasa	aṭhrasa	nivutīya	nivutaṣpi
<i>Mān.</i>	kaṭaviye	magale	ava	tasa	athrasa	nivutīya	nivutaṣi
<i>Dhau.</i>		[l]e	[ā]va	tasa	aṭhas[a]	niphatiy[ā]	(I) [a]thi
<i>Ṭau.</i>	kaṭaviye						



*Gir.* cha pi vutaṃ sādhu dana iti (Ḥ) na tu etārisaṃ astā  
*Kāl.* imaṃ kachhāmi ti (I) e hi i[ta]le magale  
*Shāh.* va p[u]na imaṃ kashaṃ (I) ye hi etake magale  
*Mān.* va puna ima [ka]shami ti (I) e hi [i]tare maga[le]  
*Dhau.* [cha heva]ṃ v[u]te dāne s[ā]dh[ū] ti (Ḥ) [s]e [na]thi . . . . .  
*Ḥau.* . . . . . [s]e

*Gir.* dānaṃ va ana[ga]ho va yārisaṃ dhamma-dānaṃ va dhamanugaho va  
*Kāl.* sa[m]sayikye se (Ḥ) siyā va taṃ aṭhaṃ nivaṭey[ā] siyā punā no  
*Shāh.* saśayike taṃ (Ḥ) siya vo taṃ aṭhaṃ nivaṭeyati siya puna no  
*Mān.* śa[śa]yike se (Ḥ) s[i]ya va taṃ athraṃ nivaṭeya s[i]ya pana no  
*Dhau.* . . . . . [anu]ga[h]e v[ā] ād[i] se dha[m]ma-dāne dham[mānugahe] . .  
*Ḥau.* dāne anugah[e] vā ādi[s]e dhamma-dāne dhammānugahe cha

*Gir.* (K) ta tu kho mitrena va suhodayena [v]ā ṇatikena va sahāyana va  
*Kāl.* (K) hi[da]lokike chev[a] se (L) iyaṃ punā dhamma-magale akāliky[e]  
*Shāh.* (K) ialoka cha vo taṃ (L) ida puna dhrama-magalaṃ akalikaṃ  
*Mān.* (K) hidal[o]kike cheva se (L) iyaṃ puna dhrama-magale akalike  
*Dhau.* (K) . . . . . [m]i . . . . . [t]i[k]ena sahāye[na p]i  
*Ḥau.* (K) se chu kho mitena . . . . .

*Gir.* ovāditavyaṃ tamhi tamhi pakaraṇe [i]daṃ kachaṃ idaṃ sādha iti  
*Kāl.* (M) haṃche pi taṃ aṭhaṃ no niṭeti hida aṭhaṃ palata anantaṃ  
*Shāh.* (M) yadi puna taṃ aṭhaṃ na nivaṭ[e] ia atha paratra anantaṃ  
*Mān.* (M) [ha]che pi taṃ athraṃ no nivaṭeti [hi]da a[tha] paratra anata  
*Dhau.* viyovadita . . . . . i [tasi] pak[alana]si [iya]ṃ . . . . .  
*Ḥau.* . . . . . yaṃ sād[h]ū

*Gir.* iminā sak[a] svagaṃ ārādhetu iti (L) ki cha iminā katavyataraṃ  
*Kāl.* punā pavasati (N) haṃche puna taṃ aṭhaṃ nivaṭeti hida tato  
*Shāh.* puṇaṃ prasavati (N) haṃche puna taṃ ṭhaṃ nivaṭeti tato  
*Mān.* puṇa prasavati (N) hache puna ta[m] athraṃ nivaṭ[e]ti hida tato  
*Dhau.* . . . . . [l]ādhayitave (L) . . . . . ṭa[v] . . . . .  
*Ḥau.* imena sakiye svage ālādhayitave (L) kiṃ hi imena kaṭaviyatalā

*Gir.* yathā svagāradhī  
*Kāl.* ubhaye[sa]ṃ ladhe hoti hida chā se aṭhe palata chā anantaṃ  
*Shāh.* u[bha]y[e]sa ladhaṃ bhoti ia cha so aṭho paratra cha anantaṃ  
*Mān.* ubhayesaṃ [ara]dhe hoti hida cha se athre paratra cha anata  
*Dhau.* . . . . . [svagasa] āl[adh]i  
*Ḥau.* . . . . .

*Kāl.* punā pasavati tenā dhamma-magalen[ā]  
*Shāh.* puṇaṃ prasavati tena dhramaṃgalena  
*Mān.* puṇaṃ prasavati tena dhramagalena



## TENTH ROCK-EDICT

<i>Gir.</i>	(A)	Devānāmpiyo	Priyadasi	rājā	yaso	va	kīti	va	na
<i>Kāl.</i>	(A)	Devā[nām]piye	Piy[a]dashā	lājā	y[a]sho	vā	kiti	vā	no
<i>Shāh.</i>	(A)	Devanapriye	Priyadraśi	raya	yaśo	va	kiṭri	va	no
<i>Mān.</i>	(A)	[Devana]priye	Priyadraśi	raja	yaśo	va	kiṭi	va	no
<i>Dhau.</i>	(A)	[Devānām]piye	Piyad[a]s[ī]	lājā	yaso	v[ā]	[k]iṭi	vā	n.
<i>Ṭau.</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.

<i>Gir.</i>	mahāthāvah[ā]	mañate	añata						
<i>Kāl.</i>	[ma]hathāvā	manati	an[a]tā	[ya]m	pi	yaso	vā	ki[t]i	vā
<i>Shāh.</i>	mahaṭhavaha	mañati	añatra	yo	pi	yaśo		kiṭri	va
<i>Mān.</i>	mahathravaham	mañati	añatra	yam	pi	ya[śo	va]	kiṭi	va
<i>Dhau.</i>	..... [ha]m	mañn[ate]	.....	.....	i	[yaso]	vā	k[iṭ]i	[v]ā
<i>Ṭau.</i>	.	.	.	.	.	[ya]so	vā	ki[t]i	vā

<i>Gir.</i>		tadātpano	dighāya	cha	me	[ja]no	dhamma-susru[m]sā		
<i>Kāl.</i>	ichh[at]i	tadatvāye	ayatiye	chā	jane		dhamma-susushā		
<i>Shāh.</i>	ichhati	tadatvaye	ayatiya	cha	jane		dhrama-suśrasha		
<i>Mān.</i>	ichhati	tadatvaye	ayatiya	cha	jane		[dhra]ma-suśrusha		
<i>Dhau.</i>	ichhati	tadatvāye	[ā]	.....	[ja]ne	.....	[sūsa]m		
<i>Ṭau.</i>	ichh[a]ti	tadatvāye	ā[ya]tiye	cha	jane		dhamma-susūsam		

<i>Gir.</i>	susrusatā			dhamma-vutam	cha	anuvīdhiyatām			
<i>Kāl.</i>	susushātu	me	ti	dhamma-vatam	vā	anuvī[dh]iya[m]tu	ti		
<i>Shāh.</i>	suśrushatu	me	ti	dhramma-vutam	cha	anuvī[dhi]yatu			
<i>Mān.</i>	suśrushatu	me	ti	dhrama-[vutam	cha]	anuvīdhiyatu		ti	
<i>Dhau.</i>	[susū]s[at]u	[m]e		dhamma	.	.	.	[me]	
<i>Ṭau.</i>	susūsatu	me	.	.	.	.	.	.	.

<i>Gir.</i>	(B)	etakāya	Devānāmpiyo	Priyadasi	rājā	yaso	va	kiti	va
<i>Kāl.</i>	(B)	dhata[k]āye	Devāna[m]piye	Priyadasi	lājā	yasho	vā	kiti	vā
<i>Shāh.</i>	(B)	etakaye	Devanapriye	Priyadraśi	raya	yaśo		kiṭri	va
<i>Mān.</i>	(B)	etakaye	Devanapriye	Priya[dra]śi	raja	yaśo	va	kiṭi	va
<i>Dhau.</i>	(B)	etakāye				[yaso	vā	kiṭi	v[ā]
<i>Ṭau.</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.

<i>Gir.</i>	i[chha]ti	(C)	ya[m]	tu	kich[i]	parik[a]mate	Devānam	Priyadasi	
<i>Kāl.</i>	ichha	(C)	am	ch[ā]	kichhi	lakamati	Devanāmpiye	Piyadashi	
<i>Shāh.</i>	ichhati	(C)	ya[m]	tu	kichhi	parakramati	Devanāmpiyo	Priyadraśi	
<i>Mān.</i>	i[chha]ti	(C)	..	..	[k]ichhi	parak[r]ama[ti]	Devanapriye	Priyadraśi	
<i>Dhau.</i>	i	.....	.....	.....	i	[pa]lakama[t]i	Devānāmpiye		
<i>Ṭau.</i>	.	.	.	.	.	[t]i	Devānāmpiye		

<i>Gir.</i>	rājā	ta	savam	pāratrikāya	kimti	sakale	a[pa]-parisrave		
<i>Kāl.</i>	lājā	ta	[sha]va	pālamtikyāye	vā	kiti	sakale	apa-p[a]lāshave	
<i>Shāh.</i>	raya	tam	sav[r]am	paratrikaye	va	kiti	sakale	aparisrave	
<i>Mān.</i>	raja	tam	savam	parat[r]ikay[e	va	k[i]ti	sa[kale	apa]-pa[r]isav[e]	
<i>Dhau.</i>				pāl[atik]ā[y]e	..	kimti	saka[le	apa-pal]isave	
<i>Ṭau.</i>				pālatikāye	vā	ki[m]ti	[sa]kale	apa-palisave	



<i>Gir.</i>	asa	(D) esa	tu	parisave	ya	apumñam	(E) dukaram
<i>Kāl.</i>	shiyāti	ti	(D) [e]she	chu	palisave	e	apune (E) dukale
<i>Shāh.</i>	siyati	(D) eshe	tu	parisave	yañ	apuñam	(E) dukare
<i>Mān.</i>	siyati	ti	(D) eshe	chu	pa[ri]save	e	apu[ne] (E) dukare
<i>Dhau.</i>	[hu]v[eyā]	t[ī]	(D) pa[l]isa	.	.	.	(E) [du]ka[le]
<i>Ṭau.</i>	[h]uveyā	ti	(D) .	.	.	.	.

<i>Gir.</i>	tu	kho	etañ	chhudakena	va	janena	usaṭena	va	añatra
<i>Kāl.</i>	chu	kho	eshe	khudakena	vā	vagenā	ushuṭena	vā	ana[ta]
<i>Shāh.</i>	[tu]	kho	eshe	khudrakena		vagrena	usaṭena	va	añatra
<i>Mān.</i>	chu	kho	eshe	khudakena	[va	va]gr[e]na	[u]saṭena	va	ana[tra]
<i>Dhau.</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
<i>Ṭau.</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.

<i>Gir.</i>	agena	parāk[r]amena	savañ	parichajitpā	(F) et[a]	t[u]	kho
<i>Kāl.</i>	agen[ā]	pa[l]akamenā	shava[rñ]	palitiditu	(F) [h]e[ta]	chu	kho
<i>Shāh.</i>	agrena	parakramena	sava[rñ]	paritijitu	(F) at[r]a	chu	
<i>Mān.</i>	a[gre]na	para[krame]na	sav[rām]	pariti[ji]tu	(F) atra	tu	[kho]
<i>Dhau.</i>	paliti[ji]tu	khudakena	v[ā]	usaṭena	vā	(F)	
<i>Ṭau.</i>	.. [l]itijit[u]	khudakena	[v]ā	u[sa]ṭena	vā	(F)	

<i>Gir.</i>	usaṭena	dukaram
<i>Kāl.</i>	[u]shaṭe[na]	vā dukale
<i>Shāh.</i>	usaṭe	.
<i>Mān.</i>	usaṭeneva	du[ka]re
<i>Dhau.</i>	u[saṭena]	chu [dukalatale]
<i>Ṭau.</i>	usaṭena	chu dukalatale

## ELEVENTH ROCK-EDICT

<i>Gir.</i>	(A) Devinañpriyo	Piyadasi	rājā	ev[a]ñ	āha	(B) nāsti	etārisañ
<i>Kāl.</i>	(A) Devānañp[i]ye	Piyadashi	[l]ājā	hevañ	hā	(B) nathi	h[e]dishe
<i>Shāh.</i>	(A) Devana[m]priyo	Priyadraśi	raya	evañ	hahati	(B) nasti	ed[i]śañ
<i>Mān.</i>	(A) Devanapri[y]e	Priyadraśi	raja	evañ	aha	(B) nasti	ediśe

<i>Gir.</i>	dānañ	yārisañ	dhañma-dānañ	dhañma-sañstavo	vā	dhañma-
<i>Kāl.</i>	dāne	adisha	dha[m]ma-dāne			dhama-
<i>Shāh.</i>	danañ	yadiśañ	dhrama-dana	dhrama-sañstav[e]		dh[r]ama-
<i>Mān.</i>	dane	[a]diśe	dhrama-dane	dhrama-sañtha[v]e		dhrama-

<i>Gir.</i>	sañvibhāgo	[vā]	dhañma-sañbadho	va	(C) tata	idañ	bhavati
<i>Kāl.</i>	shav[i]bhage		dhañma-shañbadh[e]		(C) ta[ta]	eshe	
<i>Shāh.</i>	sañvibhago		dh[r]ama-sañba[m]dha		(C) tatra	etañ	
<i>Mān.</i>	sañvibhaga		dhrama-sa[m]ba[m]dh[e]		(C) tatra	eshe	

<i>Gir.</i>	dāsa-bhatakamhi	samya-p[r]atipati	mātari	pitarā	sādhu	sus[r]usā
<i>Kāl.</i>	dāsha-bhaṭakashi	shamyā-paṭipati	mātā	pitishu		shushushā
<i>Shāh.</i>	dasa-bhaṭakanañ	sañmma-paṭipati	mata	pitushu		suśrusha
<i>Mān.</i>	dasa-bhaṭa[ka]si	samya-paṭipati	mata	[pitu]shu		su[śru]sha



<i>Gir.</i>	mita-[sa]stuta-ñātikānaṃ	bāhmaṇa-s[r]amaṇā[naṃ]	sādhū	dā[naṃ]
<i>Kāl.</i>	mita-shamthuta-nātikyānaṃ	samanā-[ba]mbhanānā		[dā]ne
<i>Shāh.</i>	mi[t]ra-samstuta-ñātikānaṃ	śramaṇa-bramaṇana		dana
<i>Mān.</i>	mitra-sam[stuta]-ñātikana	śramaṇa-bramaṇana		dan[e]

<i>Gir.</i>	prāṇānaṃ	anārambho	sādhū	(D) eta	vatavyaṃ	pitā	va	putrena
<i>Kāl.</i>	pānānaṃ	anāl[am]bhe		(D) eshe	vata[v]iye	pi[t]inā	pi	pute[na]
<i>Shāh.</i>	praṇana	anara[m]bho		(D) etaṃ	vatavo	pituna	pi	putrena
<i>Mān.</i>	praṇana	[ana]rabhe		(D) [e]she	vataviye	pituna	pi	putrena

<i>Gir.</i>	va	bhāt[ā]	va	mita-sastut[a]-ñāt[i]k[e]na			va	āva
<i>Kāl.</i>	pi	bhā[t]inā	pi	sh[a]vām[i]kyena	pi	mita-śamthutānā		avā
<i>Shāh.</i>	pi	bhratuna	pi	[spa]mikenā	pi	mitra-samstutana		ava
<i>Mān.</i>	pi	bhratuna	pi	spamike[na]	pi	mitra-sam[stu]t[e]na		ava

<i>Gir.</i>	paṭivesiyehi	ida	sādhū	ida	ka[tav]ya[m]	(E) so	t[a]thā
<i>Kāl.</i>	p[a]ṭiveshiyen[ā]	iy[a]m	shādhū	iyam	kaṭaviye	(E) [ś]e	tathā
<i>Shāh.</i>	pratīvesiyena	[i]ma[m]	sadhu	imam	kaṭavo	(E) so	tatha
<i>Mān.</i>	paṭiveśiyena	iyam	sa[dhu]	iyam	kaṭaviye	(E) se	tatha

<i>Gir.</i>	karu	ilokachasa		āradho hoti	parata	cha	amnamtaṃ
<i>Kāl.</i>	kala[m]ta	hidaloikikye	cha	kaṃ	ālādhe hoti	palata	ch[ā] anata
<i>Shāh.</i>	karata[m]	ialoka	cha	a[ra]dheti	paratra	cha	anataṃ
<i>Mān.</i>	karata[m]	hi[dalo]ke	[cha] kaṃ	aradhe ho[ti]	pa[ra]tra	cha	ana[m]taṃ

<i>Gir.</i>	puññaṃ	bhavati	tena	dhamma-dānena
<i>Kāl.</i>	punā	paśavati	tenā	dhamma-dānenā
<i>Shāh.</i>	puña	prasavati	[te]na	dhrama-danena
<i>Mān.</i>	puṇam	p[r]asavati	te[na]	dhra]ma-danena

## TWELFTH ROCK-EDICT

<i>Gir.</i>	(A) Devānaṃpiye	Piyad[a]si	rājā	sava-pāsaṃdāni	cha
<i>Kāl.</i>	(A) [D]evānāpiye	[P]iyadash[i]	lājā	shāvā-pāshaṃ[dā]ni	
<i>Shāh.</i>	(A) Devanaṃpriyo	Priyadraśi	raya	savra-prashaṃdani	
<i>Mān.</i>	(A) Devanapriye	Priyadraśi	raja	savra-pashaḍani	

<i>Gir.</i>	[pa]vajitāni	cha	gharastāni	cha	pūjayati	d[ā]nena	cha	vivādhāya
<i>Kāl.</i>	pav[a]jitā[n]i		gahathāni	vā	pujeti	dānena		vividh[āye]
<i>Shāh.</i>	pravrajita[ni]		grahathani	cha	pujeti	danena		vividhaye
<i>Mān.</i>	[p]rava[ji]tani		gehathani	cha	pujeti	danena		vividhaye

<i>Gir.</i>	[cha]	pūjāya	pūjayati ne	(B) na	tu	tathā	dānaṃ	va	pū[jā]
<i>Kāl.</i>	cha	puj[ā]ye		(B) n[o]	ch[u]	tathā	dāne	vā	pujā
<i>Shāh.</i>	cha	pujaye		(B) no	chu	tatha	[da]na	va	puja
<i>Mān.</i>	cha	pujaye		(B) no	chu	tatha	dana	va	puja



<i>Gir.</i>	va	D[e]vānampiyo	maññate	yathā	kiti	sāra-vaḍhi	asa
<i>Kāl.</i>	vā	Devāna[m]piye	m[a]nati	athā	k[i]ta	ś[ā]lā-v[a]dhi	śiyāti
<i>Shāh.</i>	va	Devanampiyo	mañati	yatha	kiti	sa[la]-vaḍhi	siya
<i>Mān.</i>	va	[De]vana[m]priye	mañati	atha	kiti	sala-vaḍhi	siya

<i>Gir.</i>	sa[va-pā]samḍānam	(C)	sār[a]-vaḍhi	tu	bahuvidhā	(D)	tasa	tu	idam	
<i>Kāl.</i>	ś[a]va-pāśaḍāna	(C)	śālā-vaḍhi	nā	bahuvidhā	(D)	taśa	chu	inam	
<i>Shāh.</i>	savra-prashamḍanam	(C)	sala-vaḍhi	tu	bahuvidha	(D)	tasa	tu	iyō	
<i>Mān.</i>	savra-pashaḍana	ti	(C)	sala-vruḍhi	t[u]	bahuvidha	(D)	tasa	chu	iyam

<i>Gir.</i>	mūlam	ya	vachi-gutī	kimti		ātpa-pāsaṁḍa-pūjā	va	para-
<i>Kāl.</i>	mule	a	va[cha]-gutī	kiti	t[i]	ata-paśaḍa-[v]ā pujā	vā	pala-
<i>Shāh.</i>	mula	yam	vacha-guti	kiti		ata-prashaṁḍa-puja	va	pa[ra]-
<i>Mān.</i>	mule	am	vacha-guti	kiti		ata-prashaḍa-puja	va	para-

<i>Gir.</i>	pāsamḍa-garahā	va	no	bhave	aprakaraṇamhi	lahukā	va	asa
<i>Kāl.</i>	pāsamḍa-galahā	va	no	[śa]yā	ap[a]k[a]l[a]naś[i]	lahakā	vā	śiyā
<i>Shāh.</i>	pashamḍa-garana	va	no	siya	[a]pakaraṇasi	lahuka	va	siya
<i>Mān.</i>	pashaḍa-garaha	va	no	siya	apakaraṇasi	lahuka	va	siya

<i>Gir.</i>	tamhi	tamhi	prakaraṇe	(E)	pūjetayā	tu	eva	para-pāsamḍā
<i>Kāl.</i>	[ta]gi	taśi	pakalan[a]ś[i]	(E)	pujetav[i]ya	chu		p[a]la-pā[śa]ḍā
<i>Shāh.</i>	tasi	tasi	prakara[ṇ]e	(E)	pujetaviya	va	chu	para-prasha[mḍa]
<i>Mān.</i>	tasi	tasi	pakaraṇasi	(E)	pujetaviya	va	chu	para-p[r]ashaḍa

<i>Gir.</i>	tena	tana	prakaraṇena	(F)	evam	karum	ātpa-pāsamḍam	cha
<i>Kāl.</i>	tena	tena	akālana	(F)	heva	kalata	ata-pāśaḍā	baḍham
<i>Shāh.</i>	tena	tena	akarena	(F)	e[v]am	karatam	ata-p[r]ashamḍam	
<i>Mān.</i>	tena	tena	akarena	(F)	evam	karatam	atva-pashaḍa	baḍham

<i>Gir.</i>	vaḍhayati	para-pāsamḍasa		cha	upakaroti	(G)	tad-amñathā
<i>Kāl.</i>	vaḍhiyati	pala-pāśaḍa	pi	vā	upakaleti	(G)	tadā anatha
<i>Shāh.</i>	vaḍheti	para-prashamḍamsa	pi	cha	upakaroti	(G)	tada añatha
<i>Mān.</i>	vaḍhayati	para-pashaḍasa	pi	cha	upakaroti	(G)	tad-amñatha

<i>Gir.</i>	karoto	ātpa-pāśamḍam	cha	chhanati	para-pāsamḍasa	cha	pi
<i>Kāl.</i>	kalata	ata-pāśaḍa	cha	chhanati	pala-pāśaḍa	pi	vā
<i>Shāh.</i>	ka[ra]min[o]	ata-p[r]ashamḍa		kshanati	para-[pra]shaḍasa	cha	
<i>Mān.</i>	karatam	ata-pashaḍa	cha	chhanati	para-pashaḍasa	pi	cha

<i>Gir.</i>	apakaroti	(H)	yo	hi	kochi	ātpa-pāsamḍam	pūjayati	para-pāsamḍam
<i>Kāl.</i>	apakaleti	(H)	ye	[h]i	kechha	[a]ta-pāśaḍa	punāti	pala-pāśaḍa
<i>Shāh.</i>	apakaroti	(H)	yo	hi	kachi	ata-prashamḍam	pujeti	[para]-p[r]ashaḍa[m]
<i>Mān.</i>	apakaroti	(H)	ye	hi	kechhi	atva-pashaḍa	pujeti	para-pashaḍa

<i>Gir.</i>	v[a]	garahati	savam	ātpa-pāsamḍa-bhatiyā		kimti	ātpa-pāsamḍam
<i>Kāl.</i>	vā	ga[la]hati	shave	ata-pāsham[ḍa]-bhatiyā	vā	kiti	ata-pāshamḍa
<i>Shāh.</i>		garahati	savre	ata-prashaḍa-bhatiya	va	kiti	ata-prashamḍam
<i>Mān.</i>	va	garahati	savre	atva-pashaḍa-bhatiya	va	kiti	atva-pashaḍa



<i>Gir.</i>	dipayema	iti so	cha puna	tatha karāto	ātpa-pāsaṁḍa[m]	bāḍhataraṁ	
<i>Kāl.</i>	[d]ipayema	she cha	punā tathā	kalaṁtaṁ	bāḍhatale	up[a]haṁt[i]	
<i>Shāh.</i>	dipayami	ti so	cha puna	tatha karaṁtaṁ <sup>1</sup>	ba[dhata]raṁ	upahaṁti	
<i>Mān.</i>	dipayama	ti . . .	puna	tatha karataṁ	baḍhataraṁ	upahaṁti	

<i>Gir.</i>	upahanāti	(I) ta	samavāyo	eva sādhu	kiṁti	[a]ñamañña	
<i>Kāl.</i>	ata-pāshaṁḍashi	(I)	shamavāye	vu shādhu	kiti	añnamanashā	
<i>Shāh.</i>	ata-prashaḍaṁ	(I) so	sayamo	vo sadhu	kiti	añamañña	
<i>Mān.</i>	atva-pasha[ḍa]	(I) se	samavaye	vo sadhu	ki[ti]	aṇamaṇasa	

<i>Gir.</i>	dhaṁmaṁ	sruṇāru	cha	susumsera	cha	(ṽ) evaṁ	hi
<i>Kāl.</i>	dhaṁmaṁ	shuṇe[y]u	chā	shushusheyu	chā ti	(ṽ) hevaṁ	hi
<i>Shāh.</i>	dhramo	śruṇeyu	cha	suśrusheyu	cha ti	(ṽ) evaṁ	hi
<i>Mān.</i>	dhramaṁ	śruṇ[e]y[u]	cha	suśrushe[yu]	cha ti	(ṽ) evaṁ	hi

<i>Gir.</i>	D[e]vānaṁpiyasa	ichhā	kiṁti	sava-pāsaṁḍā	bahu-srutā	cha	asu
<i>Kāl.</i>	Devānaṁpiyashā	ichhā	kiṁti	sava-pāshaṁḍa	baha-shutā	chā	
<i>Shāh.</i>	Devanaṁpriyasa	ichha	kiti	savra-prashaṁḍa	bahu-śruta	ch[a]	
<i>Mān.</i>	Devanapriyasa	ichha	kiti	savra-pashaḍa	bahu-śruta	cha	

<i>Gir.</i>	kal[ā]ṇāgamā	cha [a]su	(K) ye	cha tatra	tata	prasaṁnā	
<i>Kāl.</i>	kayānāgā	cha huveyu	ti	(K) e [cha]	tata t[a]t[a]	p[a]sh[am]nā	
<i>Shāh.</i>	kal[āṇa]gama	cha siyasu	(K) ye	cha tatra	tatra	prasana	
<i>Mān.</i>	kayaṇagama	cha [hu]veyu	ti	(K) e	cha tatra	prasana	

<i>Gir.</i>	tehi	vatavyaṁ	(L) Devānaṁpiyo	no tathā	dānaṁ	va	pūjāṁ
<i>Kāl.</i>	te[hi]	va]taviye	(L) Devānāpiye	no tathā	dānaṁ	vā	pujā
<i>Shāh.</i>	tesha[m]	vatavo	(L) Devanaṁpriy[o]	na [tatha	da]na[m]	va]	p[u]ja
<i>Mān.</i>	tehi	vataviye	(L) Devanapriye	no tatha	danaṁ	va	puja[m]

<i>Gir.</i>	va	maññate	yathā	kiṁti	sāra-vaḍhi	asa	sarva-pāsaḍānaṁ
<i>Kāl.</i>	vā	mañnat[i]	athā	kiti	sh[ā]lā-v[a]dhi	śiyā	shava-pāshaṁḍatiṁ
<i>Shāh.</i>	va	mañati	ya[tha]	kiti	sala-vaḍhi	siyati	savra-prashaḍanaṁ
<i>Mān.</i>	va	maṇati	atha	kiti	sala-vaḍhi	siya	savra-pashaḍa[na]

<i>Gir.</i>	(M) bahakā	cha	etāya	athā	vyāpatā	dhaṁma-mahāmātā	cha
<i>Kāl.</i>	(M) bahukā	ch[ā]	etāyāthāye		viyāpaṭā	dha[m]ma-mahāmātā	
<i>Shāh.</i>	(M) bahuka	cha	etaye	a[tha]	vap[a]ṭa	dh[ra]ma-ma[ha]matra	
<i>Mān.</i>	(M) [ba]huka	cha	etaye	athraye	vapuṭa	dhrama-mahamatra	

<i>Gir.</i>	ithijhakha-mahāmātā	cha	vacha-bhūmikā	cha añe	cha	nikāyā	
<i>Kāl.</i>	ithidhiyakha-mahāmātā		vacha-bh[u]mikyā	ane	vā	[n]iky[ā]y[ā]	
<i>Shāh.</i>	i[strijhi]yaksha-ma[ha]matra		[vra]cha-bhumika	añe	cha	nikaye	
<i>Mān.</i>	istrijaksha-mahamatra		vracha-bh[u]mika	añe	cha	nikay[e]	

<sup>1</sup> The five last words are repeated thus: so cha puna tatha karataṁ.











<i>Gir.</i>	D[e]vānāmpīya[sa]	pijite	pāti	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
<i>Kāl.</i>															
<i>Shāh.</i>	Devanāmpriyasa	vijite	bhoti	ta	pi	anuneti					anunijapeti				
<i>Mān.</i>	Devanapriyasa	vijitasi	hoti	[ta]	pi	a[nuna]ya[ti	a]nu[nijha]paya[ti]								



<i>Gir.</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	..chate te[sa]m Devānāmpriyasa . . . .
<i>Kāl.</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
<i>Shāh.</i>	(N)	anutape	pi	cha	prabhava	Devanāmpriyasa	vuchati	tesha kiti ✓
<i>Mān.</i>	(N)	[anu]tape	pi	cha	prabhava	Devanapriyasa	vuchati	[te]sha [ki]..

<i>Gir.</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	sava-
<i>Kāl.</i>	.	.	.	.	[ney]u	(O) ichha	.	sha[va]-
<i>Shāh.</i>	avatrapeyu	na	cha	[ha]mñeyasu	(O) ichhati	hi	D[e]vanāmpriyo	savra- ✓
<i>Mān.</i>	.	.	.	.	(O) . chha	.	vanapri[y.]	.

<i>Gir.</i>	bhūtānām	achhatim	cha	sayamañ	cha	samachairam	ch[a]	mādava	cha
<i>Kāl.</i>	[bhu]	.	.	.	[shayama	shamacha]	liya[m]	madava	ti
<i>Shāh.</i>	bhutana	akshati	sa[m]	yamañ	sama[cha]	riyam	rabhasiye	✓	
<i>Mān.</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.

<i>Gir.</i>	(P)	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
<i>Kāl.</i>	(P)	iyam	vu	mu	.	.	Devānāmpriyeshā	ye	dha[m]ma-
<i>Shāh.</i>	(P)	ayi	cha	mukha-mut[a]	vijaye	Devanāmpriya[sa]	yo	dhrama-	✓
<i>Mān.</i>	.	.	.	[mukha]-mute	v[i]jaye	D[e]vanapriyasa	ye	dhrama-	

<i>Gir.</i>	.	.	.	.	.	[la]dh[o]	.	.	nampriyasa	idha
<i>Kāl.</i>	vijaye	(Q)	sh[e]	cha	punā	ladhe	Devāna[m]pi	.	.	cha
<i>Shāh.</i>	vijayo	(Q)	so	cha	puna	ladho	Devanāmpriyasa	iha	cha	✓
<i>Mān.</i>	vijaye	(Q)	se	cha	[puna]	la[dh]e	[Deva]napri[ya]sa	hida	cha	

<i>Gir.</i>	[sa]vesu	[ch.]	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
<i>Kāl.</i>	shaveshu	cha	ateshu	a	shashu	pi	[yo]jana-shateshu	at[a]	✓	
<i>Shāh.</i>	saveshu	cha	amteshu	[a]	shashu	pi	yojana-śa[t]eshu	yatra	✓	
<i>Mān.</i>	sa[vr]eshu	cha	amteshu	a	shashu	pi	y[o]ja[na-śa]t[e]shu	.	.	.

<i>Gir.</i>	.	.	.	[Yo]na-rāja	param	cha	tena	.	.	.
<i>Kāl.</i>	Atiyoge	nām[a]	Yo[na-lā]..	[pa]lam	chā	tenā	A[m]tiyogenā	✓		
<i>Shāh.</i>	Am̐tiyoko	nama	Y[o]na-raja	param	cha	tena	Atiyok[e]na	✓		
<i>Mān.</i>	.. tiyo[ge]	nama	Yo[na-[raja]	.	.	.	.	.	.	.

<i>Gir.</i>	chatpāro	rājāno	Turamāyo	cha	[A]m̐t[ek]ina	cha	Magā			
<i>Kāl.</i>	chatāli	4	lajāne	Tulamaye	[nā]m[a]	Am̐teki[ne	nā]ma	Makā	✓	
<i>Shāh.</i>	chature	4	rajani	Turamaye	nama	Am̐tikini	nama	Maka	✓	
<i>Mān.</i>	.	.	.	.	.	Am̐t[e]....	[nama	Ma]ka		

<i>Gir.</i>	cha	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
<i>Kāl.</i>	nāma	Alikyashudale	nāma	nicham	Choḍa-Pam̐diyā	avam	✓			
<i>Shāh.</i>	nama	Alikasudaro	nama	nicha	Choḍa-Pam̐ḍa	ava	✓			
<i>Mān.</i>	na[ma]	Alikasudare	nama	nicha	Choḍa-Pam̐ḍiya	a				

<i>Gir.</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	idha	rāja-vi[sa]yamhi	
<i>Kāl.</i>	Tam̐bapam̐niyā	hevamev[ā]	(R) hevamevā	[hi]dā	lā[ja]-viśavashi	✓				
<i>Shāh.</i>	Ta[m]bapam̐[ni]ya	(R) [e]vameva	[hi]da	raja-vishavaspi	✓					
<i>Mān.</i>	Tam̐bapa[m]niya	(R) evameva	[hida]	raja-vishava[si]						



<i>Gir.</i>	[Y]o[na]-Kaṁbo				
<i>Kāl.</i>	Yona-Kaṁbojeshu	Nābhak[a]-Nābhapaṁtishu	Bhoja-Pitinikye[sh]u		✓
<i>Shāh.</i>	Yona-Ka[m]boyeshu	Nabhaka-Nabhitina	Bhoja-Pitinikeshu		✓
<i>Mān.</i>	Y[o]na-Kaṁ[bojeshu]	Nabhaka-[Na]bhapa[m]tishu	[Bh]o[ja-Pi]tini[ke]shu		

<i>Gir.</i>	āndhra-Pārimdesu	savata	Devānaṁpiyasa	dhammānus[a]ṣṭim	
<i>Kāl.</i>	[Adha]-P[ā]lade[sh]u	[sha]vatā	[D]evā[na]ṁpi[ya]shā	dhammānu[sha]thi	✓
<i>Shāh.</i>	Āndhra-Palideshu	savatra	Devanaṁpriyasa	dhramanuṣasti	✓
<i>Mān.</i>	Adha-[Pa]				

<i>Gir.</i>	anuv[a]tare	(S) yata	pi dūti		
<i>Kāl.</i>	anuvataṁti	(S) y[a]ta	pi dutā	Devāna[ṁp]iyasā	no yaṁti t[e] pi
<i>Shāh.</i>	anuvataṁti	(S) yatra	pi Devanaṁpriyasa	duta na vracharṁti	te pi
<i>Mān.</i>		(S) [yatra	pi du]ta	[De]vanapriyasa na yaṁti	te pi

<i>Gir.</i>				[na]ṁ dhammānusastim	
<i>Kāl.</i>	sutu	Dev[āna]ṁp[i]naṁya	dh[aṁma]-vutaṁ	v[i]dh[a]na[m]	dhammānusa[th]i
<i>Shāh.</i>	śrutu	Devanaṁpriyasa	dhrama-vuṭaṁ	vidh[a]naṁ	dhramanuṣasti
<i>Mān.</i>	śrutu	Devanapriyasa	dhrama-vuṭa	vidhana[m]	dhramanuṣasti

<i>Gir.</i>	cha	dhamam	anuvīdhiyare		
<i>Kāl.</i>		dha[m]ma[m]	anuvīdhiyama	[a]nūvidhiyama	[ch]ā (T) ye se
<i>Shāh.</i>		dhramaṁ	[a]nūvidhiyaṁti	anuvīdhiyaṁti	cha (T) yo [sa]
<i>Mān.</i>		dhra[m]ma[m]	anuvīdhiyaṁti	[a]nūvidhiy[i]saṁti	cha (T) [ye se]

<i>Gir.</i>				[v]ijayo	savathā	puna	vijayo
<i>Kāl.</i>	[la]dhe	etakenā	hoti	savatā	vi[ja]ye		
<i>Shāh.</i>	ladhe	etakena	bho[ti]	savatra	vijayo	sava[tra]	pu[na] vijayo
<i>Mān.</i>	ladhe	e[ta]ke[na]	ho[ti]	savra[tra]	vi[jaye]		

<i>Gir.</i>	piti-raso	sā	(U) ladhā	sā	piti	hoti	dhamma-vijayamhi
<i>Kāl.</i>	piti-lase	se	(U) gadhā	sā	hoti	piti	piti dhamm[a]-vijayashi
<i>Shāh.</i>	priti-raso	so	(U) ladha		bh[oti]	priti	dhrama-vijayaspi
<i>Mān.</i>							

<i>Gir.</i>							
<i>Kāl.</i>	(V) lahukā	y[u]	kho	sā	piti	(W) pālaṁtikyameve	maha-phalā
<i>Shāh.</i>	(V) lahuka	tu	kho	sa	priti	(W) paratri[ka]meva	maha-phala
<i>Mān.</i>						(W) paratrikameva	maha-phala

<i>Gir.</i>			m[p]riyo	(X) etā[ya	athā]ya	ayaṁ	dhamma-
<i>Kāl.</i>	maṁnaṁ[ti]	Dev[e]naṁ[pi]ne	(X) etāye	chā	aṭhāye	iyaṁ	dha[m]ma-
<i>Shāh.</i>	meṇati	Devana[m]priyo	(X) etaye	cha	aṭhaye	ayi	dhrama-
<i>Mān.</i>	[ma]ṇati	De[va]napri[ye]	(X) e[ta]ye	cha	[a]thray[e]	iyaṁ	dhramma-

<i>Gir.</i>	[l]					[va]ṁ	vijayaṁ mā
<i>Kāl.</i>	līpi	likhitā	kiti	putā	papotā	me	a[su] nava[m] vijay[a] ma
<i>Shāh.</i>	līpi	nīpi[sta]	kiti	putra	papotra	me	asu navaṁ vijayaṁ ma
<i>Mān.</i>	līpi	lī[khi]ta	kiti	putra	prap[o]tra	me	a[su] nava[m] v[i]. . .



<i>Gir.</i>	vijetavyaṁ	maññā	sarasake	eva	vijaye	chhāti	cha	.	.
<i>Kāl.</i>	vijayataviya	manishu	shayakashī	no	vi[ja]yashi	khaṁti	chā	la	hu- ✓
<i>Shāh.</i>	vijetav[i]a	mañishu	spa[kaspi]	yo	vijay[e	kshaṁ]ti	cha	lahu-	✓
<i>Mān.</i>	....[tavi]yaṁ	mañ[ishu	saya]	.	.	.	.	.	.

<i>Gir.</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
<i>Kāl.</i>	daṁḍatā	[chā]	lochetu	tameva	chā	vijayaṁ	manatu	ye	✓
<i>Shāh.</i>	da[m]ḍata	cha	rochetu	taṁ	cha	yo	vija	maña[tu]	yo ✓
<i>Mān.</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.

<i>Gir.</i>	.	.	.	kik[o]	ch[a	pā]r[alo]ki[ko]	.	.	.
<i>Kāl.</i>	dhamma-vijaye	(Y) she	hidalokikya	.	.	palalokiye	(Z) shavā	.	✓
<i>Shāh.</i>	dhrama-vijayo	(Y) so	hidalokiko	.	.	paralokiko	(Z) sava-	.	✓
<i>Mān.</i>	.	(Y) . .	hidaloke	.	.	paralokike	(Z) sava	.	.

<i>Gir.</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
<i>Kāl.</i>	cha	ka	nilati	hot[u]	.	uyāma-lati	(AA) shā	hi	✓
<i>Shāh.</i>	chatī-rati	.	.	bhotu	ya	[dh]raṁma-rati	(AA) sa	hi	✓
<i>Mān.</i>	cha	[ka]	nirati	hotu	ya	dhrama-rati	(AA) sa	hi	.

<i>Gir.</i>	ilokikā	cha	pāralokikā	cha	.
<i>Kāl.</i>	hi[da]lokika	.	pa[la]lokikyā	.	.
<i>Shāh.</i>	hidalokika	.	paralokika	.	✓
<i>Mān.</i>	[i]aloki[ka]	.	paraloki[ka]	.	.

## FOURTEENTH ROCK-EDICT

<i>Gir.</i>	(A) ayaṁ	dhamma-lipī	Devānaṁpriyena	Priyadasinā	r[ā]ññā
<i>Kāl.</i>	(A) iyaṁ	dhama-lipī	Dev[ānaṁp]i[y]e[n]ā	[P]iyadasinā	lajinā
<i>Shāh.</i>	(A) ayi	dhrama-dipi	Devanaṁpriyena	Priśi[na]	raña
<i>Mān.</i>	(A) [i]yaṁ	dhrama-dipi	De[va]napriyena	Pri[ya]	[jina]
<i>Dhau.</i>	(A) iyaṁ	dhamma-lipī	De[v]ānaṁpiyena	Piyada[sin]ā	lāj[inā]
<i>Jau.</i>	.	.	.	.	.

<i>Gir.</i>	l[e]khāpitā	asti	eva	saṁkhit[e]na	asti	majhamena	asti	vistatana
<i>Kāl.</i>	likhāpitā	athī	yevā	sukhitenā	[a]thi	majhimenā	athī	vithaṭenā
<i>Shāh.</i>	nipesapita	asti	vo	saṁkshitenā	asti	yo	.	vistriṭena
<i>Mān.</i>	[likhapita]	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
<i>Dhau.</i>	[likhā]	.	.	.	athī	ma[jhimenā]	.	.
<i>Jau.</i>	.	.	.	.	.	[ma]jhime[na]	ath[i]	vithaṭena

<i>Gir.</i>	(B) na	cha	sarvaṁ	[sa]rvata	ghaṭitaṁ	(C) mahālake	hi	vijitaṁ
<i>Kāl.</i>	(B) no	hi	savatā	save	[gha]ṭite	(C) mahālake	hi	vijīte
<i>Shāh.</i>	(B) na	hi	savatra	sasavre	gaṭite	(C) mahālake	hi	vijite
<i>Mān.</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
<i>Dhau.</i>	(B) . .	[h]i	save	sav[a]ta	ghaṭite	(C) mahānte	hi	vijaye
<i>Jau.</i>	(B) [no]	hi	save	savata	ghaṭite	(C) mahānte	hi	vijaye



<i>Gir.</i>	bahu	cha	likhitam	likhāpayisam	cheva	(D)	asti	cha
<i>Kāl.</i>	bahu	cha	likhite	lekhāpeśami	cheva	nikyam	(D)	athi chā
<i>Shāh.</i>	bahu	cha	likhite	likha[p]eśami	cheva		(D)	asti chu
<i>Mān.</i>	.	.	[likhite	likha]pe[śa]mi	che[va]	ni . . .	(D)	[asti chu]
<i>Dhau.</i>	bahu[k]e	cha	likhite	likhiyis	.	.	(D)	[a]thi . .
<i>Ṭau.</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.

<i>Gir.</i>	eta	kaṁ	puna	puna	vutam	tasa	tasa	athasa	mādhūratāya
<i>Kāl.</i>	hetā		puna	pun[ā]	la[p]it[e]	tasha	tashā	athashā	madhuliyāye
<i>Shāh.</i>	atra		puna	puna	[la]pitam	tasa	tasa	[a]thasa	madhuriyaye
<i>Mān.</i>	[a]tra		puna	puna	la[p]ite	tasa	ta[sa]	a[thra]sa	[madhu]riyaye
<i>Dhau.</i>	.	.	.	.	[vu]te	ta[sa]	.	.	[y]āy[e]
<i>Ṭau.</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	[sa]	mādhuliyāye

<i>Gir.</i>	kimti		jano	tathā	paṭipajetha	(E)		tatra
<i>Kāl.</i>	yena		jane	tathā	paṭipajeyā	(E)	she	shāyā ata
<i>Shāh.</i>	ye[na]		jana	tatha	paṭipajeyati	(E)	so	siya va atra
<i>Mān.</i>	[ye]na		jane	ta[tha]	paṭipaje[ya]ti	(E)	se	[si]ya atra
<i>Dhau.</i>	[k]imti	cha	j[a]ne	tathā	paṭipajeyā ti	(E)	e	pi chu heta
<i>Ṭau.</i>	kimt[i]	cha	jane	tathā	paṭipajeyā ti	(E)	e	pi chu heta

<i>Gir.</i>	ekadā	asamāt[a]m	likhita[m]	asa	desam	va	sachhāya	[kā]raṇam	va
<i>Kāl.</i>	k[i]chhi	asamati	likhite		dishā	vā	shamkheye	kālanam	vā
<i>Shāh.</i>	kichhe	asamatam	likhitam		deśam	va	samkhay[a]	karaṇa	va
<i>Mān.</i>	ki[chhi]	.	[t]i	likhi[t.]	.	va	[samkha]ya	.	.
<i>Dhau.</i>		asamati	likhit[e]	s]	.... sam	..	[lochay]itu	.	.
<i>Ṭau.</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.

<i>Gir.</i>	[a]lochetpā	lipikarāparadhena	va
<i>Kāl.</i>	alochayitu	li[p]ikalapalādhena	vā
<i>Shāh.</i>	alocheti	dipikarasa	va aparadhena
<i>Mān.</i>	.	.	.
<i>Dhau.</i>	.	k[a]l[ā]	[t]i
<i>Ṭau.</i>	.	.	.

## II. THE TWO SEPARATE ROCK-EDICTS

## FIRST SEPARATE ROCK-EDICT

<i>Dhau.</i>	(A)	[Devāna]m[pi]y[asa]	vacha]nena	Tosaliyam	ma[hā]māta
<i>Ṭau.</i>	(A)	Dev[ā]nampiye	he[va]m [ā]hā	(B) Sam[ā]pāyam	mahāmātā

<i>Dhau.</i>	[naga]la-[v]i[yo]hālak[ā]	va]taviya	(B)	am	kichhi	dakhā]mi
<i>Ṭau.</i>	[na]gala-viyohālaka	he[va]m va]tav[i]y[ā]	(C)	am	kichhi	dakhāmi

<i>Dhau.</i>	hakam	taṁ	ichhāmi	k[i]m[t]i	kaṁ[mana	pa]ti[pāday]eham
<i>Ṭau.</i>	ha[ka]m	[taṁ]	ichhām[i]	k]imt[i]	kaṁ	kamana pa]tipātayeham



*Dhau.* duvālate cha ālabheham (C) esa cha me mokhya-mata duvā[la]  
*Ṭau.* duvālate cha ālabheham (D) es[a] cha me mokhiya-mata duvālam

*Dhau.* [etasi aṭha]si am tūph[esu] anusathi (D) tūphe hi bahūsu pāna-  
*Ṭau.* a[m] tūphesu anusathi (E) phe hi bahūsu pāna-

*Dhau.* sahasesum ā[yata] p[a]na[yam] ga]chh[e]ma su munisānam  
*Ṭau.* sahasesu [ā]ya[ta] p[a]na[yam] gachhema [su] m[u]n[i]s[ā]na[m]

*Dhau.* (E) save munise pajā mamā (F) ath[ā] pajāye ichhāmi h[a]ka[m]  
*Ṭau.* (F) sava-mu[n]ā me pajā (G) atha pa[jā]ye ichhām[i]

*Dhau.* [kimti sa]ve[na hi]ta-sukhena hidalo[kika]-pālalokike[na] y[ūjev]ū  
*Ṭau.* [kim]t[i] me savena hita-sukhena y[ū]jeyū ti hi[dal]o[g]ik[a]-pālalokikena

*Dhau.* [t]i [tathā . . . . muni]sesu pi [i]chhāmi [ha]ka[m] (G) no cha  
*Ṭau.* [he]meva me ichha sava-munis[e]su (H) no chu tu[phe]

*Dhau.* pāpunātha āv[a]-ga[m]u[k]e [iyam aṭhe] (H) [k]e[chha] v[a] eka-  
*Ṭau.* [e]tam [p]ā[p]unātha āva-gamu[k]e [i]yam aṭh[e] (I) kechā eka-

*Dhau.* puli[se] . . . . nāti e[ta]m se pi desam no savam (I) de[kha]t[ā] hi  
*Ṭau.* [muni]s[e] pā[p]unāti se pi desam no savam (J) dakhatha hi

*Dhau.* [t]u[phe] etam suvi[hi]tā pi (J) [n]itiyam eka-pulise [pi athi] y[e]  
*Ṭau.* [tuphe] pi suvitā [p]i (K) bahuka aṭhi ye eti eka-munise

*Dhau.* bāmdhanam vā p[a]likilesam vā pāpunāti (K) tata hoti akasmā  
*Ṭau.* ba[m]dhanam palikile[sam] [p]i pāpunāti (L) tata [ho]t[i] aka[sm]ā

*Dhau.* tena badhana[m]tik[a] amne cha . . . . hu jane da[v]iye  
*Ṭau.* ti ten[a] badhana[m]ti[ka] anye cha [va]ge bahuke

*Dhau.* dukhīyati (L) tata ichhitaviye tūphehi kimti m[a]jham paṭipādayemā  
*Ṭau.* vedayati (M) tata tūphe[hi] ichhi[taye] kimti majham [pa]ṭipādayem[a]

*Dhau.* ti (M) imeh[i] chu [jāteh]i no sampatipajati isāya āsulopena  
*Ṭau.* (N) imehi jāte[hi] no [pa]ṭipa[ja]ti i[s]ā[ya] āsulopena

*Dhau.* ni[ṭhū]liyena tūlanā[ya] anāvūtiya ālasiyena k[i]lamathena  
*Ṭau.* [ni]ṭhū[li]ye[na] t[ul]āya [a]nā[v]uti[ya] āla[s]y[e]na ki]lamath[e]na

*Dhau.* (N) se ichhitaviye kitim ete [jātā no] huvevu ma[m]ā  
*Ṭau.* (O) hevam ichhit[a]vi[y]e kimti me et[ā]ni jātā[ni] n]o hveyū

*Dhau.* ti (O) etasa cha sava[sa] mūle anāsulope a[tū][a]nā cha  
*Ṭau.* ti (P) savasa chu iyam mū[le] a[n]ā[s]u[lo]p[e] atulanā] cha

*Dhau.* (P) niti[ya]m e kilamte siyā [na] te uga[chha]  
*Ṭau.* (Q) ni[tiya]m [e]y[am] kil[am]te [siya] . . . . samchalitu uthāy[ā]



*Dhau.* samchalitaviy[e] tu va[t]ita[v]iy[e] etaviye vā (Q) hevaṁmeva  
*Jau.* samchalitavaye tu v[a]ṭitaviya [pi] etaviye pi nīt[i]yaṁ (R) eve

*Dhau.* e da[kheya] t[u]phāk[a] tena vataviye ānaṁne dekhata  
*Jau.* dakh[e]yā āna[m]ne nīhap[e]ta[vi]ye

*Dhau.* hevaṁ cha hev[a]m cha [D]evānaṁpiyasa anusathi (R) se  
*Jau.* heva[m] heva[m] cha Devāna[m]p[i]ya[sa] an[u]sa[thi ti] (S) [eta]m

*Dhau.* mah[ā-pha]le [e] t[a]sa [saṁpa]ṭipāda mahā-apāye asaṁpaṭipati  
*Jau.* [saṁpaṭipā]ta[yaṁ]taṁ mahā-phale hoti asaṁpaṭipati mahāpāy[e] hoti

*Dhau.* (S) [vi]paṭ[i]pādayamīne hi etaṁ nathi svagasa [ā][a]dhi no lāj[ā]la[dh]i  
*Jau.* (T) vipaṭipātayaṁtaṁ no svag[a]-āladhi no lājādhi

*Dhau.* (T) duā[ha]le hi i[ma]sa kaṁm[asa] m[e] kute man[o]-atileke  
*Jau.* (U) du[ā]hale etasa [kaṁ]masa sa me k[u]t[e] ma[n]o-ati]le[ke]

*Dhau.* (U) sa[m]paṭipajam[i]n[e] chu [etaṁ] svaga[m] ālādha[yi]sa[tha]  
*Jau.* (V) [etaṁ] saṁpaṭipajamīne mama] cha ānanyaṁ esatha

*Dhau.* [mama cha ā]naniyaṁ ehatha (V) iyaṁ cha l[i]p[i] t[i]sa-na[kha]tena  
*Jau.* svagaṁ cha ālā[dha]yisa[th]ā (W) iyaṁ chā li[p]i anutisaṁ

*Dhau.* so[ta]viy[ā] (W) aṁta[l]ā [p]i cha [t]i[s]e[na kha]nasi kha[nas]i  
*Jau.* so[a]v[i]yā (X) [a]lā [p]i kha[ne]na sota[vi]yā

*Dhau.* ekena pi sotaviya (X) hevaṁ cha kalaṁtaṁ tuphe chaghattha  
*Jau.* ek[a]k[e]na pi (Y) . . . . . m[i]ne ch[aghattha]

*Dhau.* sampa[t]ipād[a]y[i]tave (Y) [e]t[ā]ye aṭhāye iya[m]l[i]p[i] likhit[a h]ida ena  
*Jau.* . . . . . tave (Z) etāye cha aṭh[ā]ye iyaṁ [li]khitā [l]ipī ena

*Dhau.* nagala-vi[y]o[hā]lakā sas[v]ataṁ samayaṁ yūjevū t[i] . . .  
*Jau.* mahāmātā nagalaka sa[s]vata[m] sama[ya]m [etaṁ] yu[j]ey[u] t[i] ena

*Dhau.* . . [na]sa akasmā [pa]libodhe va [a]k[a]smā paliki[l]e[s]e va no siyā  
*Jau.* [muni]s[ā]naṁ [a] . . . . . ne [pal]i[k]i . . . . .

*Dhau.* ti (Z) etāye cha aṭhāye haka[m] . . . . . mate p[a]mchasu paṁchasu  
*Jau.* . . . . . ye [pa]mchasu paṁchasu

*Dhau.* [va]sesu [n]i[khā]may[i]sāmi e akhakhase a[cha]m[d]e  
*Jau.* va[sesu] anu[sa]yānaṁ nikhāma[y]isāmi mahāmāta[m] acham[da]m

*Dhau.* s[a]khinālabhe hosati etaṁ aṭhaṁ jānitu . . . . . [ta]thā kala[m]ti  
*Jau.* aphal[usa]m ta . . . . .

*Dhau.* atha mama anusathī ti (AA) Ujenite pi chu kumāle etāye v[a]  
*Jau.* . . . . . pi kumāle [v] . . . . .



*Dhau.* aṭhāye [ni]khāma[yisa] . . . . . hedisameva vagam no cha atikāmayisati  
*Ṭau.* . . . . . m[ayī] . . . . .

*Dhau.* timni vasāni (BB) hemeva T[a]kha[s]ilāte pi (CC) [a]dā a . . . . .  
*Ṭau.* . . . . . [lā]t[e] . . . . .

*Dhau.* te mahāmātā nikhamisaṃti anusayānaṃ tadā ahāpayitu atane  
*Ṭau.* vachanik[a] ada [anusa]yānaṃ n[ikha]mi[sam]ti a[ta]ne

*Dhau.* kaṃmaṃ . . . . . etaṃ pi jānisaṃti taṃ pi ta[th]ā kalaṃti  
*Ṭau.* ka[mma]m . . . . . [yitu] taṃ pi tathā kalaṃti

*Dhau.* a[tha] lājine anusathi ti  
*Ṭau.* [athā] . . . . .

## SECOND SEPARATE ROCK-EDICT

*Dhau.* (A) Devānaṃpiyas[a] vachanena Tosaliyaṃ kumāle mahāmātā cha  
*Ṭau.* (A) Devānaṃpiye hevaṃ ā[ha] (B) Samāpāyaṃ mahamatā

*Dhau.* . . . . . vataviya (B) aṃ kichhi dakhām[i] h[akaṃ taṃ i] . . . .  
*Ṭau.* l[ā]ja-vachanik[a] vataviyā (C) aṃ kichhi dakh[ā]mi hakaṃ taṃ i[chh]āmi

*Dhau.* . . . . . duvālate cha ālabhehaṃ (C) esa  
*Ṭau.* hakaṃ k[iṃ]ti kaṃ kamana paṭipātayehaṃ duvā[la]te cha ālabhehaṃ (D) esa

*Dhau.* cha me mokhya-mata duvālā etasi aṭhasi aṃ tuphe[s]u . . . .  
*Ṭau.* cha me mokhiya-mat[a] duvāl[a] etasa a[tha]sa a[m] t[uph]esu anusa[thi]

*Dhau.* . . . . . mama (E) ath[a] pajāye ichhāmi hakaṃ ki[m]ti  
*Ṭau.* (E) sava-munisā me pajā (F) atha pajāy[e] ichhāmi kiṃti me

*Dhau.* savena hi[ta-sukhe]na . . . . . hidalokika-pālalokikāye yujevū ti  
*Ṭau.* savenā hita-su[kh]ena yu[je]yū<sup>1</sup> ti hidalogika-pālaloki[k]e[ṇa]

*Dhau.* h[e]v[aṃ] . . . . . (F) siyā aṃtānaṃ avijitānaṃ  
*Ṭau.* hevaṃmeva me ichha sava-munisesu (G) siyā aṃtānaṃ [a]vijitānaṃ

*Dhau.* ki-chha[mde] su lāja [aphesu] . . (G) . . . . m[a]va ichha mama aṃtesu  
*Ṭau.* kiṃ-chhāmdē su lājā aphenū ti (H) etākā [vā] me ichha [a]mtesu

*Dhau.* . . . i [p]ā[p]unevu te iti Devānaṃp[iy] . . . . . [anu]v[i]g[ina] mamāye  
*Ṭau.* pāpunevu lājā hevaṃ ichh[a]ti anu[v]i[g]ina hve[yū]

*Dhau.* huvevū ti asvasevu cha sukhaṃmeva lahevu mamat[e]  
*Ṭau.* mamiyāye [a]svaseyu cha me sukhaṃ[m]ev[a] cha lahey[ū] mamate

*Dhau.* no dukha[m] h[e]va[m] . . . un[e]vū iti khamisati ne  
*Ṭau.* [n]o kha[m] hevaṃ cha pāpunevu kha[m]i[sa]ti ne

<sup>1</sup> The last eight words are repeated thus: [a]tha pajāye ichhāmi kiṃ[ti] m[e] savena hita-sukh[e]na yujevū.



*Dhau.* Devānaṃpiye [aph]ākā ti e chakiye khamitave mama nimitaṃ [va]  
*Ṭau.* lājā e s[a]kiye khamitave mamaṃ nimitaṃ

*Dhau.* cha dhammaṃ chalevū hidaloka palaloka[r̥] cha  
*Ṭau.* cha dhamma[r̥] chaley[ū] ti hidalog[aṃ] cha palalogaṃ cha

*Dhau.* ālādhayevū (H) etasi aṭhasi haka[r̥] anusāsāmi tuphe  
*Ṭau.* ālādhayey[ū] (I) etāye cha aṭhāye hakaṃ tupheni anusāsāmi

*Dhau.* ana[n]e [e]takena hakaṃ anusāsitu chhaṃdaṃ cha veditu  
*Ṭau.* ana[ne] eta[kena] [ha]kaṃ tupheni a[nu]sāsitu chhaṃda[r̥] cha veditu

*Dhau.* ā [hi] , dhi[t]i paṭimnā cha mamā [a]jalā (I) s[e] hevaṃ kaṭu  
*Ṭau.* ā mama dhiti paṭimnā cha achala (Ṭ) sa hevaṃ [ka]ṭu

*Dhau.* kaṃme chal[i]t[a]v[i]ye asv[āsa] . . . . i [cha] tāni ena  
*Ṭau.* k[aṃ]me [cha]litaviye asvāsa[n]iyā ch[a] te en[a] te

*Dhau.* pāpunevū iti atha pitā tatha Devānaṃpiy[e] aphāka athā cha  
*Ṭau.* pāpuneyu a[th]ā pita [h]evaṃ [n]e lājā ti atha

*Dhau.* atānaṃ hevaṃ Devānaṃpiye [a]nukaṃpati aphe athā cha pajā  
*Ṭau.* [a]tānaṃ anukaṃpat[i] he]vaṃ a[ph]eni anuka[m]pa]ti athā pajā

*Dhau.* hevaṃ may[e] D[e]vānaṃpiyasa (Ṭ) se hakaṃ anusāsitu [chha]ṃda[r̥]  
*Ṭau.* hevaṃ [may]e lā[j]ine (K) tupheni hakaṃ anusāsita [chh]āṃdaṃ .

*Dhau.* ch[a] veditu tu]phāk[a] desāvutike  
*Ṭau.* [cha v]e[di]ta [ā ma]ma dhiti paṭi[r̥]nā chā achala [saka]la-desā-āy[ut]ike

*Dhau.* hosāmi etāye aṭhāye (K) paṭibalā hi taph[e] asvāsanāye hita-  
*Ṭau.* hosāmi et[a]si [a]thas[i] (L) [a]laṃ [h]i tuphe asvāsa[nā]ye hi[ta]-

*Dhau.* sukhāye cha [tesa] hidalokika-pālalo[k]kāye (L) hevaṃ cha  
*Ṭau.* sukhāye [cha te]sa[r̥] hidalogi[ka]-p[ā]la[o]ki[k]ā[y]e (M) hevaṃ cha

*Dhau.* kalaṃtaṃ tuphe svagaṃ ālādha[yi]satha mama ch[a] ānaniyaṃ  
*Ṭau.* kalaṃtaṃ svaga[r̥] cha ā]lādhayisa[tha] mama cha āna[n]eyaṃ

*Dhau.* ehatha (M) etāye cha aṭhāye iyaṃ lipi likhitā hida e[na]  
*Ṭau.* es[a]tha (N) etāye cha a[th]āye i[ya]ṃ lipi li[kh]i[ta] hi]da e[na]

*Dhau.* [ma]hāmātā svasata[r̥] sa]ma yujisaṃti as[vā]s[a]nāye dhamma-  
*Ṭau.* [ma]h[ā]mātā sāsavataṃ samaṃ yujeyū asvāsanāye cha dhamma-

*Dhau.* chala[n]āye cha tes[a] aṃtānaṃ (N) iyaṃ cha lipi [anu]chātum[māsaṃ]  
*Ṭau.* chala[nā]ye [cha] aṃtā[na]ṃ (O) iyaṃ cha lipi a[nu]ch[ā]tum[m]āsaṃ

*Dhau.* tisena nakhatena sotaviyā (O) kāmaṃ chu [kha]ṇas[i] khanasi  
*Ṭau.* s[ota]viyā tisena (P) aṃta[lā] pi cha sotaviyā



*Dhau.* aṁtalā pi tisena ekena [p]i [so]taviya (P) hevaṁ kala[m]taṁ  
*Jau.* (Q) khane saṁtaṁ eke[na] pi [sota]v[i]yā (R) heva[m] cha [ka]laṁ[ta]ṁ

*Dhau.* [t]uphe chaghatha saṁpaṭipādayitave  
*Jau.* chaghatha saṁpaṭipātayit[av]e

### III. THE SIX PILLAR-EDICTS

#### FIRST PILLAR-EDICT

*Tōp.* (A) Devānaṁpiye Piyadasi lāja hevaṁ āhā (B) saḍuvīsati-vasa-abhisitena  
*Ar.* (A) Devānaṁpiye Piyadasi lāja hevaṁ āha (B) saḍuvīsati-vasābhisitena  
*Nand.* (A) Devānaṁpiye Piyadasi lāja hevaṁ ā[ha] (B) saḍuvīsati-vasābhisitena  
*Rām.* (A) Devānaṁpiye P[i]yadasi lāja heva āha (B) saḍuvīsati-vasābhisitena  
*All.* (A) Devānaṁpiye Piyadasi lāja hevaṁ āhā (B) saḍuvīsati-vasābhisitena

*Tōp.* me iyaṁ dhamma-lipi likhāpitā (C) hidata-pālate dusaṁpaṭipādaye  
*Ar.* me iyaṁ dhamma-li[p]i likhāpita (C) hidata-pālate dusaṁpaṭipādaye  
*Nand.* me iyaṁ dhamma-lipi likhāpita (C) hidata-pālate dusaṁpaṭipādaye  
*Rām.* me iyaṁ dhamma-lipi likhāpita (C) hidata-pālate dusaṁpaṭipādaye  
*All.* me iyaṁ dhamma-lipi likhāpitā (C) hidata-pālate dusaṁpaṭipāda[y]e

*Tōp.* aṁnata agāyā dhamma-kāmatāyā agāya palikhāyā agāya su[sū]sāyā  
*Ar.* aṁnata agāya dhamma-kāmatāyā agāya palikhāy[a] agāya susūsāya  
*Nand.* aṁnata agāya dhamma-kāmatāyā agāya palikhāya agāya susūsāya  
*Rām.* aṁnata agāya dhamma-kāmatāyā agāya palikhāya agāya susūsāya  
*All.* aṁnata agāya dhamma-kāmatāyā agāya palikhāya agāya susūsāyā

*Tōp.* aṁnata bhayenā aṁnata usāhenā (D) esa chu kho mama anusathiyā  
*Ar.* aṁnata bhayena aṁnata usāhena (D) esa chu kho mama anusathiya  
*Nand.* aṁnata bhayena aṁnata usāhena (D) esa chu kho mama anusathiya  
*Rām.* aṁnata bhayena aṁnata usāhena (D) esa chu kho mama anusathiya  
*All.* aṁnata bhayena a[g]ena usāhena (D) esa chu kho mama anusathi[y]ā

*Tōp.* dhammāpekha dhamma-kāmatā chā suve suve vaḍhitā vaḍhisati chevā  
*Ar.* dhammāpekha dhamma-kāmatā cha suve suve vaḍhita vaḍhisati cheva  
*Nand.* dhammāpekha dhamma-kāmatā cha suve suve vaḍhita vaḍhisati cheva  
*Rām.* dhammāpekha dhamma-kāmatā cha suve suve vaḍhita vaḍhisati cheva  
*All.* dhammāpekha dhamma-kāmatā cha suve suve vaḍhitā vaḍhisati ch[e]vā

*Tōp.* (E) pulisā pi cha me ukasā chā gevayā chā majhimā chā  
*Ar.* (E) pulisā pi me ukasā cha gevayā cha majhimā cha  
*Nand.* (E) pulisā pi me ukasā cha gevayā cha majhimā cha  
*Rām.* (E) pulisā pi me ukasā cha gevayā cha majhimā cha  
*All.* (E) pulisā pi me ukasā cha gevayā cha majhimā cha

*Tōp.* anuvidhīyaṁti saṁpaṭipādayaṁti chā alaṁ chapalaṁ samādapayitave  
*Ar.* anuvidhīyaṁti saṁpaṭipādayaṁti cha alaṁ chapalaṁ samādapayitave  
*Nand.* anuvidhīyaṁti saṁpaṭipādayaṁti cha alaṁ chapalaṁ samādapayitave  
*Rām.* anuvidhīyaṁti saṁpaṭipādayaṁti cha alaṁ chapalaṁ samādapayitave  
*All.* anuvidhīyaṁti saṁpaṭipādayaṁti cha alaṁ chapalaṁ samādapayitave



<i>Tōp.</i>	(F)	hemevā	aṁta-mahāmātā	pi	(G)	esā	hi	vidhi	yā	iyam	dhammena
<i>Mīr.</i>											
<i>Ar.</i>	(F)	hemeva	aṁta-mahāmātā	pi	(G)	esā	hi	vidhi	yā	iyam	dhammena
<i>Nand.</i>	(F)	hemeva	aṁta-mahāmātā	pi	(G)	esā	hi	vidhi	yā	iyam	dhammena
<i>Rām.</i>	(F)	hemeva	aṁta-mahāmātā	pi	(G)	esā	hi	vidhi	yā	iyam	dhammena
<i>All.</i>	(F)	hemmeva	aṁta-mahāmātā	pi	(G)	esā	hi	vidhi	yā	[i]yam	dhammena

<i>Tōp.</i>	pālanā	dhammena	vidhāne	dhammena	sukhiyanā	dhammena
<i>Mīr.</i>	....[naṁ]	dhammen[a]	v[i]dh[āne]	dha[me]		
<i>Ar.</i>	pālana	dhammena	vidhāne	dhammena	sukh[i]yana	dhammena
<i>Nand.</i>	pālana	dhammena	vidhāne	dhammena	sukhīyana	dhammena
<i>Rām.</i>	pālana	dhammena	vidhāne	dha[m]m[e]na	sukhīyana	dhammena
<i>All.</i>	pālanā	dhammena	vidhāne	dhammena	sukhiyanā	dhammena

<i>Tōp.</i>	gotī	ti
<i>Mīr.</i>		
<i>Ar.</i>	gotī	ti
<i>Nand.</i>	gotī	ti
<i>Rām.</i>	gotī	ti
<i>All.</i>	[gut]i	[ti cha]

## SECOND PILLAR-EDICT

<i>Tōp.</i>	(A)	Devānaṁpiye	Piyadasi	lāja	hevaṁ	āhā	(B)	dhamme	sādhū
<i>Mīr.</i>	(A)	De[vā]n[a]ṁpiye	Piyadasi	lāja	[hevaṁ ā]..		(B)	dh[am]me	s[ā]dh[u]
<i>Ar.</i>	(A)	Devānaṁpiye	Piyadasi	lāja	hevaṁ	āha	(B)	dhamme	sādhū
<i>Nand.</i>	(A)	Devānaṁpiye	Piyadasi	lāja	hevaṁ	āha	(B)	dhamme	sādhū
<i>Rām.</i>	(A)	Devānaṁpiye	Piyadasi	lāja	hevaṁ	āha	(B)	dhamme	sādhū
<i>All.</i>	(A)	Devānaṁpiye	Piyadasi	lājā	hevaṁ	āhā	(B)	dhamme	sādhū

<i>Tōp.</i>	kiyaṁ	chu	dhamme	ti	(C)	apāsinave	bahu	kayāne	dayā	dāne	sache
<i>Mīr.</i>	k[iya]m			[m]e	ti	(C)	a[pā]sinave	bahu	kayāne	dayā	dāne
<i>Ar.</i>	kiyaṁ	chu	dhamme	ti	(C)	apāsinave	bahu	kayāne	daya	dāne	sache
<i>Nand.</i>	kiya	chu	dhamme	ti	(C)	apāsinave	bahu	kayāne	daya	dāne	sache
<i>Rām.</i>	kiyaṁ	chu	dhamme	ti	(C)	apāsinave	bahu	kayāne	daya	dāne	sache
<i>All.</i>	kiyaṁ	chu	dhamme	ti	(C)	apāsinave	bahu	kayāne	dayā	dāne	sache

<i>Tōp.</i>	sochaye	(D)	chakhu-dāne	pi	me	bahuvidhe	diṁne	(E)	dupada-	
<i>Mīr.</i>	sochaye	(D)	[chakhu-dā]nā	[pi	me]	bahuvidhe	diṁne	(E)	du[pa]da-	
<i>Ar.</i>	socheye	ti	(D)	chakhu-dāne	pi	me	bahuvidhe	diṁne	(E)	dupada-
<i>Nand.</i>	socheye	ti	(D)	chakhu-dāne	pi	me	bahuvidhe	diṁne	(E)	dupada-
<i>Rām.</i>	socheye	ti	(D)	chakhu-dāne	pi	me	bahuvidhe	diṁne	(E)	dupada-
<i>All.</i>	sochaye	(D)	chakhu-dāne	pi	me	bahuvidhe	diṁne	(E)	dupada-	

<i>Tōp.</i>	chatupadesu	pakhi-vālichaesu	vividhe	me	anugahe	kaṭe	ā	pāna-
<i>Mīr.</i>	ch[a]tu[pa]desu	pakhi-vālichaesu	viv[ji]dhe	me	anu[ga]he	kaṭe	ā	pāna-
<i>Ar.</i>	chatupadesu	pakhi-vālichaesu	vividhe	me	anugahe	kaṭe	ā	pāna-
<i>Nand.</i>	chatupadesu	pakhi-vālichaesu	vividhe	me	anugahe	kaṭe	ā	pāna-
<i>Rām.</i>	chatupadesu	pakhi-vālichaesu	vividhe	me	anugahe	kaṭe	ā	pāna-
<i>All.</i>	chatupadesu	pakhi-vālichaesu	vividhe	me	anugahe	kaṭe	ā	pāna-



<i>Tōp.</i>	dākhināye	(F)	amñāni	pi	cha	me	bahūni	kayānāni	kaṭāni	(G)	etāye
<i>Mīr.</i>	dākhināye	(F)	a[m]nāni	pi	cha	me	bah[ūni]	kayānāni	kaṭāni	(G)	etāye
<i>Ar.</i>	dakhināye	(F)	a[m]nāni	pi	cha	me	bahūni	kayānāni	kaṭāni	(G)	etāye
<i>Nand.</i>	dakhināye	(F)	amñāni	pi	cha	me	bahūni	kayānāni	kaṭāni	(G)	etāye
<i>Rām.</i>	dakhināye	(F)	amñāni	pi	cha	me	bahūni	kayānāni	kaṭāni	(G)	etāye
<i>All.</i>	dakhināye	(F)	amñāni	pi	cha	me	bahūni	kayānāni	kaṭāni	(G)	etāye

<i>Tōp.</i>	me	aṭhāye	iyam	dhamma-lipi	likhāpitā	hevaṃ	anupaṭipajamtu	chilaṃ-
<i>Mīr.</i>	me	aṭhāye	iyam	dhamma-lipi	li[khāpitā]	. . . .	anupaṭipajamtu	chil[am]-
<i>Ar.</i>	me	aṭhāye	iyam	dhamma-lipi	likhāpita	hevaṃ	anupaṭipajamtu	chilaṃ-
<i>Nand.</i>	me	aṭhāye	iyam	dhamma-lipi	likhāpita	hevaṃ	anupaṭipajamtu	chilaṃ-
<i>Rām.</i>	me	aṭhāye	iyam	dhamma-lipi	likhāpita	hevaṃ	anupaṭipajamtu	chilaṃ-
<i>All.</i>	me	aṭhāye	iyam	dhamma-lipi	likhāpitā	hevaṃ	anupaṭipajamtu	chila-

<i>Tōp.</i>	thitikā	cha	hotū	tī	ti	(H)	ye	cha	hevaṃ	samṭaṭṭipajisati	se
<i>Mīr.</i>	[th]itikā	cha	hot[ū]		ti	(H)	ye	[cha]	. . . . .	[sa]ti	se
<i>Ar.</i>	thitukā	cha	hotū		ti	(H)	ye	cha	hevaṃ	samṭaṭṭipajisati	se
<i>Nand.</i>	thitukā	cha	hotū		ti	(H)	ye	cha	hevaṃ	samṭaṭṭipajisati	se
<i>Rām.</i>	thitukā	cha	hotū		ti	(H)	ye	cha	hevaṃ	samṭaṭṭipajisati	se
<i>All.</i>	thitukā	cha	hotū		ti	(H)	ye	cha	hevaṃ	samṭaṭṭipajisati	se

<i>Tōp.</i>	sukaṭam	kachhatī	ti
<i>Mīr.</i>	sukaṭam	ka[chha]tī	ti
<i>Ar.</i>	sukaṭam	kachhatī	ti
<i>Nand.</i>	sukaṭam	kachhatī	
<i>Rām.</i>	sukaṭam	kachhatī	ti
<i>All.</i>	sukaṭam	kachhatī	ti

## THIRD PILLAR-EDICT

<i>Tōp.</i>	(A)	Devānaṃpiye	Piyadasi	lāja	hevaṃ	ahā	(B)	kayānaṃmeva	dekhati
<i>Mīr.</i>	(A)	Devānaṃpiye	Piyadasi	lāja	hevaṃ	āhā	(B)	kayānaṃm[eva]	de] . . . .
<i>Ar.</i>	(A)	Devānaṃpiye	Piyadasi	lāja	hevaṃ	āha	(B)	kayānaṃmeva	dekhamti
<i>Nand.</i>	(A)	Devānaṃpiye	Piyadasi	lāja	hevaṃ	āha	(B)	kayānaṃmeva	dekhamti
<i>Rām.</i>	(A)	Devānaṃpiye	Piyadasi	lāja	hevaṃ	āha	(B)	kayānaṃmeva	dekhamti
<i>All.</i>	(A)	Devānaṃpiye	Piyadasi	lājā	hevaṃ	āhā	(B)	kayānameva	dekhati

<i>Tōp.</i>	iyam	me	kayāne	kaṭe	ti	(C)	no	mina	pāpaṃ	d[e]khati	iyam	me
<i>Mīr.</i>	. . . . .		kayāne	kaṭe	tī	(C)	no	min[ā]	pāpaṃ	dekhati	iyam	me
<i>Ar.</i>	iyam	me	kayāne	kaṭe	ti	(C)	no	mina	pāpaṃ	dekhamti	iyam	me
<i>Nand.</i>	iyam	me	kayāne	kaṭe	ti	(C)	no	mina	pāpaṃ	dekhamti	iyam	me
<i>Rām.</i>	iyam	me	kayāne	kaṭe	ti	(C)	no	mina	pāpaṃ	dekhamti	iyam	me
<i>All.</i>	iyam	me	kayāne	kaṭe	ti	(C)	no	mina	pāpakam	dekhati	iyam	me

<i>Tōp.</i>	pāpe	kaṭe	ti	iyam	vā	āsinave	nāmā	ti	(D)	dupaṭivekhe	chu	kho
<i>Mīr.</i>	pāp[e]	kaṭe	ti	iyam	va]	āsinave	nāmā	ti	(D)	[du]paṭivekhe	chu	kho
<i>Ar.</i>	pāpe	kaṭe	ti	iyam	va	āsinave	nāmā	ti	(D)	dupaṭivekhe	chu	kho
<i>Nand.</i>	pāpe	kaṭe	ti	iyam	va	āsinave	nāmā	ti	(D)	dupaṭivekhe	chu	kho
<i>Rām.</i>	pāpe	kaṭe	ti	iyam	va	āsinave	nāmā	ti	(D)	dupaṭivekhe	chu	kho
<i>All.</i>	pāpake	kaṭe	ti	iyam	vā	āsinave	nāmā	ti	. . . . .			



<i>Tōp.</i>	esā	(E)	hevaṃ	chu	kho	esa	dekhiye	(F)	imāni	āsinava-gāmīni	nāma
<i>Mir.</i>	esā	(E)	hevaṃ	chu	kho	[esa de]	khiye	(F)	imāni	āsinav[a-gāmīni]	nāma
<i>Ar.</i>	esa	(E)	hevaṃ	chu	kho	esa	dekhiye	(F)	imāni	āsinava-gāmīni	nāmā
<i>Nand.</i>	esa	(E)	hevaṃ	chu	kho	esa	dekhiye	(F)	imāni	āsinava-gāmīni	nāmā
<i>Rām.</i>	esa	(E)	hevaṃ	chu	kho	esa	dekhiye	(F)	imāni	āsinava-gāmīni	nāmā

<i>Top.</i>		atha	chaṃḍiye	niṭhūliye	kodhe	māne	isyā	kālanena	va
<i>Mir.</i>		atha	chaṃḍ[i]ye	ni[ṭhū]li[y]e	k[o]dhe	māne	isyā	kālanena	[va]
<i>Ar.</i>	ti	atha	chaṃḍiye	niṭhūliye	kodhe	māne	isya	kālanena	va
<i>Nand.</i>	ti	atha	chaṃḍiye	niṭhūliye	kodhe	māne	isya	kālanena	va
<i>Rām.</i>	ti	atha	chaṃḍiye	niṭhūliye	kodhe	māne	isya	kālanena	va

<i>Tōp.</i>	hakam	mā	palibhasayisaṃ	(G)	esa	bāḍha	dekhiye	(H)	iyam	me	
<i>Mir.</i>	hakam	mā	palibha[sa]yi[sa]ṃ	(G)	...	bā[ḍham]	dekhiye	(H)	iyam	me	
<i>Ar.</i>	hakam	mā	palibhasayisaṃ	ti	(G)	esa	bāḍham	dekhiye	(H)	iyam	me
<i>Nand.</i>	hakam	mā	palibhasayisaṃ	ti	(G)	esa	bāḍham	dekhiye	(H)	iyam	me
<i>Rām.</i>	hakam	mā	palibhasayisaṃ	(G)	esa	bāḍham	dekhiye	(H)	iyam	me	

<i>Tōp.</i>	hidatikāye	iyaṃmana	me	pālatikāye	
<i>Mir.</i>	[hi]dat[i]kāye	iyaṃ	me	pālatikāye	
<i>Ar.</i>	hidatikāye	iyaṃmana	me	pālatikāye	ti
<i>Nand.</i>	hidatikāye	iyaṃmana	me	pālatikāye	ti
<i>Rām.</i>	hidatikāye	iyaṃmana	me	pālatikāye	ti

## FOURTH PILLAR-EDICT

<i>Tōp.</i>	(A)	Devānaṃpiye	Piyadasi	[ā]ja	hevaṃ	āhā	(B)	saḍuvīsati-vasa-abhisitena
<i>Ar.</i>	(A)	Devānaṃpiye	Piyadasi	lāja	hevaṃ	āha	(B)	saḍuvīsati-vasābhisitena
<i>Nand.</i>	(A)	Devānaṃpiye	Piyadasi	lāja	hevaṃ	āha	(B)	saḍuvīsati-vasābhisitena
<i>Rām.</i>	(A)	Devānaṃpiye	Piyadasi	lāja	hevaṃ	āha	(B)	saḍuvīsati-vasābhisitena

<i>Tōp.</i>	me	iyaṃ	dhamma-lipī	likhāpitā	(C)	lajūkā	me	bahūsu	pāna-sata-sahasasu
<i>Ar.</i>	me	iyaṃ	dhamma-lipī	likhāpita	(C)	lajūkā	me	bahūsu	pāna-sata-sahasasu
<i>Nand.</i>	me	iyaṃ	dhamma-lipī	likhāpitā	(C)	lajūkā	me	bahūsu	pāna-sata-sahasasu
<i>Rām.</i>	me	iyaṃ	dhamma-lipī	likhāpita	(C)	lajūkā	me	bahūsu	pāna-sata-sahasasu

<i>Tōp.</i>	janasi	āyatā	(D)	tesaṃ	ye	abhihāle	vā	daṃḍe	vā	ata-patiye	me
<i>Ar.</i>	janasi	āyata	(D)	tesaṃ	ye	abhihāle	va	d[a]ṃḍe	va	ata-patiye	me
<i>Nand.</i>	janasi	āyata	(D)	tesaṃ	ye	abhihāle	va	daṃḍe	va	ata-patiye	me
<i>Rām.</i>	janasi	āyata	(D)	tesaṃ	ye	abhihale	va	daṃḍe	va	ata-patiye	me

<i>Tōp.</i>	kaṭe	kiṃti	lajūkā	asvatha	abhītā	kaṃmāni	pavatayevū		janasa
<i>Ar.</i>	kaṭe	kiṃti	lajūka	asvatha	abhīta	kaṃmāni	pavatayevū	ti	janasa
<i>Nand.</i>	kaṭe	kiṃti	lajūka	asvatha	abhīta	kaṃmāni	pavatayevū	ti	janasa
<i>Rām.</i>	kaṭe	kiṃti	lajūka	asvatha	abhīta	kaṃmāni	pavatayevū	ti	janasa



<i>Tōp.</i>	jānapadasā	hita-sukhaṃ	upadahevū	anugahinevu	chā	(E)	sukhiyana-
<i>Ar.</i>	jānapadasa	hita-sukhaṃ	upadahevū	anugahinevu	cha	(E)	sukhiyana-
<i>Nand.</i>	jānapadasa	hita-sukhaṃ	upadahevū	anugahinevu	cha	(E)	sukhiyana-
<i>Rām.</i>	jānapadasa	hita-sukhaṃ	upadahevū	anugahinevu	cha	(E)	sukhiyana-

<i>Tōp.</i>	dukkhiyanaṃ	jānisaṃti	dhamma-yutena	cha	viyovadisanti	janaṃ	jānapadaṃ
<i>Ar.</i>	dukkhiyanaṃ	jānisaṃti	dhamma-yutena	cha	viyovadisanti	janaṃ	jānapadaṃ
<i>Nand.</i>	dukkhiyanaṃ	jānisaṃti	dhamma-yutena	cha	viyovadisanti	janaṃ	jānapadaṃ
<i>Rām.</i>	dukkhiyanaṃ	jānisaṃti	dhamma-yutena	cha	viyovadisanti	janaṃ	jānapadaṃ

<i>Tōp.</i>	kiṃti	hidataṃ	cha	pālataṃ	cha	ālādhayevū	ti	(F)	lajūkā	pi	laghaṃti
<i>Ar.</i>	kiṃti	hidataṃ	cha	pālataṃ	cha	ālādhayevū		(F)	lajūkā	pi	laghaṃti
<i>Nand.</i>	kiṃti	hidataṃ	cha	pālataṃ	cha	ālādhayevū	ti	(F)	lajūkā	pi	laghaṃti
<i>Rām.</i>	kiṃti	hidataṃ	cha	pālataṃ	cha	ālādhayevū	ti	(F)	lajūkā	pi	laghaṃti

<i>Tōp.</i>	paṭichalitave	maṃ	(G)	pulisāni	pi	me	chhaṃdaṃnāni	paṭichalisaṃti
<i>Ar.</i>	paṭichalitave	maṃ	(G)	pulisāni	pi	me	chhaṃdaṃnāni	paṭichalisaṃti
<i>Nand.</i>	paṭichalitave	maṃ	(G)	pulisā[ā]ni	pi	me	chhaṃdaṃnāni	paṭichalisaṃti
<i>Rām.</i>	paṭichalitave	maṃ	(G)	pulisāni	pi	me	chhaṃdaṃnāni	paṭichalisaṃti

<i>Tōp.</i>	(H)	te	pi	cha	kāni	viyovadisanti	yena	maṃ	lajūkā	chaghaṃti
<i>Mīr.</i>									[ka]	chaghaṃti
<i>Ar.</i>	(H)	te	pi	cha	kāni	viyovadisanti	yena	maṃ	lajūka	chaghaṃti
<i>Nand.</i>	(H)	te	pi	cha	kāni	viyovadisanti	yena	maṃ	lajūka	chaghaṃti
<i>Rām.</i>	(H)	te	pi	cha	kāni	viyovadisanti	yena	maṃ	lajūka	chaghaṃti

<i>Tōp.</i>	ālādhayitave	(I)	athā	hi	pajaṃ	viyatāye	dhātiye	nisijitu	asvathe
<i>Mīr.</i>	[ā]lādha[y]i[tave]	(I)							tu asvathe
<i>Ar.</i>	ālādhayitave	(I)	athā	hi	pajaṃ	viyatāye	dhātiye	nisijitu	asvathe
<i>Nand.</i>	ālādhayitave	(I)	athā	hi	pajaṃ	viyatāye	dhātiye	nisijitu	asvathe
<i>Rām.</i>	ālādhayitave	(I)	athā	hi	pajaṃ	viyatāye	dhātiye	nisijitu	asvathe

<i>Tōp.</i>	hoti	viyata	dhāti	chaghati	me	pajaṃ	sukhaṃ	palihāṭave	hevaṃ
<i>Mīr.</i>	[ho]ti	vi[ya]						[l]i[ha]ṭave	hev[am]
<i>Ar.</i>	hoti	viyata	dhāti	chaghati	me	paṃjaṃ	sukhaṃ	palihāṭave	ti hevaṃ
<i>Nand.</i>	hoti	viyata	dhāti	chaghati	me	pajaṃ	sukhaṃ	palihāṭave	ti hevaṃ
<i>Rām.</i>	hoti	viyata	dhāti	chaghati	me	pajaṃ	sukhaṃ	palihāṭave	ti hevaṃ

<i>Top.</i>	mamā	lajūkā	kaṭā	jānapadasa	hita-sukhāye	(Y)	yena	ete	abhīṭā
<i>Mir.</i>	[mam]ā	[la]jūk[a]	.	.	ye	(Y)	yen[a]	ete	a[bh]īṭā
<i>Ar.</i>	mama	lajūka	kaṭa	jānapadasa	hita-sukhāye	(Y)	yena	ete	abhīṭa
<i>Nand.</i>	mama	lajūka	kaṭa	jānapadasa	hita-sukhāye	(Y)	yena	ete	abhīṭa
<i>Rām.</i>	mama	lajūka	kaṭa	jānapadasa	hita-sukhāye	(Y)	yena	ete	abhīṭa

<i>Tōp.</i>	asvatha	saṃtaṃ	avimaṇā	kaṃmāni	pavatayevū	ti	etena
<i>Mīr.</i>	asvatha	saṃ			[pa]vataye[v]ū	ti	[e]te[na]
<i>Ar.</i>	asvathā	saṃtaṃ	achhīmana	kaṃmāni	pavatayevū	ti	etena
<i>Nand.</i>	asvathā	saṃtaṃ	avimāna	kaṃmāni	pavatayevū	ti	etena
<i>Rām.</i>	asvathā	saṃtaṃ	avimāna	kaṃmāni	pavatayevū	ti	etena



<i>Tōp.</i>	me	lajūkānaṃ	abh[i]hāle	va	daṃḍe	vā	ata-patiye	kaṭe
<i>Mīr.</i>	me	[laj]ū[kā]ṇ[am]	.	.	.	.	ata-patiye	kaṭ[e]
<i>Ar.</i>	me	lajūkānaṃ	abhihāle	va	daṃḍe	va	ata-patiye	kaṭe
<i>Nand.</i>	me	lajūkānaṃ	[a]bhihāle	va	daṃḍe	va	ata-patiye	kaṭe
<i>Rām.</i>	me	lajūkānaṃ	abhihāle	va	daṃḍe	va	ata-patiye	kaṭe
<i>All.</i>	.	[kānaṃ	abhihāle	vā	daṃḍe	vā	ata-pa]t[i]y[e	kaṭe]

<i>Tōp.</i>	(K)	ichhitaviye	[h]i	esā	kiṃti	viyohāla-samatā	cha	siya
<i>Mīr.</i>	(K)	ichhitavi	.	.	.	[h]āla-samatā	ch[a]	siyā
<i>Ar.</i>	(K)	ichhitaviye	hi	esa	kiṃti	viyohāla-samatā	cha	siya
<i>Nand.</i>	(K)	ichhitaviye	hi	esa	kiṃti	viyohāla-samatā	cha	siya
<i>Rām.</i>	(K)	ichhitaviye	hi	esa	ki[m]ti	viyohāla-samatā	cha	siya
<i>All.</i>	(K)	[i]chh[i]t[a]v[i]y[e]	h[i]	e]s[a]	k[i]m]t[i]	..... la-sama[t]ā	cha	siyā

<i>Tōp.</i>	daṃḍa-samatā	chā	(L)	ava	ite	pi	cha	me	āvuti	baṃdhana-
<i>Mīr.</i>	daṃḍa-sa[ma]	.	.	.	.	.	.	[me]	āvuti	[ba]ṃdhana-
<i>Ar.</i>	daṃḍa-samatā	cha	(L)	āvā	ite	pi	cha	me	āvuti	baṃdhana-
<i>Nand.</i>	daṃḍa-samatā	cha	(L)	āvā	ite	pi	cha	me	āvuti	baṃdhana-
<i>Rām.</i>	daṃḍa-samatā	cha	(L)	āvā	ite	pi	cha	me	āvuti	baṃdhana-
<i>All.</i>	da[m]ḍa-samatā	cha	(L)	āva	ite	pi	cha	me	āvuti	baṃdhana-

<i>Tōp.</i>	badhānaṃ	munisānaṃ	tīl[i]ta-daṃḍānaṃ	pata-vadhānaṃ	tiṃni	divasā[n]i
<i>Mīr.</i>	[badh]ānaṃ	munisā[naṃ]	.	.	.	vadhānaṃ tiṃni di[va]sāni
<i>Ar.</i>	badhānaṃ	munisā[na]ṃ	tīlita-daṃḍānaṃ	pata-vadhānaṃ	tiṃni	divasāni
<i>Nand.</i>	badhānaṃ	munisānaṃ	tīlita-daṃḍānaṃ	pata-vadhānaṃ	tiṃni	divasāni
<i>Rām.</i>	badhānaṃ	munisānaṃ	tīlita-daṃḍānaṃ	pata-vadhānaṃ	tiṃni	divasāni
<i>All.</i>	badhānaṃ	munisānaṃ	tīlita-daṃḍānaṃ	pata-vadhānaṃ	tiṃni	divasāni

<i>Tōp.</i>	me	yote	diṃne	(M)	nātikā	va	kāni	nijhapayisaṃti	jīvitāye
<i>Mīr.</i>	[m]e	y[o]te	diṃne	(M)	.	.	.	payisa[m]ti	j[i]v[i]tāye
<i>Ar.</i>	me	yote	diṃne	(M)	nātikā	va	kāni	nijhapayisaṃti	jīvitāye
<i>Nand.</i>	me	[yo]te	diṃne	(M)	nātikā	va	kāni	nijhapayisaṃti	jīvitāye
<i>Rām.</i>	me	[y]ote	diṃne	(M)	nātikā	va	kāni	nijhapayisaṃti	jīvitāye
<i>All.</i>	.	yote	diṃne	(M)	....[k]ā	va	kāni	nijhapayisaṃti	jīvitāye

<i>Tōp.</i>	tānaṃ	nāsaṃtaṃ	vā	nijhapayitā	dānaṃ	dāhaṃti	pālatikaṃ
<i>Mīr.</i>	tāna[m]	nāsaṃtaṃ	[v]ā	ni	.	.	pālatikaṃ
<i>Ar.</i>	tānaṃ	nāsaṃtaṃ	va	nijhapayitā]ve	dānaṃ	dāhaṃti	pālatikaṃ
<i>Nand.</i>	tānaṃ	nāsaṃtaṃ	va	nijhapayitav]e	dānaṃ	dāhaṃti	pālatikaṃ
<i>Rām.</i>	tānaṃ	nāsaṃtaṃ	va	nijhapayitave	dānaṃ	dāhaṃti	pālatikaṃ
<i>All.</i>	tānaṃ	nāsaṃtaṃ	vā	nijhapayitā	dānaṃ	dāhaṃti	pālatikaṃ

<i>Tōp.</i>	upavāsaṃ	va	kachhaṃti	(N)	ichhā	hi	me	hevaṃ	niludhasi	pi
<i>Mīr.</i>	u[pa]vāsaṃ	vā	k[a]	(N)	.	.	.	hevaṃ	niludhasi	pi
<i>Ar.</i>	upavāsaṃ	va	kachhaṃti	(N)	ichhā	hi	me	hevaṃ	niludhasi	pi
<i>Nand.</i>	upavāsaṃ	va	kachhaṃti	(N)	ichhā	hi	me	hevaṃ	niludhasi	pi
<i>Rām.</i>	upavāsaṃ	va	kachhaṃti	(N)	ichhā	hi	me	hevaṃ	niludhasi	pi
<i>All.</i>	upavāsaṃ	vā	[ka]chha[m]ti	(N)	....	[h]i	me	hevaṃ	niludhasi	pi



<i>Tōp.</i>	kālasī	pālatam	ālādhayevū	ti	(O) janasa	cha	vaḍhati	vividhe
<i>Mīr.</i>	[k]ālasī	pā[la]tam	ālādha[ye]	.	.	.	vaḍhati	vividhe
<i>Ar.</i>	kālasī	pālatam	ālādhayevū	ti	(O) janasa	cha	va[dha]ti	vividhe
<i>Nand.</i>	[kālas]i	pālatam	ālādhayevū	t[i]	(O) janasa	cha	vaḍhati	vividhe
<i>Rām.</i>	kālasī	pālatam	ālādhayevū	ti	(O) janasa	cha	vaḍhati	vividhe
<i>All.</i>	kālasī	pālatam	ālādhayev[u]		(O) janasa	cha	vaḍhati	vividhe

<i>Tōp.</i>	dhamma-chalane	saṃyame	dāna-savibhāge	ti
<i>Mīr.</i>	dhamma-chal[a]ne	saṃyame	dā[na]	.
<i>Ar.</i>	dha[r̥]ma-chalane	sayame	dāna-saṃvibhāge	ti
<i>Nand.</i>	dhamma-chalane	sayame	dāna-savibhāge	ti
<i>Rām.</i>	dhamma-chalane	sayame	dāna-savibhāge	ti
<i>All.</i>	dhamma-chalane	sayame	dāna-savibhāge	

## FIFTH PILLAR-EDICT

<i>Tōp.</i>	(A) Devānaṃpiye	Piyadasi	lāja	hevaṃ	āhā	(B) saḍuvīsati-vasa-abhisitena
<i>Ar.</i>	(A) Devānaṃpiye	Piyadasi	lāja	hevaṃ	āha	(B) saḍuvīsati-vasābhisitasa
<i>Nand.</i>	(A) Devānaṃpiye	Piyadasi	lāja	hevaṃ	āha	(B) saḍuvīsati-vasābhisitasa
<i>Rām.</i>	(A) Devānaṃpiye	Piyadasi	lāja	hevaṃ	āha	(B) saḍuvīsati-[va]sābhisitena
<i>All.</i>	(A) . . . . . [p]iye	Piyadasi	lājā	hevaṃ	āhā	(B) saḍuvīsati-vasābhisitena

<i>Tōp.</i>	me	imāni	jātāni	avadhiyāni	kaṭāni	seyathā	suke	sālikā	alune
<i>Ar.</i>	me	imāni	pi	jātāni	avadhyāni	kaṭāni	seyatha	suke	sālika
<i>Nand.</i>	me	imāni	pi	jātāni	avadhyāni	kaṭāni	seyath[ā]	suke	sālika
<i>Rām.</i>	me	imāni	pi	jātāni	avadhyāni	kaṭāni	seyatha	suke	sālika
<i>All.</i>	me	imāni	jātāni	avadhiyāni	kaṭāni	seyatha	suke	sālikā	alune

<i>Tōp.</i>	chakavāke	haṃse	naṃdīmukhe	gelāṭe	jatūkā	ambā-kapilikā	duḷi
<i>Ar.</i>	chakavāke	haṃse	naṃdīmukhe	gelāṭe	jatūka	ambā-kapilika	duḷi
<i>Nand.</i>	chakavāke	haṃse	naṃdīmukhe	gelāṭe	jatūka	ambā-kapilika	duḷi
<i>Rām.</i>	chakavāke	haṃse	naṃdīmukhe	gelāṭe	jatūka	ambā-kapilika	duḷi
<i>All.</i>	chaka[v]āke	.	[naṃdi]m[u]khe	gelāṭe	jatūk[ā]	ambā-kipilikā	duḍi

<i>Tōp.</i>	anaṭhika-machhe	vedaveyake	Gaṃgā-pupuṭake	saṃkuja-machhe	kaphaṭ[a]
<i>Ar.</i>	anaṭhika-machhe	vedaveyake	Gaṃgā-pupuṭake	saṃkuja-machhe	kaphaṭa
<i>Nand.</i>	anaṭhika-machhe	vedaveyake	Gaṃgā-pupuṭake	saṃkuja-machhe	kaphaṭa
<i>Rām.</i>	anaṭhika-machhe	vedaveyake	Gaṃgā-pupuṭake	saṃkuja-machhe	kaphaṭa
<i>All.</i>	anaṭhika-machhe	vedaveyake	Gaṃgā-p[u]p[u]ṭake	saṃkuja-machhe	kaphaṭa

<i>Tōp.</i>	sayake	paṃna-sase	simale	saṃḍake	okapiṃḍe	palasate	seta-kapote
<i>Ar.</i>	seyake	paṃna-sase	simale	saṃḍake	okapiṃḍe	palasate	seta-kapote
<i>Nand.</i>	seyake	paṃna-sase	simale	saṃḍake	okapiṃḍe	palasate	seta-kapote
<i>Rām.</i>	seyake	paṃna-sase	simale	saṃḍake	okapiṃḍe	palasate	seta-kapote
<i>All.</i>	. . . . k[e]	p[a]ṃna-sase	simale	saṃḍa	.	.	[ta]-kapote

<i>Tōp.</i>	gāma-kapote	save	chatupade	ye	paṭibhogam	no	eti	na	cha
<i>Ar.</i>	gāma-kapote	save	chatupade	ye	paṭipogam	no	eti	no	cha
<i>Nand.</i>	gāma-kapote	save	chatupade	ye	paṭibhogam	no	eti	na	cha
<i>Rām.</i>	gāma-kapote	save	chatupade	ye	paṭibhogam	no	eti	na	cha
<i>All.</i>	gāma-kapote	sa[v]e	chatu[pa]de	ye	paṭ[i]bhogam	[no]	.	.	.



<i>Tōp.</i>	khādiyatī	(C)	..... i	[e]lakā	chā	sūkalī	chā	gabhinī	va	pāyamīnā	
<i>Ar.</i>	khādiy[a]ti	(C)	ajakā	nāni	eḍakā	cha	sukalī	cha	gabhinī	va	pāyamīnā
<i>Nand.</i>	khādiyati	(C)	ajakā	nāni	eḍakā	cha	sūkalī	cha	gabhinī	va	pāyamīnā
<i>Rām.</i>	khādiyati	(C)	ajakā	nāni	eḷakā	cha	sūkalī	cha	gabhinī	va	pāyamīnā
<i>All.</i>	.	.	.	nā	.	.	.	.	.	[p]ā[ya]mī	.

<i>Tōp.</i>	va	avadhi[y]	p.ta]ke	pi	cha	kāni	āsaṁmāsike	(D)	vadhi-kukuṭe
<i>Mīr.</i>	.	.	[potake	pi	cha]	k[ā]n[i]	.	ke	(D) [vadh]i-kukuṭe
<i>Ar.</i>	va	avadhya	potake		cha	kāni	āsaṁmāsike	(D)	vadhi-kukuṭe
<i>Nand.</i>	va	avadhya	potake		cha	kāni	āsaṁmāsike	(D)	vadhi-kukuṭe
<i>Rām.</i>	va	avadhya	potake		cha	kāni	āsaṁmāsike	(D)	vadhi-kukuṭe

<i>Tōp.</i>	no	kaṭaviye	(E)	tuse	sajīve	no	jhāpetaviye	(F)	dāve	anaṭhāye	vā
<i>Mīr.</i>	no	kaṭaviye	(E)	tuse	sajī[ve]	.	ta[v]iye	(F)	dāve	[a]naṭhāye	vā
<i>Ar.</i>	no	kaṭaviye	(E)	tuse	sajīve	no	jhāpayitaviye	(F)	dāve	anaṭhāye	va
<i>Nand.</i>	no	kaṭaviye	(E)	tuse	sajīve	no	jhāpayitaviye	(F)	dāve	anaṭhāye	va
<i>Rām.</i>	no	kaṭaviye	(E)	tuse	sajīve	no	jhāpayitaviye	(F)	dāve	anaṭhāye	va
<i>All.</i>	.	.	.	.	sajīve	no	jhā[pa]	.	.	.	.

<i>Tōp.</i>	vihiṣāye	vā	no	jhāpetaviye	(G)	jīvena	jīve	no	pusitaviye
<i>Mīr.</i>	vihiṣāye	vā	no	[jhāpe]ta[vi]ye	(G)	jī[v]ena	jī[iv]e	no	pusi[ta]viye
<i>Ar.</i>	vihiṣāye	va	no	jhāpayitaviye	(G)	jīvena	jīve	no	pusitaviye
<i>Nand.</i>	vihiṣāye	va	no	jhāpayitaviye	(G)	jīvena	jīve	no	pusita iye
<i>Rām.</i>	vihiṣāye	va	no	jhāpayitaviye	(G)	jīvena	jīve	no	pusitaviye

<i>Tōp.</i>	(H)	tīsu	chātumṁāsīsu	tīsāyaṁ	puṁnamāsiyaṁ	tiṁni	divasāni
<i>Mīr.</i>	(H)	tīsu	chātumṁāsīsu	[t]īsāya[m]	pu[m]na[mā[si]ya[m]	tiṁni	divasāni
<i>Ar.</i>	(H)	tīsu	chātumṁāsīsu	tīsaṁ	puṁnamāsiyaṁ	tiṁni	divasāni
<i>Nand.</i>	(H)	tīsu	chātumṁāsīsu	tīsiyaṁ	puṁnamāsiyaṁ	tiṁni	divasāni
<i>Rām.</i>	(H)	tīsu	chātumṁā[s]īsu	tīsaṁ	puṁnamāsiyaṁ	tiṁni	divasāni
<i>All.</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	[n]i

<i>Tōp.</i>	chāvudasaṁ	paṁnaḍasaṁ	paṭipadāy[e]	dhuvāye	chā	anuposathaṁ
<i>Mīr.</i>	chāvudasaṁ	paṁnaḍasaṁ	p[a]ṭipadā	dh[r]uvāye	cha	anuposathaṁ
<i>Ar.</i>	chāvudasaṁ	paṁnaḍasaṁ	paṭipadaṁ	dhuvāye	cha	anuposathaṁ
<i>Nand.</i>	chāvudasaṁ	paṁnaḍasaṁ	paṭipadaṁ	dhuvāye	cha	anuposathaṁ
<i>Rām.</i>	chāvudasaṁ	paṁnaḍasaṁ	paṭipadaṁ	dhuvāye	cha	anuposathaṁ
<i>All.</i>	chā[v]u[da]saṁ	[pa]ṁcha[da]	.	.	.	.

<i>Tōp.</i>	machhe	avadhiye	no	pi	viketaviye	(I)	etāni	yevā	divasāni	nāga-
<i>Mīr.</i>	machhe	avadhiye	no	pi	viketav[i]ye	(I)	etān[i]	yeva	divasāni	n[ā]ga-
<i>Ar.</i>	machhe	avadhye	no	pi	viketaviye	(I)	etāni	yeva	divasāni	nāga-
<i>Nand.</i>	machhe	avadhye	no	pi	viketaviye	(I)	etāni	yeva	divasāni	nāga-
<i>Rām.</i>	machhe	avadhye	no	pi	viketaviye	(I)	etāni	yeva	divasāni	nāga-

<i>Tōp.</i>	vanasi	kevaṭa-bhogasi	yāni	aṁnāni	pi	jīva-nikāyāni	no	haṁtaviyāni
<i>Mīr.</i>	van[a]si	kevaṭa-bhogasi	y[ā]ni	aṁnāni	pi	jīva-nikāyān[i]	no	[ha]ṁtaviyāni
<i>Ar.</i>	vanasi	kevaṭa-bhogasi	yāni	aṁnāni	pi	jīva-nik[ā]yāni	no	haṁtaviyāni
<i>Nand.</i>	vanasi	kevaṭa-bhogasi	yāni	aṁnāni	pi	jīva-nikāyāni	no	haṁtaviyāni
<i>Rām.</i>	vanasi	kevaṭa-bhogasi	yāni	aṁnāni	pi	jīva-nikāyāni	no	haṁtaviyāni



<i>Tōp.</i>	( <i>Ÿ</i> ) aṭhami-pakhāye	chāvudasāye	paṁnaḍasāye	tisāye	punāvasune	tisu
<i>Mīr.</i>	( <i>Ÿ</i> ) aṭham[i-pakhā]ye	[chā]vudasāye	paṁ[na]ḍasāye	tisāye	punāvasune	tisu
<i>Ar.</i>	( <i>Ÿ</i> ) aṭhami-pakhāye	chāvudasāye	paṁnaḍasāye	tisāye	punāvasune	tisu
<i>Nand.</i>	( <i>Ÿ</i> ) aṭhami-pakhāye	chāvudasāye	paṁnaḍasāye	tisāye	punāvasune	tisu
<i>Rām.</i>	( <i>Ÿ</i> ) aṭhami-pakhāye	chāvudasāye	paṁnaḍasāye	tisāye	punāvasune	tisu

<i>Tōp.</i>	chātumṁāsīsu	sudivasāye	gone	no	nilakhitaviye	ajake	eḍake	sūkale
<i>Mīr.</i>	chātumṁāsīsu	sudivasāye	gone	no	nilakhitavi[y]e	ajake	eḷake	sūkale
<i>Ar.</i>	chātumṁāsīsu	sudivasāye	gone	no	nilakhitaviye	ajake	eḷake	sūkale
<i>Nand.</i>	chātumṁāsīsu	sudivasāye	gone	no	nilakhitaviye	ajake	eḷake	sūkale
<i>Rām.</i>	chātumṁāsīsu	sudivasāye	gone	no	nilakhitaviye	ajake	eḷake	sūkale

<i>Tōp.</i>	e vā pi amne	nilakhiyati	no	nilakhitaviye	( <i>K</i> )	tisāye	punāvasune
<i>Mīr.</i>	e vā pi am[n]e	nī[la]khi[ya]ti	[no]	nilakhitaviye	( <i>K</i> )	tisāye	punāvasun[e]
<i>Ar.</i>	e vā pi amne	nilakhiyati	no	nilakhitaviye	( <i>K</i> )	tisāye	punāvasune
<i>Nand.</i>	e vā pi amne	nilakhiyati	no	nilakhitaviye	( <i>K</i> )	tisāye	punāvasune
<i>Rām.</i>	e vā pi amne	nilakhiyati	no	nilakhitaviye	( <i>K</i> )	tisāye	punāvasune

<i>Tōp.</i>	chātumṁāsīye	chātumṁāsī-pakhāye	asvasā	gonasā	lakhane	no	kaṭaviye
<i>Mīr.</i>	chātumṁāsīye	chātu[r̥]māsī-pakhāye	asvasā	gonasā	lakhane	no	....[v]iye
<i>Ar.</i>	chātumṁāsīye	chātumṁāsī-pakhāye	asvasa	gonasa	lakhane	no	kaṭaviye
<i>Nand.</i>	chātumṁāsīye	chātumṁāsī-pakhāye	asvasa	gonasa	lakhane	no	kaṭaviye
<i>Rām.</i>	chātumṁāsīye	chātumṁāsī-pakhāye	asvasa	gonasa	lakhane	no	kaṭaviye
<i>All.</i>	.	.	.	.	.	[lakha]n[e]	no kaṭaviye]

<i>Tōp.</i>	( <i>L</i> ) yāva-saḍuvīsati-vasa-abhisitena	me	etāye	aṁtalikāye	paṁnavīsati
<i>Mīr.</i>	( <i>L</i> ) yā[va]-saḍuvīsati-[va]sa-abhisitena	me	etāye	a[r̥]talikāye	paṁnavīsati
<i>Ar.</i>	( <i>L</i> ) yāva-saḍuvīsati-vasābhisitena	me	etāye	aṁtalikāye	paṁnavīsati
<i>Nand.</i>	( <i>L</i> ) yāva-saḍuvīsati-vasābhisitena	me	etāye	aṁtalikāye	paṁnavīsati
<i>Rām.</i>	( <i>L</i> ) yāva-saḍuvīsati-vasābhisitena	me	etāye	aṁtalikāye	paṁnavīsati
<i>All.</i>	( <i>L</i> ) [y]ā . . . . .	.	.	.	.

<i>Tōp.</i>	baṁdhana-mokhāni	kaṭāni
<i>Mīr.</i>	baṁdhana-mokhāni	kaṭāni
<i>Ar.</i>	baṁdhana-mokhāni	kaṭāni
<i>Nand.</i>	baṁdhana-mokhāni	kaṭāni
<i>Rām.</i>	baṁdhana-mokhāni	kaṭāni

## SIXTH PILLAR-EDICT

<i>Tōp.</i>	( <i>A</i> ) Devānaṁpiye	Piyadasi	lāja	hevaṁ	ahā	( <i>B</i> ) duvāḍasa-
<i>Ar.</i>	( <i>A</i> ) Devānaṁpiye	Piyadasi	lāja	hevaṁ	āha	( <i>B</i> ) duvā[ḍa]sa-
<i>Nand.</i>	( <i>A</i> ) Devānaṁpiye	Piyadasi	lāja	hevaṁ	āha	( <i>B</i> ) duva[ḷa]s[a]
<i>Rām.</i>	( <i>A</i> ) Devānaṁpiye	Piyadasi	lāja	hevaṁ	āha	( <i>B</i> ) duvāḍasa-
<i>All.</i>	( <i>A</i> ) . . . . . [p]iye	[P]iyada[s]i	l[ā]	.	.	.

<i>Tōp.</i>	vasa-abhisitena	me	dhamma-lipi	likhāpitā	lokasā	hita-sukhāye	se	taṁ
<i>Ar.</i>	vasābhisitena	me	dhamma-lipi	likhāpita	lokasa	hita-sukhāye	se	taṁ
<i>Nand.</i>	[va]sābhisitena	me	dhamma-lipi	likhāpita	lokasa	hita-sukhāye	se	taṁ
<i>Rām.</i>	vasābhisitena	me	dhamma-lipi	likhāpita	lokasa	hita-sukhāye	se	taṁ



<i>Tōp.</i>	apahaṭā	taṃ	taṃ	dhamma-vaḍhi	pāpovā	(C)	hevaṃ	lokasā	hita-
<i>Ar.</i>	apahaṭa	taṃ	taṃ	dhamma-vaḍhi	pāpova	(C)	hevaṃ	lokasa	hita-
<i>Nand.</i>	apahaṭa	taṃ	taṃ	dhamma-vaḍhi	pāpova	(C)	hevaṃ	lokasa	hita-
<i>Rām.</i>	apahaṭa	taṃ	taṃ	dhamma-vaḍhi	pāpova	(C)	hevaṃ	lok[a]sa	hita-
<i>All.</i>	. . . .	t[am]	. . . .	[dh]i	[pā]....	(C)	heva[m]	lokasa	hita-

<i>Tōp.</i>	[sukhe]	ti	paṭivekhāmi	atha	iyaṃ	nāṭisu	hevaṃ	patiyāsaṃnesu	
<i>Ar.</i>	sukhe	ti	paṭivekhāmi	athā	iyaṃ	nāṭisu	hevaṃ	patyāsaṃnesu	
<i>Nand.</i>	sukhe	ti	paṭivekhāmi	athā	iyaṃ	nāṭisu	hevaṃ	patyāsaṃnesu	
<i>Rām.</i>	sukhe	ti	paṭivekhāmi	atha	iyaṃ	nāṭisu	hevaṃ	patyāsaṃnesu	
<i>All.</i>	sukhe	ti	paṭivekhāmi	atha	[iya]m	. . . .	[va]m	[paty]āsa[m]ne[su]	

<i>Tōp.</i>	hevaṃ	apakaṭhesu	kimam	kāni	sukham	āvahāmi	ti	tatha	cha
<i>Ar.</i>	hevaṃ	apakaṭhesu	kimmaṃ	kāni	sukham	āvahāmi	ti	tathā	cha
<i>Nand.</i>	hevaṃ	apakaṭhesu	kimmaṃ	kāni	sukham	āvahāmi	ti	tathā	cha
<i>Rām.</i>	hevaṃ	apakaṭhesu	kimmaṃ	kāni	sukham	āvahāmi	ti	tathā	cha
<i>All.</i>	[heva]m	apaka[ṭh]e[su]	kimam	[k]ā[ni]	. . . .	. . . .	. . . .	. . . .	. . . .

<i>Tōp.</i>	vidahāmi	(D)	hemeva	sava-nikāyesu	paṭivekhāmi	(E)	sava-pāsaṃḍā	
<i>Ar.</i>	vidahāmi	(D)	hemeva	sava-nikāyesu	paṭivekhāmi	(E)	sava-pāsaṃḍā	
<i>Nand.</i>	vidahāmi	(D)	hemeva	sava-nikāyesu	paṭivekhāmi	(E)	sava-pāsaṃḍā	
<i>Rām.</i>	vidahāmi	(D)	hemeva	sava-n[i]kāyesu	paṭivekhāmi	(E)	sava-pāsaṃḍā	
<i>All.</i>	[v][dah]āmi	(D)	hevaṃmeva	[sa]va..[k]āyesu	paṭivekhāmi	(E)	[sa]va-pāsaṃḍā	

<i>Tōp.</i>	pi	me	pūjita	vividhāya	pūjāyā	(F)	e	chu	iyaṃ	at[a]nā	pachūpagamane
<i>Mīr.</i>	. . . .	. . . .	. . . .	. . . .	. . . .	. . . .	. . . .	. . . .	. . . .	. . . .	ūpagamane
<i>Ar.</i>	pi	me	pūjita	vividhāya	pūjāya	(F)	e	chu	iyaṃ	atana	pachūpagamane
<i>Nand.</i>	pi	me	pūjita	vividhāya	pūjāya	(F)	e	chu	iyaṃ	atana	pachūpagamane
<i>Rām.</i>	pi	me	pūjita	vividhāya	pūjāya	(F)	e	chu	iyaṃ	atana	pachūpagamane
<i>All.</i>	pi	me	pūjita	vividhāya	[pū]jāyā	(F)	e	chu	iy[a]m	atanā	pachupagamane

<i>Tōp.</i>	se	me	mokhya-mate	(G)	saḍuvisati-vasa-abhisitena	me	iyaṃ	dhamma-
<i>Mīr.</i>	se	me	mokhya-mate	(G)	saḍu . . . . isitena	me	iyaṃ	dhamma-
<i>Ar.</i>	se	me	mukhya-mute	(G)	saḍuvisati-vasābhisitena	me	iyaṃ	dhamma-
<i>Nand.</i>	se	me	mokhya-mute	(G)	saḍuvisati-va[s]ābhisitena	me	iyaṃ	dhamma-
<i>Rām.</i>	se	me	mokhya-mute	(G)	saḍuvisat[i]-vasābhisitena	me	iyaṃ	dhamma-
<i>All.</i>	se	me	mukhya-mute	(G)	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .

<i>Tōp.</i>	lipi	likhāpita	
<i>Mīr.</i>	li[pi]	li . . . . .	
<i>Ar.</i>	lipi	likhāpita	
<i>Nand.</i>	lipi	likhāpita	
<i>Rām.</i>	lipi	likhāpita	
<i>All.</i>	lipi	likhāpita	ti



#### IV. THE RUPNATH ROCK-INSRIPTION AND COGNATE INSRIPTIONS

<i>Rūp.</i>	(A) Devānāmpiye	heva[m]	āhā	(B) sāti[ra]kekāni	aḍhati[y]āni
<i>Sah.</i>	(A) Devānāmpiye	he[va]m	ā		[iyāni]
<i>Bair.</i>	(A) Devānāmpiye		āh[ā]	(B) s[ā]ti	
<i>Mas.</i>	(A) Dev[ā]na[m]piyasa	Asok[a]sa			[a]ḍh[a]t[i] . . ni
<i>Brah.</i>	(B) Devānāmpiye	āṇapayati		(C) adhikāni	aḍhātiyāni
<i>Śidd.</i>	(B) [Dev]ā[na]mpiye	heva[m]	āha	(C) adhikāni	a[ḍhā]t[i]y[āni]
<i>Ṭaṭ.</i>	(B) Dev[ā]n[a]				

<i>Rūp.</i>	va	ya	sumi	prakāsa	[Sa]k[e]	(C) no	chu	bāḍhi
<i>Sah.</i>	[savachhalāni	a]m	upāsake		sumi	(C) na	chu	bāḍham
<i>Bair.</i>	vasān[i]	ya	hakam		upāsake	(C) [no	chu]	bāḍham
<i>Mas.</i>	vashā[ni]	am	sum[i]	Bu[dha]-Śake				
<i>Brah.</i>	v[a]sāni	ya	hakam		... sa[ke]	(D) no	tu	kho
<i>Śidd.</i>	vasāni	ya	ha[kam]		u]pāsake	(D) no	tu	kho
<i>Ṭaṭ.</i>		ya	hakam			(D)		kho

<i>Rūp.</i>	pakate					(D) sātireke	chu
<i>Sah.</i>	[palaka]m[t]e					(D) sav[a]chhale	
<i>Bair.</i>							
<i>Mas.</i>				(C)			[t]ire . .
<i>Brah.</i>	prakamte	husam	ekam	savachharam	(E) sātireke		tu
<i>Śidd.</i>	pakamte	husam	ek[am]	sa[vachha]	(E) [sātire]ke		tu
<i>Ṭaṭ.</i>					(E) . . ti[reke]		

<i>Rūp.</i>	chhavachhare	ya	sumi	haka[m]	sagh[a]	up[e]te	bāḍhi	ch[a]
<i>Sah.</i>	sādh[ke]	am]						
<i>Bair.</i>		am		mamayā	saghe	[u]payāte	[bā]ḍha	cha
<i>Mas.</i>			[m]i		[s]amgha[m]	u[pa]gate	[uṭh]	
<i>Brah.</i>	samvachhare	yam		mayā	samghe	upayāte	bāḍham	cha
<i>Śidd.</i>	samvachhare	[yam]		mayā	sam]ghe	upayāte	bāḍham	[cha]
<i>Ṭaṭ.</i>		[ya]m		.. [yā]				

<i>Rūp.</i>		pakate	(E) yā	[i]māya	kālāya	Jambudipasi
<i>Sah.</i>		[te]	(E) [etena	cha	amta]lena	Jambudipasi
<i>Bair.</i>						Jambudipasi
<i>Mas.</i>	.. m[i]	u[pa]gate	(D) pure			Jambu . . . s[i]
<i>Brah.</i>	me	pakamte	(F) iminā	chu	kālana	amisā samānā
<i>Śidd.</i>	[me]	p[akam]te	(F) i[m]inā	chu	kālana	[a]misā samā[nā]
<i>Ṭaṭ.</i>						







<i>Rūp.</i>	iya	paka[rā	va]	kiti	chira-ṭhitike	siyā	(I)	iya	hi	aṭhe
<i>Sah.</i>	chila-ṭhit[īke]	cha			p[a]l[ā]kame	hotu	(I)	iya[m]	cha	[aṭhe]
<i>Bair.</i>	[ch]ila-ṭhit									
<i>Mas.</i>	[se a]				t[i]k[e]	cha				
<i>Brah.</i>	chira-ṭhitike	cha	iyam	[paka]			(Ṣ)	iyam	cha	aṭhe
<i>Śidd.</i>	[chira]-ṭhi[t]ik[e]	cha	iyam	pakame	hoti		(Ṣ)			
<i>Ṭaṭ.</i>									[cha]	

<i>Rūp.</i>	vaḍhi	vaḍhisiti	vipula		cha	vaḍhisiti				
<i>Sah.</i>		vaḍhisati	vipulam	pi	cha	vaḍhisati			diyāḍhiyam	
<i>Bair.</i>			lam	pi		vaḍhisati				
<i>Mas.</i>						va[dhi]siti	chā		diya[dhi]yam	
<i>Brah.</i>		vaḍhisiti	vipulam	pi	cha	vaḍhisiti				
<i>Śidd.</i>		va[dh]isiti	vipu[la]m	p[i]	cha	vaḍhisiti				
<i>Ṭaṭ.</i>		.. [dhi]s	.. [p]ulam	pi						

<i>Rūp.</i>	apaladhiyenā	diyaḍhiya	vaḍhisata	(Ṣ)	iya	cha	aṭhe	pavatis[u]		
<i>Sah.</i>	aval[a]dhiyenā	diy[a]ḍhiyam	vaḍhisati	(L)	ima	cha	aṭham	pavatesu		
<i>Bair.</i>		diyaḍhiyam	vaḍhi[sa]ti							
<i>Mas.</i>	he[vaṁ]	ti								
<i>Brah.</i>	avaradhiyā	diyaḍhiyam	[vaḍh]isiti							
<i>Śidd.</i>	[a]	[yaḍhiya]m	vaḍhisiti							
<i>Ṭaṭ.</i>		[ya]ḍhiyam								

<i>Rūp.</i>	lekhāpeta	vāyata	(K)	hadha	cha	athi		sālā-ṭh[abh]e	silā-	
<i>Sah.</i>	[likhāpa]yāthā		(M)	ya	..	[vā]	ath[i]	hetā	silā-tham[bh]ā	tata

<i>Rūp.</i>	ṭha[m]bhasi	lākhāpetayaya	ta	(L)	etinā	cha	vayajanenā	yāvataka		
<i>Sah.</i>	pi	[likhāpayatha	t]i							
<i>Sār.</i>									(I)	āvate

<i>Rūp.</i>	tupaka	ahāle	savara	vivasetavā[ya]	ti					
<i>Sār.</i>	cha	tuphākam	āhāle	savata	vivāsayātha		tuphe	etena	viyamjanena	

<i>Rūp.</i>	(M)		vy[u]ṭhenā	sāvane	kaṭe					
<i>Sah.</i>	(Ṣ)	iyam	[cha	savane	v]ivuthena	(K)	duve	sapamnā		
<i>Brah.</i>	(K)	iyam	cha	sāvaṇ[e]	sāv[ā]p[i]te	vyūthena				
<i>Śidd.</i>	(K)	i[ya]m	[cha]	sā[va]ṇe						
<i>Ṭaṭ.</i>	(K)	i		s[āvaṇe]				[th]e[na]		

<i>Rūp.</i>			(N)	200	50	6	sata	vivāsā	ta	
<i>Sah.</i>	lāti-satā	vivuthā	ti	200	50	6				
<i>Brah.</i>			(L)	200	50	6				
<i>Śidd.</i>			(L)	[200]	50	6				
<i>Ṭaṭ.</i>			(L)	200	50	6				



# INDEX

This index contains every word of Aśoka's inscriptions, with the exception of a few particles (*cha*, *pi*, *rā*, *ā*). Of the six pillar-edicts, only the Delhi-Tōprā version is quoted; but one of the five other copies of these edicts is referred to if the reading of one or more of them differs from the standard text. The following abbreviations are employed:

Gir. = Gīrnār.  
Kāl. = Kālsī.  
Shāh. = Shāhbāzgarhī.  
Mān. = Mānsehrā.  
Dhau. = Dhaulī.  
Jau. = Jaugada.  
Sep. = Separate edicts (of Dhaulī and Jaugada).  
Sōp. = Sōpārā.  
Tōp. = Delhi-Tōprā.

Mir. = Delhi-Mīrāth.  
Ar. = Lauriyā-Ararāj.  
Nand. = Lauriyā-Nandangarh.  
Rām. = Rāmpurvā.  
All. = Allahabad-Kōsam.  
Qu. = Queen's edict.  
Kauś. = Kauśāmbī edict.  
Sām. = Sāmchī.  
Sār. = Sāmāth.  
Rum. = Rummindē.

Nig. = Nigālī Sāgar.  
Rūp. = Rūpnāth.  
Sah. = Sahasrām.  
Bair. = Bairāt.  
Calc. = Calcutta-Bairāt.  
Mas. = Maskī.  
Brah. = Brahmagiri.  
Sidd. = Siddāpura.  
Jaṭ. = Jātinga-Rāmēśvara.  
Bar. = Barābar.

## A

- a (= ā) Kāl. XIII, 6; Shāh. XIII, 9; Mān. XIII, 9, 10.  
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ārādhayāntu Gir. VI, 12.  
ārādheta Brah. 5; Śidd. 10.  
ārādhetu Gir. IX, 9.  
ārōgiyān Brah. 1; Śidd. 3.  
ārōdheve (*read* ārādheta) Rūp. 3.  
-ālambhāye Tōp. VII, 31.  
ālā[m]bbhiyānti Jau. I, 4.  
āl[ā]m[bbhi]yāsa[m]t[i] Dhau. I, 4.  
-ālāmbhe Kāl. III, 8, IV, 9, 10, XI,  
30; Dhau. III, 3, IV, 1, 4, Sep.  
I, 22; Jau. III, 3, IV, 1, 4.  
[ā]l[ā]dhi Dhau. Sep. I, 15.  
-ālādhi Dhau. Sep. I, 15; Jau. Sep.  
I, 8.  
-ā[la\*]dhi Jau. Sep. I, 8.  
āl[ādhi]t Dhau. IX, 7.  
ālādhe Kāl. XI, 30; Tōp. VII, 31.  
ālabbhitu Kāl. I, 1; Dhau. I, 1;  
Jau. I, 1.  
ālā[bh]jiyānti Jau. I, 5.  
ālabbhiyisu Dhau. I, 3; Jau. I, 3.  
ālabbheharā Dhau. Sep. I, 3, II, 2;  
Jau. Sep. I, 2, II, 2.  
ālame All. Qu. 3.  
ālasiyena Dhau. Sep. I, 11.  
[āl]as[ay]e[na] Jau. Sep. I, 6.  
ālādhayāntu Dhau. VI, 6; Jau.  
VI, 6.  
ālādhayitave Dhau. IX, 7; Jau. IX,  
6; Tōp. IV, 10.  
ālādhayitu (*read* āyāntu) Kāl. VI,  
20.  
ālādhayisatha Dhau. Sep. I, 17, II,  
9; Jau. Sep. II, 13.  
ālā[dha]yisā[th]ā Jau. Sep. I, 9.  
ālādhayey[ā] Jau. Sep. II, 7.  
ālādhayevu Ar. IV, 4; All. IV, 4.  
ālādhayevū Dhau. Sep. II, 6; Tōp.  
IV, 8, 19.  
[ā]lādheta[v]e Bair. 6.  
ālōpita Kāl. VI, 19; Dhau. VI, 3;  
Jau. VI, 3.  
āva Gir. IV, 9, V, 2, IX, 6, XI, 3;  
Kāl. IX, 26; Dhau. IX, 5; Tōp.  
VII, 29; All. IV, 2.  
āva-kapān Kāl. IV, 12, V, 14;  
Dhau. V, 2.

āva-gamu[k]e Dhau. Sep. I, 6 f.;  
Jau. Sep. I, 3.  
āvatake Calc. 2.  
āvate Sār. 9.  
-āvah[ā] Gir. X, 1.  
āvahāmī Ar. VI, 3.  
āvā Ar. IV, 7.  
-āvā (*read* -āvahā?) Kāl. X, 27.  
āvāsaiye All. Kauś. 4; Sār. 5.  
āvāha-vivāhesu Gir. IX, 2.  
āvuti Tōp. IV, 15.  
-āvutike Dhau. Sep. II, 8.  
-ā[v]uti[ya] Jau. Sep. I, 6.  
-āvūtiya Dhau. Sep. I, 11.  
āsāmāsike Tōp. V, 9.  
āsina-va-gāmīni Tōp. III, 20.  
āsina-ve Tōp. III, 18.  
-āsina-ve Tōp. II, 11.  
-āsulope Dhau. Sep. I, 12; Jau.  
Sep. I, 6.  
āsulopena Dhau. Sep. I, 10; Jau.  
Sep. I, 5.  
āha Gir. III, 1, V, 1, VI, 1, IX, 1,  
XI, 1; Jau. Sep. II, 1; Ar. I, 1,  
II, 1, III, 1, IV, 1, V, 1, VI, 1;  
Brah. 9; Śidd. 4.  
-āhale Dhau. Sep. I, 16; Jau. Sep.  
I, 8.  
āhā Kāl. III, 6, VI, 17, IX, 24;  
Dhau. III, 1, V, 1, VI, 1, IX, 1;  
Jau. III, 1, VI, 1, Sep. I, 1;  
Tōp. I, 1, II, 11, IV, 1, VII, 11,  
14, 20, 23, 25, 26, 28, 29, 31;  
Mir. III, 1; All. V, 1; Sār. 6;  
Rūp. 1; Bair. 1; Calc. 1.  
[ā\*]hā Kāl. XI, 29.  
āhāle Sār. 9.

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ia Shāh. V, 13, VI, 16, IX, 20;  
Mān. VI, 31, VIII, 34.  
ialoka Shāh. IX, 20, XI, 24.  
[i]aloki[ka] Mān. XIII, 13.  
ikām Sār. 7.  
ikā Sār. 6.  
ikike Sār. 8.  
ichha Shāh. XII, 7; Mān. XII, 6;  
Dhau. Sep. II, 4; Jau. Sep. I, 3,  
II, 4, 5.  
ichhamti Kāl. VII, 21; Shāh. VII,  
2; Mān. VII, 33; Dhau. VII,  
1; Jau. VII, 1.  
ichhati Gir. VII, 1, 2, X, 2; Kāl.  
VII, 21, X, 27, XIII, 3; Shāh.  
VII, 1, X, 21, 22, XIII, 8;  
Mān. VII, 32, X, 9, 10; Dhau.  
VII, 1, X, 1; Jau. VII, 1, X, 1,  
Sep. II, 5.  
ichha[ti\*] Kāl. X, 28.  
ichhā Gir. XII, 7; Kāl. XII, 33;  
Tōp. IV, 19; Sām. 7.  
ichhāmi Dhau. Sep. I, 2, 5, 6, II,  
3; Jau. Sep. I, 1, 3, II, 1, 3;  
Calc. 6.  
[ichhi]taye Jau. Sep. I, 5.  
ichhitaviye Dhau. Sep. I, 9, 11; Jau.  
Sep. I, 6; Tōp. IV, 14.  
ichhisu Tōp. VII, 12, 15.  
[i]tare Mān. IX, 6.  
[i]ta[le] Kāl. IX, 26.



iti Gir. VI, 5, 13, IX, 7, 8, 9, XII, 6; Dhau. Sep. II, 4, 5, 7.  
 ite Tōp. IV, 15.  
 ithidhiyakha-mahāmātā Kāl. XII, 34.  
 ithi Dhau. IX, 2.  
 ithijhakha-mahāmātā Gir. XII, 9.  
 ida Gir. XI, 3; Shāh. IX, 20.  
 idam Gir. III, 1, IV, 8, 9, 11, 12, VI, 14, IX, 6, 8, XI, 2, XII, 3; Shāh. XIII, 3.  
 [i]dani Shāh. I, 2.  
 i[d]āni Kāl. I, 3.  
 idha Gir. I, 2, VI, 12, XIII, 8, 9; Dhau. IV, 8.  
 imam (*read* iyam) Kāl. XII, 31.  
 -ibhi[yes]u Dhau. V, 5.  
 -ibhesu Shāh. V, 12.  
 -ibhesu Kāl. V, 15.  
 -ibhyeshu Mān. V, 23.  
 ima Shāh. IX, 19; Mān. IX, 6; Sah. 7; Mas. 6.  
 imam Kāl. IV, 11, 12, IX, 26; Shāh. IV, 9, 10, VI, 16, IX, 18, 19, 20, XI, 24, XII, 9; Mān. IV, 16; Dhau. IV, 5, 6; Tōp. VII, 24; Calc. 8; Brah. 6; Sidd. 12.  
 imamhi Gir. IV, 10.  
 imaye Mān. III, 10.  
 imasa Gir. IV, 11; Mān. IV, 17; Dhau. IV, 7, Sep. I, 16.  
 imas[ā] Kāl. IV, 12, 13.  
 imāni Tōp. III, 19, V, 2, VII, 30; Calc. 4.  
 imāya Gir. III, 3; Kāl. III, 7; Rūp. 2.  
 imāye Dhau. III, 2, V, 7.  
 iminā Gir. IX, 8, 9; Brah. 3; Sidd. 7.  
 imisa Shāh. III, 6, IV, 10.  
 ime Gir. XIII, 5; Kāl. XIII, 38; Mān. XIII, 6; Dhau. V, 7; Tōp. VII, 25, 26, 27; Brah. 10; Sidd. 17; Jāt. 14.  
 imena Jau. IX, 6.  
 imehi Dhau. Sep. I, 10; Jau. Sep. I, 5.  
 iya Mān. VIII, 35; Rūp. 3, 4; Mas. 4; Sidd. 8 f.  
 iyam Gir. I, 1; Kāl. I, 1, 3, III, 7, IV, 12, V, 16, 17, VI, 20, 21, VIII, 23, IX, 25, 26, XI, 30, XII, 35, XIII, 36, 4, 15, XIV, 19; Shāh. VIII, 17; Mān. III, 9, IV, 18, V, 23, 25, VI, 31, IX, 4, 6, 7, XI, 14, XII, 2, 8, XIII, 3, 12, XIV, 13; Dhau. I, 4, III, 1, IV, 7, V, 6, 7, 8, VI, 5, 6, 7, IX, 3, 6, XIV, 1, Sep. I, 7, 17, 19, II, 9, 10; Jau. I, 1, 4, III, 1, VI, 5, 6, 7, IX, 3, 4, Sep. I, 4, 6, 9, 10, II, 14, 15; Sōp. VIII, 6; Tōp. I, 2, 9, II, 15, III, 17, 18, 21, IV, 2, VI, 4, 8, 10; VII, 28, 29, 30, 31; Mān. III, 6; Sār. 5; Sah. 3, 4, 5, 6; Brah. 4, 5, 6, 7, 8; Sidd. 8, 11, 13, 15; Jāt. 7; Bar. I, 2, II, 2, III, 3.  
 iyathmana Tōp. III, 22.  
 iyo Shāh. XII, 2.

ilokachasa Gir. XI, 4.  
 ilokikā Gir. XIII, 12.  
 isāva Dhau. Sep. I, 10; Jau. Sep. I, 5.  
 Isilasi Brah. 1; Sidd. 2.  
 istrija(jha)ksha-mahamatra Mān. XII, 8.  
 i[st]ridhi(yaksha-ma[ha]matra Shāh. XII, 9.  
 isya Ar. III, 3.  
 isyā Tōp. III, 20.  
 iha Shāh. XIII, 8.

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ukasā Tōp. I, 7.  
 uga[chha](chhe) Dhau. Sep. I, 13.  
 uchavucham Shāh. IX, 18; Mān. IX, 1.  
 uchavucha-chhamdo Shāh. VII, 3.  
 uchavucha-chhade Mān. VII, 33.  
 uchavucha-rage Mān. VII, 33.  
 uchavucha-rago Shāh. VII, 3.  
 uchāvacham Gir. IX, 1, 2.  
 uchāvacha-chhamdo Gir. VII, 2.  
 uchāvacha-rāgo Gir. VII, 2.  
 uchāvucham Kāl. IX, 24; Dhau. IX, 1.  
 uchāvucha-chhamdā Dhau. VII, 2; Jau. VII, 1.  
 uchāvucha-lāgā Dhau. VII, 2; Jau. VII, 1.  
 uchāvucha-lā[g]e Kāl. VII, 21.  
 uchāvuchā-chh[a]rde Kāl. VII, 21.  
 Ujenite Dhau. Sep. I, 23.  
 uṭhanas[i] Shāh. VI, 15; Mān. VI, 29.  
 uṭhane Mān. VI, 30.  
 [uṭhānam] Mas. 3.  
 uṭhān[a]sā Kāl. VI, 19.  
 uṭhānāsi Dhau. VI, 4; Jau. VI, 4.  
 uṭhāne Kāl. VI, 19; Dhau. VI, 5; Jau. VI, 5.  
 [uṭ]ālake Mas. 5 f., 6.  
 uḍālā Rūp. 3; Sah. 4; Bair. 6.  
 uthanam Shāh. VI, 15.  
 uthāy[ā] Jau. Sep. I, 7.  
 udupānāni Kāl. II, 6; Dhau. II, 4; Jau. II, 4; Tōp. VII, 23.  
 upakaroti Gir. XII, 4; Shāh. XII, 4; Mān. XII, 4.  
 upakaleti Kāl. XII, 32.  
 u[pā]gate Mas. 3.  
 upaghāte Kāl. XIII, 37, 38.  
 [u]paghāto Gir. XIII, 4.  
 Upatisa-pasine Calc. 5.  
 -upadane Shāh. IX, 18.  
 -upadaye Mān. IX, 2.  
 upadahevu Ar. IV, 3.  
 upadahevū Tōp. IV, 5.  
 -upadāne(ve) Kāl. IX, 24.  
 -upadāye Dhau. IX, 1; Jau. IX, 1.  
 upadhāl[a]yeyū Calc. 7.  
 [u]payāte Bair. 3.  
 upayāte Brah. 3; Sidd. 6.  
 upavāsam Tōp. IV, 18.  
 upahamti Kāl. XII, 33; Shāh. XII, 6; Mān. XII, 6.  
 upahanāti Gir. XII, 6.  
 upāsakā Sār. 7; Calc. 8.  
 upāsakānamtikam Sār. 7.

upāsake Sah. 1; Bair. 2; Brah. 2; Sidd. 5.  
 upāsikā Calc. 8.  
 up[e]te Rūp. 1.  
 ubalike Rum. 4.  
 u[bha]y[e]sa Shāh. IX, 20.  
 ubhayesam Kāl. IX, 26; Mān. IX, 8.  
 uyanaspi Shāh. VI, 14; Mān. VI, 27.  
 uyānasi Kāl. VI, 18; Dhau. VI, 2; Jau. VI, 2.  
 uyānesu Gir. VI, 4.  
 uyāma-lati Kāl. XIII, 18.  
 -uvigina Dhau. Sep. II, 4; Jau. Sep. II, 5.  
 [u]shate[na] Kāl. X, 29.  
 ushūtena Kāl. X, 28.  
 usaṭena Gir. X, 4; Shāh. X, 22; Mān. X, 11; Dhau. X, 4; Jau. X, 3.  
 usaṭeneva Mān. X, 11.  
 usapāpite Rum. 3; Nig. 4.  
 usāhena Ar. I, 3.  
 usāhenā Tōp. I, 5.  
 usṭānam Gir. VI, 10.  
 usṭānamhi Gir. VI, 9.

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e Kāl. V, 13, 14, 15, 16, IX, 26, X, 28, XII, 34, XIII, 36, 38; Shāh. XIII, 5; Mān. V, 25, IX, 6, X, 11, XII, 7, XIII, 5; Dhau. II, 2, V, 2, 4, 6, 7, VI, 3, IX, 3, XIV, 3, Sep. I, 12, 13, 14, 22, II, 5; Jau. II, 1, 2, V, 7, VI, 3, XIV, 2, Sep. I, 7, II, 7; Tōp. V, 17, VI, 8, VII, 22; All. Qu. 2, 3; Sār. 3; Calc. 2, 3, 5.  
 ekam Brah. 2; Sidd. 5.  
 [e\*]kam Shāh. V, 11.  
 ek[a]k[e]na Jau. Sep. I, 9.  
 ekachā Gir. I, 6.  
 ekataramhi Gir. XIII, 5.  
 ekatare Shāh. XIII, 6.  
 ekatalash[i] Kāl. XIII, 39.  
 ekatā Shāh. I, 2.  
 [eka]tiya Mān. I, 3.  
 ekatiyā Kāl. I, 2; Dhau. I, 2; Jau. I, 2.  
 ekadā Gir. XIV, 5.  
 eka-deśam Shāh. VII, 3; Mān. VII, 33.  
 eka-deśam Gir. VII, 2; Kāl. VII, 21; Dhau. VII, 2.  
 eka-pulise Dhau. Sep. I, 7, 8.  
 eka-munise Jau. Sep. I, 4.  
 ekunavisati-vasā[bh]isi[t]e Bar. III, 1 f.  
 eke Kāl. I, 4; Mān. I, 5; Jau. I, 4.  
 ekena Dhau. Sep. I, 18, II, 10; Jau. Sep. II, 16.  
 eko Gir. I, 11.  
 eḍakā Ar. V, 5.  
 eḍake Tōp. V, 17.  
 eta (= itra) Gir. V, 3, VIII, 1, IX, 3, X, 4, XIV, 3.  
 eta (= etat) Gir. IX, 4, 5, XI, 3; Shāh. IV, 9, 10, IX, 18.  
 eta (= etē) Shāh. I, 3.



etam Gir. X, 4; Shāh. IX, 19, XI, 23, 24, XIII, 6; Dhau. Sep. I, 7, 15, 16, 22, 25; Jau. Sep. I, 3, 7, 8, 10; Töp. VII, 14, 19, 21, 31.  
 etakaye Shāh. X, 21; Mān. X, 10.  
 etakāya Gir. X, 2.  
 etakāye Dhau. X, 2.  
 etake Shāh. IX, 20.  
 etakena Shāh. XIII, 10; Mān. XIII, 11; Dhau. Sep. II, 6; Jau. Sep. II, 8.  
 etakenā Kāl. XIII, 13.  
 etadathā Töp. VII, 24.  
 [e]tani Mān. I, 5.  
 etameva Töp. VII, 23; Sār. 8, 9.  
 etamhi Gir. IX, 2.  
 etayam Gir. VIII, 3.  
 etaye Shāh. IV, 10, V, 13, VI, 16, XII, 8, XIII, 11; Mān. III, 10; IV, 17, V, 26, VI, 31, IX, 2, XII, 8, XIII, 12.  
 etarisaṁ Gir. IX, 4.  
 etaviye Dhau. Sep. I, 13; Jau. Sep. I, 7.  
 etasa Gir. XII, 9; Mān. IV, 18; Dhau. Sep. I, 12; Jau. Sep. I, 8, II, 2.  
 etasi Dhau. Sep. I, 3, II, 2, 6; Jau. Sep. II, 12.  
 etā(ta)kā Jau. Sep. II, 5.  
 etāni Kāl. I, 4; Jau. I, 4, Sep. I, 6; Töp. V, 13; Calc. 6.  
 etāya Gir. IV, 11, V, 9, VI, 12, XII, 8, XIII, 11.  
 e[ī]yathāya Brah. 5.  
 etāyathāye Kāl. XII, 34.  
 etāye Kāl. III, 7, IV, 12, V, 16, IX, 24, XIII, 15; Dhau. IV, 7, VI, 6, IX, 2, Sep. I, 19, 21, 23, II, 8, 9; Jau. VI, 6, IX, 1, Sep. I, 10, II, 7, 13 f.; Töp. II, 14, V, 19, VII, 22, 31; Sah. 4.  
 etā[y]ethāye Kāl. VI, 20.  
 etāyeva Gir. III, 3.  
 etārisaṁ Gir. IX, 5, 7, XI, 1.  
 etārisani Gir. VIII, 1.  
 eti Jau. Sep. I, 4; Töp. V, 7.  
 etinā Rūp. 5.  
 etiya Rūp. 3.  
 etishā Kāl. XII, 35.  
 etisa Shāh. III, 6, XII, 9; Mān. XII, 8.  
 ete Gir. I, 12; Dhau. Sep. I, 11; Töp. IV, 12, VII, 27.  
 etena Töp. IV, 13; Sār. 10; Sah. 2.  
 eteni(nā) Calc. 8.  
 etesu Töp. VII, 26.  
 etra Shāh. VI, 15.  
 ed[ī]saṁ Shāh. XI, 23.  
 edisani Shāh. VIII, 17; Mān. VIII, 34.  
 [ed]isa[ye] Mān. IX, 2.  
 edisā(sa)y[e] Shāh. IX, 18.  
 edise Mān. IX, 5, XI, 12.  
 edisāni Dhau. VIII, 1.  
 edisāye Kāl. IX, 24.  
 ena Dhau. Sep. I, 19, II, 7, 9; Jau. Sep. I, 10, II, 9, 14; Töp. VII, 32.

eyam Kāl. V, 15; Jau. Sep. I, 6.  
 eva Gir. I, 10, III, 3, IV, 1, 7, IX, 3, XII, 4, 6, XIII, 11, XIV, 1, 3; Kāl. IV, 12, IX, 25, 26, XIII, 17, XIV, 21; Shāh. XIII, 9, 11, XIV, 13; Mān. II, 8, IX, 3, 7, X, 11, XIII, 10, 12, XIV, 14; Dhau. IV, 5, IX, 3, Sep. I, 13, 24, II, 5; Jau. IX, 2, Sep. II, 4, 6; Töp. III, 17, VII, 23, 25, 26, 27; Ar. I, 4, 5, VI, 4; Sār. 7, 8, 9, 10; Bair. 5; Brah. 4, 9, 10; Sidd. 9.  
 eva (= ēvam) Gir. IX, 1; Shāh. VI, 14, 15; Mān. III, 9.  
 evam Gir. III, 1, V, 1, VI, 1, 2, 8, XI, 1, XII, 4, 7; Shāh. V, 11, VI, 14, IX, 18, XI, 23, XII, 4, 7; Mān. V, 19, VI, 26, 27, 29, IX, 1, XI, 12, XII, 4, 6.  
 evamapi Gir. II, 2.  
 evameva Shāh. XIII, 9; Mān. II, 8, XIII, 10.  
 [e]vamevā Kāl. II, 6.  
 evā Kāl. II, 6, IV, 11, XIII, 38, 8; Töp. I, 6, 8, VI, 6; Calc. 8.  
 eve Jau. Sep. I, 7.  
 eve(va) Kāl. XIII, 14.  
 esha Kāl. XIII, 37, 38; Shāh. XIII, 4; Mān. XIII, 4, 6.  
 eshe Kāl. X, 28, XI, 29, 30; Shāh. VIII, 17, X, 22; Mān. IV, 15, 17, VI, 30, VIII, 36, IX, 4, 5, X, 11, XI, 12, 13.  
 esa Gir. IV, 7, 10, VI, 10, X, 3; Dhau. IV, 4, 6, VIII, 2, IX, 3, 4, Sep. I, 3, II, 2; Jau. IV, 5, VIII, 2, IX, 3, 4, Sep. I, 2, II, 2; Töp. I, 5, 9, III, 19, 21, VII, 14, 20, 24, 25, 28, 30, 32; Ar. III, 2, IV, 7; Rūp. 2; Bair. 4; Brah. 12.  
 esatha Jau. Sep. I, 9, II, 13.  
 esā Gir. VIII, 3, 5, XIII, 4; Dhau. VIII, 3; Töp. III, 19, IV, 14; Ar. I, 5; Rūp. 2; Brah. 12; Sidd. 19; Jaṭ. 19.  
 ese Kāl. IV, 11, 12, VI, 19, VIII, 23, IX, 25; Bair. 5.  
 esatha Dhau. Sep. I, 17, II, 9.  
 [e]lakā Töp. V, 8.  
 elake Mīr. V, 11.

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okapiṇḍe Töp. V, 6.  
 odātāni All. Kauś. 4; Sār. 5 f.; Sār. 4.  
 -opakani Shāh. II, 5.  
 -opagāni Gir. II, 5, 6; Kāl. II, 5; Dhau. II, 3; Jau. II, 3; Töp. VII, 23.  
 -opaya Mān. VIII, 36.  
 -opayam Shāh. VIII, 17.  
 -opayā Gir. VIII, 5; Kāl. VIII, 23; Dhau. VIII, 3.  
 orodhanamhi Gir. VI, 3.  
 orodhanaspi Shāh. VI, 14.  
 orodhane Mān. VI, 27.  
 orodhaneshu Shāh. V, 13; Mān. V, 24.

olodhanasi Kāl. VI, 18; Dhau. VI, 2; Jau. VI, 2; Töp. VII, 27.  
 olodhanes[u] Kāl. V, 16; Dhau. V, 6.  
 ovāditavyam Gir. IX, 8.  
 -ovāde Calc. 5 f.  
 osha[dha]ni Shāh. II, 5; Mān. II, 7.  
 osadhāni Jau. II, 3.  
 osadhāni Kāl. II, 5.  
 osuḍhāni Gir. II, 5.

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kaṁ Gir. XIV, 3; Jau. Sep. I, 1, II, 1.  
 -kaṁdhani Shāh. IV, 8; Mān. IV, 13.  
 -kaṁdhāni Kāl. IV, 10; Dhau. IV, 2.  
 -Kaṁbocha- Dhau. V, 4.  
 -Kaṁboja- Gir. V, 5, XIII, 9; Kāl. V, 15; Mān. V, 22.  
 -Kaṁbojeshu Kāl. XIII, 9; Mān. XIII, 10.  
 -Kaṁboya- Shāh. V, 12.  
 -Ka[m]boyeshu Shāh. XIII, 9.  
 kaṁmam Kāl. IV, 12; Dhau. Sep. I, 25; Jau. Sep. I, 12.  
 kaṁmata . . Dhau. VI, 5.  
 kaṁmataram Gir. VI, 10.  
 kaṁmatalā Kāl. VI, 20; Jau. VI, 5.  
 kaṁ[mana] Dhau. Sep. I, 2.  
 kaṁmane Dhau. III, 2; Jau. III, 2.  
 kaṁmasa Dhau. Sep. I, 16; Jau. Sep. I, 8.  
 kaṁmāni Töp. IV, 5, 13.  
 kaṁmāy[a] Gir. III, 4.  
 kaṁmāye Kāl. III, 7.  
 kaṁme Gir. IV, 10; Dhau. IV, 6, Sep. II, 7; Jau. Sep. II, 9.  
 -kaṁme Gir. VI, 2; Kāl. VI, 17; Dhau. VI, 1; Jau. VI, 1.  
 kacham Gir. IX, 8.  
 kachi Shāh. XII, 5.  
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- tatopayam Shāh. VIII, 17.
- tatopa[yā] Kāl. VIII, 23.
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- tathā Gir. V, 2, VI, 13, XI, 4, XII,  
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- tad-añāthā Gir. XII, 5.
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- tadatvāye Kāl. X, 27; Dhau. X, 1;  
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- tadā anatha (*read* tad-anatha) Kāl.  
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- tadiše Shāh. IV, 8; Mān. IV, 14.
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- taśi Kāl. XII, 32.
- tasha Kāl. XIV, 22.
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- tasi Shāh. XII, 3; Mān. XII, 3;  
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- tādiše Kāl. IV, 10; Dhau. IV, 3.
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- tāni Dhau. Sep. II, 7; Tōp. VII,  
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- tāya Gir. VI, 7.
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- tithiti Shāh. IV, 10.
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- tisam Jau. Sep. I, 9.
- t[is]a-na[kha]tena Dhau. Sep. I, 17.
- tisiyam Tōp. V, 11.
- tisāye Tōp. V, 15, 18.
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- tisena Dhau. Sep. I, 18, II, 10; Jau.  
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- tisteya Gir. VI, 13.
- tisyam Ar. V, 7.
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- t[il]i[ta]-daridānam All. IV, 2.
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- t[iv]o Gir. XIII, 1.
- tisu Tōp. V, 11, 16.
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- t[u]phāk[a] Dhau. Sep. I, 13, II, 8.
- tuphakarā Sār. 9.
- tuphakarāntikarā Sār. 6.
- tuphe Dhau. Sep. I, 4, 7, 18, II, 6,  
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12; Sār. 10.
- tupheni Jau. Sep. II, 8, 11.
- tuphesu Dhau. Sep. I, 3, II, 2; Jau.  
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- tuphehi Dhau. Sep. I, 10; Jau. Sep.  
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- [tulanā] Jau. Sep. I, 6.
- Tulamaye Kāl. XIII, 7.
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- tenesā Gir. VIII, 3.
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- toshe Mān. VI, 29.
- tosho Shāh. VI, 15.
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bhi[khun]tanaṇ Sām. 3.  
 bhikhu-[p]āye Calc. 7.  
 bhikhu-saṅghasi Sār. 5.  
 [bhikh]ū Sār. 4.  
 [bhi\*]khūna[m] Sām. 3.  
 -bhūta Ar. IV, 2, 6.  
 -bhūtā Tōp. IV, 4, 12.  
 bhurh[a]mānasa Gir. VI, 3.  
 bhutana Mān. IV, 14.  
 -bhutana Shāh. XIII, 8.  
 bhutanarū Shāh. IV, 7, 8, VI, 16; Mān. IV, 12, VI, 30.  
 bhuta-pruva Shāh. V, 11; Mān. V, 21.  
 bhuta-pruvarū Shāh. VI, 14.  
 bhuta-pruve Shāh. IV, 8.  
 bhūtanaṇ Kāl. IV, 9, 10, VI, 20; Tōp. VII, 30.  
 -bhumika Shāh. XII, 9; Mān. XII, 8.  
 -bh[u]mikyā Kāl. XII, 34.  
 bhuya Gir. VIII, 5.  
 bhuye Kāl. VIII, 23; Shāh. VIII, 17; Mān. VIII, 36; Dhau. VIII, 3; Tōp. VII, 30.  
 bhūta-puve Gir. IV, 5.  
 bhūta-pru[v]. Gir. VI, 2.  
 bhūta-pruvarū Gir. V, 4.  
 -bhūtā Mas. 4.  
 bhūtanaṇ Gir. IV, 1, 6, VI, 11; Dhau. IV, 1, 4, VI, 5; Jau. IV, 4.  
 -bhūtanaṇ Gir. XIII, 7.  
 -bhūmika Gir. XII, 9.  
 bhetave Sām. 2; Sār. 3.  
 bheri-ghosha Shāh. IV, 8.  
 bheri-ghoshe Mān. IV, 13.  
 [bhe]ri-ghoso Gir. IV, 3.  
 bheli-ghosarū Dhau. IV, 2.  
 bheli-ghose Kāl. IV, 9.  
 -bhogasi Tōp. V, 14.  
 Bhoja-Pitinikeshu Shāh. XIII, 10; Mān. XIII, 10.  
 Bhoja-Pitinikye[sh]u Kāl. XIII, 9.  
 bhoti Shāh. IV, 10, VI, 14, 15, VIII, 17, IX, 20, XII, 9, XIII, 5, 6, 7, 10, 11; Mān. XII, 9.  
 bhotu Shāh. V, 13, VI, 16, XIII, 12.  
 bhrata(tu)na Shāh. IX, 19.  
 bhratuna Shāh. V, 13, XI, 24; Mān. IX, 5, XI, 13.

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ma Kāl. XIII, 16; Shāh. IV, 10, XIII, 11; Mān. IV, 18.  
 maa Shāh. III, 5, V, 11, 13; Mān. V, 19, 25.  
 maṇ Tōp. IV, 8, 9.  
 maṇḡala Shāh. IX, 18.  
 -maṇḡala Shāh. IX, 18.  
 maṇḡalarū Gir. IX, 1, 2, 3, 4, 6; Kāl. IX, 24; Shāh. IX, 18, 19; Mān. IX, 3; Dhau. IX, 1, 2; Jau. IX, 2.  
 -maṇḡalarū Gir. IX, 5; Shāh. IX, 19.  
 maṇḡale Gir. IX, 4; Kāl. IX, 25; Dhau. IX, 3; Jau. IX, 2.  
 -maṇḡale Gir. IX, 4; Dhau. IX, 3, 4.



- maṅgalena Shāh. IX, 20.  
maṅḥate Gir. XII, 2, 8.  
maṅḥiā Gir. XIII, 11.  
maṅḥarāṅ[ti] (*read* maṅḥarāṅ) Kāl. XIII, 14.  
maṅḥat[i] Kāl. XII, 34.  
maṅḥ[ate] Dhau. X, 1.  
Maka Shāh. XIII, 9; Mān. XIII, 10.  
Makā Kāl. XIII, 7.  
magalaṅ Gir. IX, 3; Kāl. IX, 24; Mān. IX, 1, 3.  
-magalaṅ Shāh. IX, 20.  
magale Kāl. IX, 26; Shāh. IX, 20; Mān. IX, 4, 6.  
-magale Kāl. IX, 25, 26; Mān. IX, 4, 5, 7.  
-magalen[ā] Kāl. IX, 27.  
magavyā Gir. VIII, 1.  
Magā Gir. XIII, 8.  
ma[geshu] Mān. II, 8.  
magesu Kāl. II, 6; Dhau. II, 4; Jau. II, 4; Tōp. VII, 23.  
mago Gir. I, 11, 12.  
machhe Tōp. V, 13.  
-machhe Tōp. V, 4, 5.  
majura Shāh. I, 3; Mān. I, 4 f.  
majūlā Kāl. I, 4; Jau. I, 4.  
majhaṅ Dhau. Sep. I, 10; Jau. Sep. I, 5.  
majhamena Gir. XIV, 2.  
majhimā Tōp. I, 7.  
majhime[na] Dhau. XIV, 1; Jau. XIV, 1.  
majhimenā Kāl. XIV, 20.  
maḥati Shāh. X, 21, XII, 2, 8; Mān. X, 9, XII, 2.  
maḥa[ta] Shāh. XIII, 11.  
maḥate Gir. X, 1.  
maḥishu Shāh. XIII, 11.  
mate Kāl. XIII, 35, 39; Mān. XIII, 2.  
maṇati Mān. XII, 7, XIII, 12.  
maṇ[ishu] Mān. XIII, 12.  
mata Gir. XIII, 1.  
-mata Gir. XIII, 2; Mān. I, 3; Dhau. Sep. I, 3, II, 2; Jau. Sep. I, 2, II, 2.  
-matarā Shāh. VI, 15, XIII, 3, 6, 7.  
-matatarā Shāh. XIII, 3.  
-matatale Kāl. XIII, 36.  
mata-pitushu Shāh. III, 6, IV, 9, XI, 23, XIII, 4; Mān. III, 10, IV, 15, XI, 12, XIII, 4.  
-matā Gir. I, 6; Kāl. I, 2; Dhau. I, 2; Jau. I, 2.  
-mate Gir. VI, 9; Kāl. XIII, 38, 39; Shāh. I, 2, XIII, 7; Mān. VI, 30, XIII, 3, 6, 7; Dhau. VI, 4; Tōp. VI, 9.  
-mat[o] Gir. XIII, 6.  
-matre Shāh. XIII, 1; Mān. XIII, 1.  
madava Kāl. XIII, 4.  
madave Tōp. VII, 28.  
madhuriyaye Shāh. XIV, 13; Mān. XIV, 14.  
madhuliyāye Kāl. XIV, 22.  
manati Kāl. X, 27, XII, 31.  
manatu Kāl. XIII, 17.  
manishu Kāl. XIII, 16.  
manuśa-chikisa Shāh. II, 4; Mān. II, 7.  
-manuśanarā Shāh. II, 5, XIII, 6; Mān. XIII, 6.  
manuśopakani Shāh. II, 5.  
m[a]nushān[a] Kāl. XIII, 39.  
-manu[shāna]ṅ Kāl. XIII, 38.  
manuśa-chikisā Kāl. II, 5.  
manuśa-chikichhā Gir. II, 5.  
-manuśanarā Gir. II, 8.  
manuśopagāni Gir. II, 5; Kāl. II, 5.  
man[o]-atileke Dhau. Sep. I, 16; Jau. Sep. I, 8.  
mama Gir. III, 2, V, 2; Kāl. III, 7; Dhau. Sep. I, 17, 23, II, 2, 4, 5, 9; Jau. Sep. I, 8, II, 9, 11, 13; Tōp. I, 5, VII, 27; Ar. IV, 6.  
mamam Jau. Sep. II, 7.  
mamate Dhau. Sep. II, 5; Jau. Sep. II, 6.  
mamayā Kāl. V, 13, 14, VI, 17, 19; Dhau. VI, 1; Jau. VI, 1; Tōp. VII, 24; Bair. 3.  
mamā Kāl. V, 13, 16; Dhau. Sep. I, 5, 12, II, 6; Tōp. IV, 12.  
mamāye Dhau. Sep. II, 4.  
mamiyā Tōp. VII, 28.  
mamiyāye Jau. Sep. II, 6.  
maya Shāh. V, 11, 12, VI, 14, 15; Mān. V, 19, 21, VI, 27, 29.  
mayā Gir. III, 1, V, 2, 4, VI, 2, 8; Brah. 3; Śidd. 6.  
maye Dhau. Sep. II, 8; Jau. Sep. II, 11.  
maranarā Gir. XIII, 2; Shāh. XIII, 3.  
[maran]e Mān. XIII, 3.  
malane Kāl. XIII, 36.  
mahamāte Dhau. XIV, 2; Jau. XIV, 1.  
mahathavaha Shāh. X, 21.  
mahatātā Rūp. 2; Sah. 3.  
ma[ha]taneva Bair. 5.  
[ma]hathāvā (*read* ṭhāvahā?) Kāl. X, 27.  
mahathravaharā Mān. X, 9.  
mahana[sa]si Shāh. I, 2; Mān. I, 3.  
maha-phalā Shāh. IX, 18, XIII, 11; Mān. XIII, 12.  
maha-phalā Kāl. XIII, 14.  
maha-phale Mān. IX, 4.  
mahamatā Jau. Sep. II, 1; All. Qu. 1.  
-mahamatra Shāh. V, 11, 12, 13, XII, 9; Mān. V, 21, 26, XII, 8.  
mahamatrana Shāh. VI, 14.  
mahamatranarā Shāh. VI, 15.  
mahamatrehi Mān. VI, 28.  
mahalake Shāh. V, 13, XIV, 13; Mān. V, 24.  
mahā-apāye Dhau. Sep. I, 15.  
mahātpā Brah. 6; Śidd. 12.  
mahātpeneva Brah. 4; Śidd. 9.  
mahāthāvah[ā] Gir. X, 1.  
mahānas[amhi] Gir. I, 7.  
mahānasasi Kāl. I, 3; Jau. I, 3.  
mahāpāy[e] Jau. Sep. I, 8.  
mahā-phale Gir. IX, 4; Kāl. IX, 25; Dhau. IX, 3, Sep. I, 14; Jau. Sep. I, 8.  
-mahamatā Kāl. V, 14, 16.  
mahamat[e]hi Kāl. VI, 18.  
mahāmāta Dhau. Sep. I, 1; All. Kaus. 1.  
mahāmāta[rū] Jau. Sep. I, 11.  
mahāmāta Dhau. Sep. I, 25, II, 1, 9; Jau. Sep. I, 1, 10, II, 14; Tōp. VII, 26; Brah. 1; Śidd. 2.  
-mahāmāta Gir. V, 4, 9, XII, 9; Kāl. V, 14, XII, 34; Dhau. V, 3, 7; Tōp. I, 9, VII, 23, 25, 26.  
mahāmātānarā Brah. 1; Śidd. 1 f.  
mahāmāte Sār. 8.  
mahāmātehi Dhau. VI, 3; Jau. VI, 3.  
mahāmātresu\* Gir. VI, 6.  
-mahālakānarā Tōp. VII, 29.  
mahālake Gir. XIV, 3; Kāl. V, 16, XIV, 20; Dhau. V, 6.  
ma[hāla]kesu Dhau. V, 5.  
mahidāyo Gir. IX, 3.  
mahiyite Rum. 2; Nig. 3.  
mā Gir. XIII, 11; Kāl. IV, 13; Dhau. IV, 7; Jau. IV, 8; Tōp. III, 21.  
Māgadhe Calc. 1.  
māta-pitisu Kāl. III, 8.  
mātari Gir. III, 4, IV, 6, XI, 2.  
mātā-pitishu Kāl. XI, 29.  
m[ā]tā-pitī-shushushā Kāl. XIII, 37.  
mātā-pitisu Kāl. IV, 11; Dhau. III, 2; Tōp. VII, 29; Brah. 9.  
[mā]t[ā]-pitisu Jat. 13.  
m[ā]t[i]-pitū-susūsā Dhau. IV, 4.  
-mātu All. Qu. 5.  
-mātrā Gir. XIII, 1.  
mātr[i] Gir. XIII, 3.  
mādava Gir. XIII, 7.  
mādhuliyāye Jau. XIV, 2.  
mādhūratāya Gir. XIV, 4.  
mānusānarā Gir. XIII, 5.  
māne Tōp. III, 20.  
migaviyā Kāl. VIII, 22; Dhau. VIII, 1.  
mige Kāl. I, 4; Jau. I, 4.  
mita - samth[u]la - sha[h]āya - [nā]tikya Kāl. XIII, 38.  
mita-samthutā[te]nā Kāl. XI, 30.  
mita-shamthuta-nātikyānarā Kāl. XI, 29.  
mita-shamthuta-shahāya-nātikeshu Kāl. XIII, 37.  
mita-samthuta-nātikyān[arā] Kāl. III, 8.  
mita-samthuten[ā] Kāl. IX, 25.  
mita-samthute[s]. Jau. III, 2.  
mita - sarista(stuta) - sahāya - nātik[e]su Gir. XIII, 3.  
mita-[sa]stuta-nātikānarā Gir. XI, 2.  
mita - sastut[ā] - nā[i]k[e]na Gir. XI, 3.  
-mite Kāl. XIII, 35.  
mitena Jau. IX, 5.  
mitra-[sam] . . . Mān. XIII, 5.  
mit[r]a-sa[m]stu . . . Mān. XIII, 4.  
mitra - sam[stuta] - nātikana Mān. XI, 13.  
mitra-samstuta-nātikānarā Shāh. III, 6, XI, 23; Mān. III, 10 f.  
mitra-samstuta-nātinā Gir. III, 4.  
mūra-samstuta[te]na Shāh. XI, 24.



mitra-saṁstuta-sahaya-ñatika Shāh. XIII, 5.  
mitra - saṁstuta - sahaya - ñatikeshu Shāh. XIII, 4 f.  
mitra-saṁstutena Mān. IX, 6, XI, 13.  
mitra-sastutena Shāh. IX, 19.  
mitrena Gir. IX, 7.  
mina Tōp. III, 18.  
min[ā] Mīr. III, 2.  
[m]isaṁ-deva Sah. 3.  
misā Rūp. 2; Brah. 4; Śidd. 8.  
misibhūta Mas. 4.  
mukhate Kāl. VI, 18; Dhau. VI, 3; Jau. VI, 3.  
mukhato Gir. VI, 5; Shāh. VI, 14, 15; Mān. VI, 28.  
mukha-mut[ā] Shāh. XIII, 8.  
[mukha]-mute Mān. XIII, 9.  
mukhā Tōp. VII, 27.  
mukhya-mute Ar. VI, 5.  
m[ute] Shāh. XIII, 1.  
mut[ō] Shāh. XIII, 6.  
-mut[ā] Shāh. XIII, 8.  
-mute Kāl. VI, 19, XIII, 36; Mān. XIII, 9; Ar. VI, 5.  
-mut[n]ā (*read* -munisā) Jau. Sep. I, 2.  
Muni-gāthā Calc. 5.  
-m[uni]ṇaṁ Mān. II, 8.  
munisā Dhau. VII, 1; Jau. VII, 1; Sah. 3; Brah. 3.  
-munisā Jau. Sep. II, 2 f.  
munisāṇaṁ Dhau. IV, 3, Sep. I, 4; Jau. IV, 3, Sep. I, 2, 10; Tōp. IV, 16, VII, 29, 30.  
-munisāṇaṁ Kāl. II, 6; Tōp. VII, 23, 24.  
munise Dhau. Sep. I, 5.  
-munise Jau. Sep. I, 4.  
-munisesu Dhau. Sep. I, 6; Jau. Sep. I, 3, II, 4.  
munisopagāni Dhau. II, 3; Jau. II, 3.  
mula Shāh. XII, 2.  
mulam Shāh. VI, 15.  
mulani Mān. II, 8.  
mulāni Kāl. II, 6.  
mule Kāl. VI, 19, XII, 31; Mān. VI, 30, XII, 2.  
musā-vādaṁ Calc. 6.  
mūlaṁ Gir. XII, 3.  
mūlāni Gir. II, 7.  
mūle Gir. VI, 10; Dhau. VI, 5, Sep. I, 12; Jau. VI, 5, Sep. I, 6.  
me Gir. V, 2, 8, VI, 3, 4, 8, 9, 13, X, 1; Kāl. III, 7, V, 14, 17, VI, 17, 18, 19, 20, X, 27, XIII, 15; Shāh. V, 11, 13, VI, 14, 15, 16, X, 21, XIII, 11; Mān. III, 9, V, 20, 26, VI, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, X, 9, XIII, 12; Dhau. III, 1, V, 1, 2, 3, 6, 8, VI, 1, 2, 4, 6, X, 2, Sep. I, 3, 16, II, 2; Jau. III, 1, VI, 2, 4, 5, 7, X, 1, Sep. I, 2, 3, 6, 8, II, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6; Tōp. I, 2, 7, II, 12, 13, 14, III, 17, 18, 21, 22, IV, 2, 4, 8, 11, 13, 15, 16, 19, V, 2, 19, VI, 2, 7, 9, VII, 14, 20, 22, 23, 24, 25,

26, 27, 30, 31; Sām. 7; Calc. 8; Brah. 3; Śidd. 7; Bar. III, 3.  
mehati Shāh. XIII, 11.  
mai (*read* me) Brah. 6.  
mokshay[c] Shāh. V, 13; Mān. V, 23.  
-mokhāni Tōp. V, 20.  
mokhāye Kāl. V, 15; Dhau. V, 5; Jau. V, 6.  
mokhiya-mata Jau. Sep. I, 2, II, 2.  
mokhya-mata Dhau. Sep. I, 3, II, 2.  
mokhya-mate Tōp. VI, 9.  
mokhya-mute Nand. VI, 6.  
Moneya-sūte Calc. 5.  
morā Gir. I, 11.  
mrigaviya Mān. VIII, 34.  
mrig[e] Mān. I, 5.  
mrugaya Shāh. VIII, 17.  
mrugo Shāh. I, 3.

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ya Gir. IV, 10, V, 2, VI, 5, 6, 11, IX, 4, X, 3, XII, 3, 9, XIII, 6; Shāh. XIII, 7, 12; Mān. XIII, 13; Rūp. 1; Bair. 2; Brah. 2; Śidd. 5; Jat. 3.  
[ya] (*read* ye) Kāl. XIII, 37.  
yam Gir. X, 3; Kāl. VI, 18, 20, X, 27, XII, 35; Shāh. IV, 10, VI, 14, 15, 16, X, 22, XII, 2, 9, XIII, 7; Mān. VI, 28, 30, X, 9, XII, 9; Brah. 3; Śidd. 6; Jat. 5.  
yaṁ (*read* yaṁ?) Dhau. IV, 8.  
yaṁti Kāl. XIII, 11; Mān. XIII, 11.  
yata Gir. II, 6, 7, XIII, 9; Kāl. XIII, 10; Sah. 7.  
yatā Kāl. XIII, 38, 39.  
yatra Gir. II, 7, XIII, 5; Shāh. II, 5, XIII, 9, 10; Mān. XIII, 6, 11.  
-yatra Shāh. VIII, 17; Mān. VIII, 34.  
yatha Shāh. II, 3, XII, 2, 8; Mān. III, 10.  
[ya\*][tha] Shāh. III, 6.  
yathā Gir. II, 2, III, 3, IX, 9, XII, 2, 8; Kāl. III, 7; Tōp. VII, 22; Śidd. 11.  
yathārahaṁ Brah. 11; Śidd. 20; Jat. 18.  
yada Shāh. I, 2.  
-yada Mān. VIII, 35.  
yadā Gir. I, 10; Kāl. I, 3.  
yadi Shāh. IX, 20.  
yadiṣaṁ Shāh. IV, 8, XI, 23.  
yamatro Shāh. XIII, 6.  
yava Shāh. IX, 19.  
yavatake Mān. XIII, 7.  
yaśo Shāh. X, 21; Mān. X, 9, 10.  
yasho Kāl. X, 27, 28.  
yasa Gir. VII, 3; Shāh. VII, 4; Mān. VII, 33.  
yaso Gir. X, 1, 2; Kāl. X, 27; Dhau. X, 1, 2; Jau. X, 1.  
yā Gir. XIII, 6; Dhau. IV, 6; Tōp. I, 9, VII, 28, 29; Rūp. 2.  
-yātām Kāl. VIII, 22; Dhau. VIII, 1.  
-yātā Gir. VIII, 3; Kāl. VIII, 23; Dhau. VIII, 2.

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-yātām Gir. VIII, 1.  
yāti Sār. 9.  
yāni Gir. II, 5; Tōp. V, 14, VII, 28, 30.  
yārisaṁ Gir. IX, 7, XI, 1.  
yārise Gir. IV, 4.  
yāvataka Rūp. 5.  
y[ā]vata[k]o Gir. XIII, 5.  
yāva - saḍvīsati - vasa - abhisitena Tōp. V, 19.  
yāva-saḍvīsati-vasābhisitasa Ar. V, 13.  
yāva - saḍvīsati - vasābhisitena Nand. V, 14.  
yāvu Sār. 7.  
yujarṁtu Gir. IV, 11; Kāl. IV, 13; Shāh. IV, 10; Mān. IV, 18.  
yujarṁtū Dhau. IV, 7.  
yujisarṁti Dhau. Sep. II, 10.  
yu[j]ey[u] Jau. Sep. I, 10.  
yujeyū Jau. Sep. II, 3, 4, 14.  
yujevū Dhau. Sep. II, 3.  
yuta Shāh. III, 6.  
-yuta- Mān. V, 23.  
-yu[ta]ṁ Tōp. VII, 23.  
yutani Shāh. III, 7; Mān. III, 11.  
-yutasa Gir. V, 5; Shāh. V, 12; Mān. V, 22; Dhau. V, 4.  
-yutas[ā] Kāl. V, 15.  
-yutasi Kāl. V, 16; Shāh. V, 13; Mān. V, 25; Dhau. V, 7.  
yutā Gir. III, 2; Kāl. III, 7; Dhau. III, 1.  
-yutānaṁ Gir. V, 6.  
yutāni Kāl. III, 8; Dhau. III, 3.  
-yutāye Kāl. V, 15; Dhau. V, 5.  
yute Gir. III, 6.  
-yutena Tōp. IV, 6; Mas. 5.  
y[ū]jeyū Jau. Sep. I, 3.  
yūjevū Dhau. Sep. I, 6, 20.  
ye Gir. II, 3, V, 5, 8, XII, 8; Kāl. II, 4, 5, V, 14, VI, 18, IX, 25, XII, 32, XIII, 35, 5, 12, 17; Shāh. II, 3, 4, V, 11, 12, 13, VI, 14, 15, IX, 18, 20, XII, 7, XIII, 1, 3; Mān. II, 5, 6, V, 19, 20, 22, 25, VI, 28, IX, 4, XII, 5, XIII, 9, 11; Dhau. V, 1, 2, Sep. I, 8; Jau. Sep. I, 4; Tōp. II, 16, IV, 3, V, 7, VII, 11, 30; Sām. 4; Mas. 4.  
yena Kāl. XIV, 22; Shāh. XIV, 13; Mān. XIV, 14; Tōp. IV, 9, 12.  
yeva Mān. I, 4, IV, 15; Dhau. IV, 6; Jau. I, 4, IV, 6; Tōp. VII, 29; Mīr. V, 7.  
yevū Kāl. I, 3, XIV, 19; Tōp. V, 13.  
yesu Kāl. XIII, 37.  
yesha Shāh. XIII, 5.  
yeshaṁ Kāl. XIII, 38; Mān. XIII, 5.  
yesaṁ Gir. XIII, 4.  
yesu Shāh. XIII, 4; Mān. XIII, 4.  
yehaṁ Kāl. VI, 20; Mān. VI, 31; Dhau. VI, 5; Jau. VI, 6.  
yo Gir. V, 1, 3, 8, XII, 5; Shāh. V, 11, X, 21, XII, 5, XIII, 3, 7, 8, 10, 12.  
yo (= ēva) Shāh. IV, 9, XIII, 11, XIV, 13; Mān. IV, 16.



yojana-śateshu Shāh. XIII, 9; Mān. XIII, 9.  
 [yo]jana-shateshu Kāl. XIII, 6.  
 Yona-K[a]mb[ō]ja-Gaṇdhārānāṁ Gir. V, 5.  
 yote Tōp. IV, 17.  
 [Y]o[na]-Kāmbō . . Gir. XIII, 9.  
 Yona - Kāmbōcha - Gaṇdhālesu Dhau. V, 4.  
 Yona - Kāmb[o]ja - Gaṇdhālānāṁ Kāl. V, 15.  
 Yona-Kāmbōja-Gadharana Mān. V, 22.  
 Yona-Kāmbōjeshu Kāl. XIII, 9; Mān. XIII, 10.  
 Yona - Kāmbōya - Gaṇdhārānāṁ Shāh. V, 12.  
 Yona-Ka[m]boyeshu Shāh. XIII, 9.  
 Yona-raja Shāh. II, 4, XIII, 9; Mān. II, 6, XIII, 9.  
 [Yo]na-rāja Gir. XIII, 8.  
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 -lā[g]e Kāl. VII, 21.  
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 -lāja Kāl. II, 5; Dhau. II, 1; Jau. II, 2.  
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 -lābhesu Gir. IX, 2.  
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 likhitā Gir. I, 10, V, 9; Kāl. XIII, 15; Dhau. I, 4, V, 8, VI, 6, Sep. II, 9; Jau. I, 4, VI, 6, Sep. I, 10.  
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 likhiyis[āmi\*] Dhau. XIV, 2.  
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 -lipi Kāl. I, 1, 3, V, 17, VI, 20, XIII, 15, XIV, 19; Tōp. I, 2, II, 15, IV, 2, VI, 2, 10.  
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 -lipi Gir. I, 1, 10, V, 9, VI, 13, XIV, 1; Dhau. I, 4, V, 8, VI, 6, XIV, 1; Jau. I, 1, 4, VI, 6; All. VI, 3.  
 -libi Tōp. VII, 31, 32.  
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-loka Dhau. Sep. II, 6.  
-loka- Gir. VI, 9, 11, 14, colophon; Kāl. VI, 19, 20; Shāh. VI, 15, 16; Mān. VI, 30, 32; Dhau. VI, 4, 5, 7; Jau. VI, 5, 7.  
-loka[m] Dhau. Sep. II, 6.  
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lokasā Tōp. VI, 2, 4.  
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-logaṁ Jau. Sep. II, 7.  
-lochayitu Kāl. XIV, 23; Dhau. XIV, 3.  
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-locheti Shāh. XIV, 14.  
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-lochetpā Gir. XIV, 6.  
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va (= vā) Gir. V, 5, 8, VI, 2, 3, 7, 9, VII, 2, 3, IX, 5, 7, 8, X, 1, 2, 4, XI, 1, 3, XII, 2, 3, 5, 8, XIII, 2, 3, 4, 6, XIV, 5, 6; Kāl. XII, 31, XIII, 37; Shāh. V, 12, &c.; Mān. V, 22, &c.; Dhau. V, 1, 2, 6, 7, VI, 1, 3, VII, 2, Sep. I, 20, 21; Jau. V, 2, VI, 1, 3, VII, 2; Tōp. IV, 14, 17, 18, V, 8; Ar. IV, 2, 7, 8, V, 7; All. Qu. 3.  
va (abbreviation for vasāni) Rūp. 1.  
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[va]ge Jau. Sep. I, 5.  
vagenā Kāl. X, 28.  
vagrena Shāh. X, 22; Mān. X, 11.  
vacha-gutī Kāl. XII, 31; Shāh. XII, 2; Mān. XII, 2.  
-vachanik[a] Jau. Sep. I, 12, II, 1.  
vachanena Dhau. Sep. I, 1, II, 1; Brah. 1; Śidd. 2.  
v[a]chanenā All. Qu. 1.  
vacha-bh[u]mikyā Kāl. XII, 34.  
vacha-bhūmikā Gir. XII, 9.  
vachamhi Gir. VI, 3.  
vachasi Kāl. VI, 18; Dhau. VI, 2; Jau. VI, 2.  
vachi-gutī Gir. XII, 3.  
v[a]titaviya Jau. Sep. I, 7.  
va[ti]ta[v]iy[e] Dhau. Sep. I, 13.  
-vaḍikā All. Qu. 3.

-vaḍikyā Tōp. VII, 23.  
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vaḍhayati Gir. XII, 4; Mān. XII, 4.  
vaḍhayisati Gir. IV, 7; Dhau. IV, 5; Jau. IV, 5.  
vaḍhi Shāh. IV, 10; Rūp. 4.  
-vaḍhi Kāl. XII, 31, 34, 35; Shāh. XII, 2, 8, 9; Mān. XII, 2, 7, 9; Tōp. VI, 3, VII, 29, 30.  
vaḍhita Ar. I, 4.  
vaḍhitaṁ Shāh. IV, 9.  
vaḍhitā Tōp. I, 6, VII, 28, 29, 30.  
vaḍhite Gir. IV, 5, 7; Kāl. IV, 10; Shāh. IV, 8; Mān. IV, 14; Dhau. IV, 1, 3, 5; Jau. IV, 1, 5; Nig. 2.  
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vaḍhithā Tōp. VII, 14, 17.  
-vaḍhiya Shāh. V, 12.  
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-vaḍhiyā Kāl. V, 15; Tōp. VII, 13, 16, 17, 18, 19, 22.  
-[va]ḍhiye Dhau. V, 4.  
vaḍhisati Shāh. IV, 9.  
vaḍhisanti Tōp. VII, 29.  
vaḍhisata (read °siti) Rūp. 4.  
vaḍhisati Tōp. VII, 22, 28; Ar. I, 4; Sah. 5, 6; Bair. 7, 8.  
vaḍhisiti Rūp. 4; Mas. 7 f.; Brah. 7, 8; Śidd. 14, 15.  
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-vaḍhi Gir. XII, 2, 8, 9.  
vaḍhisati Tōp. I, 6.  
vaḍheti Shāh. XII, 4.  
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-vataṁ Kāl. X, 27.  
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vataviyaṁ Brah. 10; Śidd. 17; Jaṭ. 14.  
vataviyā Jau. Sep. I, 1, II, 1; All. Qu. 2; Mas. 6 f.; Brah. 1; Śidd. 3.  
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vatavyaṁ Gir. IX, 5, XI, 3, XII, 8.  
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-vadhānaṁ Tōp. IV, 16.  
vadhi Gir. IV, 11; Kāl. IV, 12, 13.  
vadhi-kukute Tōp. V, 9.  
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-vadhi[y.] Tōp. V, 8.  
-vadhīyāni Tōp. V, 2.  
vadhīyisati Kāl. IV, 11.  
-vadhīye Tōp. V, 13.  
[va]ḍhi Gir. IV, 11.  
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vadho Gir. XIII, 2; Shāh. XIII, 5.  
-vadhya Ar. V, 6.  
-vadhīyāni Ar. V, 1.  
-vadhīye Ar. V, 8.  
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-valākesu Tōp. VII, 29.  
-vaśa- Kāl. IV, 13.  
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-vasa- Kāl. III, 7, V, 14, VIII, 22; Dhau. III, 1, V, 3, VIII, 2; Jau. III, 1; Tōp. I, 2, IV, 1, V, 1, 19, VI, 2, 9, VII, 31; Rum. 1; Nig. 1, 3; Bar. I, 1, II, 2, III, 2.  
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[va]sevū Dhau. VII, 1.  
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v[ā]tave Calc. 4.  
-vādaṁ Calc. 6.  
vālata Rūp. 4.  
-vālichaesu Tōp. II, 13.  
-vāsa- Gir. III, 1, IV, 12, V, 4.  
vāsa-satāni Gir. IV, 1.  
v[āsa]-satehi Gir. IV, 4.  
vā[sā]petaviy[e] Sām. 7.  
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vīmnapayitaviye Sār. 5.  
viketaviye Tōp. V, 13.  
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-vijayashi Kāl. XIII, 13 f.  
-vijayaspi Shāh. XIII, 11.  
vijaye Gir. XIII, 11; Kāl. XIII, 13; Shāh. XIII, 8, 11; Mān. XIII, 9, 11; Dhau. XIV, 2; Jau. XIV, 1.  
-vijaye Kāl. XIII, 5, 17; Mān. XIII, 9.  
vijayo Gir. XIII, 10; Shāh. XIII, 10, 11.



-vijayo Shāh. XIII, 8, 12.  
 vij[ā]ta Shāh. XIII, 1; Mān. XIII, 1.  
 vijitām Gir. XIV, 3.  
 -vijitām Kāl. XIII, 36; Shāh. XIII, 3.  
 vijitamhi Gir. II, 1.  
 vijitāsi Kāl. II, 4, III, 7, V, 16; Mān. II, 5, III, 9, V, 25, XIII, 8; Dhau. II, 1, III, 1; Jau. II, 1.  
 vijitā Kāl. XIII, 35.  
 -vijitānam Dhau. Sep. II, 4; Jau. Sep. II, 4 f.  
 vijite Gir. III, 2; Kāl. XIV, 20 f.; Shāh. II, 3, III, 6, V, 13, XIII, 7, XIV, 13.  
 vijinamane Kāl. XIII, 36.  
 [vi]jinamano Shāh. XIII, 3.  
 vijinitū Shāh. XIII, 2.  
 vijin[ā]tu Kāl. XIII, 36.  
 vijetav[ā]ja Shāh. XIII, 11.  
 vijetavyam Gir. XIII, 11.  
 viṭaṭena Jau. XIV, 1.  
 viṭaṭenā Kāl. XIV, 20.  
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 Vinaya-samukase Calc. 4.  
 vini[k]ramapi Mān. XIII, 5.  
 vinikhamapa Gir. XIII, 4.  
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 vin[itasi] Kāl. VI, 18.  
 vinītaspi Shāh. VI, 14; Mān. VI, 27.  
 vinītamhi Gir. VI, 4.  
 vinītasī Dhau. VI, 2; Jau. VI, 2.  
 vipatipātayamhi Jau. Sep. I, 8.  
 [vi]pat[ā]pādayamine Dhau. Sep. I, 15.  
 -vipahine Kāl. XIII, 38; Mān. XIII, 5.  
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 vipulam Sah. 5; Brah. 7; Śidd. 14; Jaṭ. 11.  
 vipule Gir. VII, 3; Kāl. VII, 21; Shāh. VII, 4; Mān. VII, 33; Dhau. VII, 2; Jau. VII, 2; Sah. 4; Bair. 6; Brah. 5; Śidd. 10.  
 -viprahino Shāh. XIII, 5.  
 -vimana Nand. IV, 7.  
 vimana-dasan[ā] Kāl. IV, 9.  
 vimana-draṣana Mān. IV, 13.  
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 -vimanā Tōp. IV, 13.  
 vimāna-darsanā Gir. IV, 3.  
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 viyamjanate Kāl. III, 8; Mān. III, 11 f.; Dhau. III, 3; Jau. III, 4.  
 viyamjanena Sār. 10, 11.  
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 -viy[ā] [ā] Dhau. III, 3.  
 viyāṇye Tōp. IV, 10.  
 viyapaṭa Shāh. V, 13; Mān. V, 25.  
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 viyapuṭa Shāh. V, 13; Mān. V, 23.  
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-v[i]yāsa Kāl. III, 8.  
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 viyāpaṭāse Tōp. VII, 25, 27.  
 viyovadita[viye\*] Dhau. IX, 6.  
 viyovadisamti Tōp. IV, 7, 9.  
 -viyohālaka Jau. Sep. I, 1.  
 -vi[y]ohālaka Dhau. Sep. I, 1, 20.  
 viyohāla-samatā Tōp. IV, 15.  
 vivade Shāh. VI, 14, 15; Mān. VI, 29.  
 vivasetavā[ya] (read °viye) Rūp. 5.  
 vi[va]hasi Mān. IX, 2.  
 vivahe Shāh. IX, 18.  
 vivāde Kāl. VI, 19; Dhau. VI, 3; Jau. VI, 3.  
 vivādo Gir. VI, 7.  
 vivā(vi)dhāya Gir. XII, 1.  
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 vivāhasi Kāl. IX, 24.  
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 vividhe Tōp. II, 13, IV, 20.  
 vivuthā Sah. 7.  
 [v]ivuthena Sah. 6.  
 -viśavashi Kāl. XIII, 9.  
 -vishava[si] Mān. XIII, 10.  
 -vishavaspi Shāh. XIII, 9.  
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 -samatarṇ Shāh. XIV, 14.  
 -samatā Tōp. IV, 15.  
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 sasāyike Shāh. IX, 20.  
 sasavre (*read* savre) Shāh. XIV, 13.  
 sasū(dhu)-mate Shāh. I, 2.  
 -sase Tōp. V, 5.  
 -sastuta- Gir. XI, 2, 3.  
 -sastutena Shāh. IX, 19.  
 sasvatarṇ Dhau. Sep. I, 20; Jau. Sep. I, 10.  
 -sahaya- Shāh. XIII, 4, 5.  
 -sahasani Shāh. I, 2.  
 -sahasāni Kāl. I, 3; Jau. I, 3.  
 -sahasēsu Jau. Sep. I, 2; Tōp. IV, 3, VII, 22.  
 -sahasēsurṇ Dhau. Sep. I, 4.  
 -sahasra- Gir. XIII, 1; Shāh. XIII, 1.  
 -sahas[r]ani Mān. I, 4.  
 sahasra-bhagarṇ Shāh. XIII, 7.  
 sahasra-bhage Mān. XIII, 7.



- sahasrāni Gir. I, 9.  
-[saha]sre Shāh. XIII, 1.  
-sahāya- Gir. XIII, 3, 4.  
sahāya[ye]na Gir. IX, 8.  
sahāya[na] Dhau. IX, 6.  
sā Gir. XIII, 10; Kāl. XIII, 13, 14.  
Sātiyaputo Kāl. II, 4.  
sāti[ra]kekāni (*read* sātirekāni)  
Rūp. 1.  
sātireke Mas. 2; Brah. 2; Śidd. 6;  
Jat. 4.  
sātīleke Rūp. 1.  
sādha(dhu) Gir. IX, 8.  
sādhavāni Tōp. VII, 28.  
sādhav[ve] Tōp. VII, 28.  
sādh[ic] Sah. 2.  
sādhu Gir. III, 4, 5, IV, 11, IX, 4,  
5, 6, 7, XI, 2, 3, XII, 6; Kāl.  
III, 7, 8, IV, 12, IX, 26; Dhau.  
III, 2, 3; Jau. III, 3, IX, 4;  
Ar. II, 1.  
sādhu-matā Gir. I, 6; Kāl. I, 2;  
Dhau. I, 2; Jau. I, 3.  
sādhu Dhau. IV, 7, IX, 5; Jau.  
IX, 6; Tōp. II, 11.  
sāmaritā Kāl. II, 5; Dhau. II, 2;  
Jau. II, 2.  
sāmip[ar] Gir. II, 3.  
sāra-vadhī Gir. XII, 2, 8.  
sā(silā)-th[abh]e Rūp. 5.  
sālīka Ar. V, 2.  
sālīka Tōp. V, 3.  
sāvakaṁ Kāl. VI, 18; Dhau. VI,  
3; Jau. VI, 3.  
sāvaṇe Brah. 5, 8; Śidd. 11, 15;  
Jat. 12.  
-sāvanāni Tōp. VII, 20, 22.  
sāvaṇe Rūp. 3, 5.  
-[s]ā[van]e Tōp. VII, 23.  
sāvā(va)ne Sah. 4.  
sāvāpayāmi Tōp. VII, 20.  
sāvāpitāni Tōp. VII, 22.  
sāvāpīte Brah. 5, 8.  
sāvīte Śidd. 11.  
sāsanaṁ Sār. 8, 9.  
sāsane Sār. 5.  
sāsvataṁ Jau. Sep. II, 14.  
si[ne]he Mān. XIII, 5.  
simale Tōp. V, 5.  
siya Shāh. IX, 20, XII, 2, 3, XIV,  
14; Mān. IX, 7, XII, 2, 3, 7,  
XIV, 14; Jau. Sep. I, 6; Tōp.  
IV, 15.  
siyati Shāh. X, 22, XII, 8; Mān.  
X, 11.  
siyasu Shāh. XII, 7.  
siyā Kāl. IX, 26; Dhau. Sep. I, 12,  
21, II, 4; Jau. Sep. II, 4; Tōp.  
VII, 32; Mīr. IV, 8; Sām. 8;  
Rūp. 4.  
-silasā Kāl. IV, 12.  
silā Rum. 3.  
silā-tha[r]bhāsi Rūp. 5.  
silā-tham[bh]ā Sah. 8.  
silā-tham[bb]hāni Tōp. VII, 32.  
silā-thabhe Rum. 3.  
silā-phalakāni Tōp. VII, 32.  
[si]ho (*read* sineho) Shāh. XIII, 5.  
silamhi Gir. IV, 9.  
-silasa Gir. IV, 10; Dhau. IV, 7.  
silasi Kāl. IV, 12; Dhau. IV, 6.  
su Dhau. Sep. I, 4, II, 4; Jau. Sep.  
I, 2, II, 5.  
s[u]ag[e] Sah. 4.  
sukata Mān. V, 20.  
sukataṁ Kāl. V, 14; Dhau. V, 2;  
Tōp. II, 16.  
sukataṁ Gir. V, 3.  
sukaram Gir. V, 3; Shāh. V, 11.  
s[u]kita[m] Shāh. V, 11.  
suke Tōp. V, 3.  
sukham Tōp. IV, 11, VI, 6.  
-sukham Tōp. IV, 5.  
sukhammeva Dhau. Sep. II, 5;  
Jau. Sep. II, 6.  
sukhayami Shāh. VI, 16; Mān.  
VI, 31.  
sukhayāmi Dhau. VI, 6; Jau. VI, 6.  
sukhayite Tōp. VII, 24.  
-sukhaye Shāh. V, 12; Mān. V,  
22, 23.  
sukhāpayāmi Gir. VI, 12.  
-[su]khā[ya] Gir. V, 6.  
sukhāyanāyā Tōp. VII, 24.  
sukhāyāmi Kāl. VI, 20.  
-sukhāye Kāl. V, 15; Dhau. V, 4,  
5, Sep. II, 8; Jau. Sep. II, 12;  
Tōp. IV, 12, VI, 3.  
-sukhāharo Gir. colophon.  
sukhiteṇā (*read* satkhī<sup>9</sup>) Kāl. XIV,  
19 f.  
sukhiyanā Tōp. I, 10.  
sukhiyana Nand. I, 6.  
sukhiyana-dukhiyanaṁ Tōp. IV, 6.  
sukhiyanā All. I, 4.  
-[sukhe] Tōp. VI, 4.  
-sukhena Dhau. Sep. I, 5, II, 3;  
Jau. Sep. I, 3, II, 3 f.  
sutu Kāl. XIII, 11; Tōp. VII, 21.  
sudivasāye Tōp. V, 16.  
-sudhi Kāl. VII, 21, 22.  
-sudhiṁ Gir. VII, 2.  
-sudhitā Gir. VII, 3.  
-sudhi Dhau. VII, 1, 2; Jau. VII, 1.  
sun[e]yu Calc. 7.  
supathay[e] Shāh. I, 2.  
supathāy[e] Kāl. I, 3.  
supa[thra]ye Mān. I, 4.  
supadarave Mān. V, 21.  
supadālaye Kāl. V, 14; Dhau. V, 3;  
Jau. V, 3.  
su[p]i[y]e Bar. III, 4.  
subhāsite Calc. 3.  
sumi Rūp. 1; Sah. 1; Mas. 2, 3.  
-suyute Kāl. V, 16.  
-suliyike Tōp. VII, 31.  
Suvāṁpagirite Brah. 1; Śidd. 1.  
suvāmiken[a] Kāl. IX, 25; Dhau.  
IX, 5; Jau. IX, 4.  
suvitā Jau. Sep. I, 4.  
suvihitanaṁ Shāh. XIII, 5; Mān.  
XIII, 5.  
suvi[h]itā Dhau. Sep. I, 8.  
suvē Tōp. I, 6.  
-suśra(śru)sha Shāh. X, 21.  
suśrusha Shāh. III, 6, IV, 9, XI, 23,  
XIII, 4; Mān. III, 10, IV, 15,  
XI, 12, XIII, 4.  
-suśrusha Shāh. XIII, 4; Mān. X,  
9, XIII, 4.  
suśrushatu Shāh. X, 21; Mān. X,  
9.  
suśrusheyu Shāh. XII, 7; Mān.  
XII, 6.  
susumsā Gir. XIII, 3.  
-susumsā Gir. XIII, 3.  
susumsāra Gir. XII, 7.  
-susushā Kāl. X, 27.  
susushātu Kāl. X, 27.  
sususā Kāl. III, 8, IV, 11.  
sususāyā Tōp. VII, 29.  
-susūsarṁ Jau. X, 1.  
susūsatu Dhau. X, 2; Jau. X, 1.  
su[s]ūs[ā] Dhau. III, 2.  
-susūsā Dhau. IV, 4.  
susūsāya Ar. I, 3.  
su[s]ūsāyā Tōp. I, 4.  
susūs[i]taviye Brah. 9.  
-susru[m]sā Gir. X, 2.  
susrusatā Gir. X, 2.  
susrusā Gir. IV, 7, XI, 2.  
-susrusā Gir. IV, 7.  
susrūsā Gir. III, 4.  
suhadayena Gir. IX, 7.  
sūkālī Tōp. V, 8.  
sūkale Tōp. V, 17.  
-sūte Calc. 5.  
sūpāthāye Dhau. I, 3; Jau. I, 3.  
sūpāthāya Gir. I, 9, 11.  
-[sū]ri[yi]ke Sām. 4.  
se Gir. I, 10; Kāl. I, 3, 4, IV, 9,  
12, V, 13, 14, VI, 17, 20, IX, 25,  
26, 27, XIII, 12, 13; Mān. I, 4,  
5, IV, 13, 17, V, 19, 20, 21, VI,  
31, VIII, 34, IX, 3, 5, 7, 8, XI,  
14, XII, 6, XIII, 3, 6, 7, 9, 11,  
XIV, 14; Dhau. I, 4, IV, 2, 7,  
V, 1, 2, 3, 5, 6, VI, 1, VIII, 1,  
IX, 3, 4, 5, Sep. I, 7, 11, 14, II,  
7, 8; Jau. I, 4, IV, 2, V, 3, VI,  
1, VIII, 1, IX, 2, 5, Sep. I, 4;  
Tōp. II, 16, VI, 3, 9, VII, 17, 30,  
31; All. Kauś. 3; Sār. 4; Sah.  
4; Calc. 3; Mas. 7; Brah. 8,  
10; Śidd. 11; Jat. 14.  
sethe Kāl. IV, 12; Dhau. IV, 6.  
seta-kapote Tōp. V, 6.  
seto Dhau. colophon.  
-seyake Ar. V, 3.  
seyatha Ar. V, 2.  
seyathā Tōp. V, 2.  
seste Gir. IV, 10.  
so Gir. I, 11, V, 1, 3, VIII, 2, XI,  
4, XII, 6, XIII, 4; Shāh. I, 2, 3,  
IV, 7, 10, V, 11, VIII, 17, IX,  
18, 19, 20, XI, 24, XII, 6, XIII,  
2, 6, 8, 11, 12, XIV, 14.  
sochaye Tōp. II, 12.  
sochave Tōp. VII, 28.  
socheye Ar. II, 2.  
sotaviya Dhau. Sep. I, 18, II, 11.  
sotaviyā Dhau. Sep. I, 17, II, 10;  
Jau. Sep. I, 9, II, 15, 16.  
stītā Gir. VI, 4.  
striyaka Shāh. IX, 18.  
spa[kaspi] Shāh. XIII, 11.  
spagra Mān. VI, 31.  
spagram Shāh. VI, 16.  
spamikena Shāh. IX, 19, XI, 24;  
Mān. IX, 5, XI, 13.  
spasa(su)na Shāh. V, 13.  
spas[u]na Mān. V, 24.  
-sramaṇānaṁ Gir. IV, 2, XI, 2.



srāvāpakarṇ Gir. VI, 6.  
 sruṇāru Gir. XII, 7.  
 -sruṭā Gir. XII, 7.  
 [s]reṭham Shāh. IV, 10.  
 srethe Mān. IV, 17.  
 [svaa]ṭh Jat. 15.  
 svag[a]-ālādhi Jau. Sep. I, 8.  
 svagarṇ Gir. VI, 12, IX, 9; Kāl. VI, 20; Dhau. VI, 6, Sep. I, 16, II, 9; Jau. VI, 6, Sep. I, 9, II, 13.  
 svagasa Dhau. IX, 7, Sep. I, 15.  
 svagāradhī Gir. IX, 9.  
 svage Jau. IX, 6; Rūp. 3; Brah. 5; Śidd. 10.  
 svayath Gir. VI, 6.  
 svasatarṇ (*read* sasvatarṇ) Dhau. Sep. II, 9.  
 svāmikena Gir. IX, 6.  
 -sveto Gir. colophon.

## H

harṇche Kāl. IX, 26; Shāh. IX, 20.  
 harṇharṇt[i] Shāh. I, 3.  
 [ha]mṇeyasu Shāh. XIII, 8.  
 harṇtaviyāni Tōp. V, 15.  
 [ha]mṇtaviyāni Mīr. V, 8.  
 harṇse Tōp. V, 3.  
 hakarṇ Kāl. VI, 18, 20; Dhau. VI, 2, 5, Sep. I, 2, 5, 6, 21, II, 1, 3, 6, 8; Jau. VI, 5, Sep. I, 1, II, 1, 8, 11; Tōp. III, 21; Rūp. 1; Bair. 2; Calc. 4; Brah. 2; Śidd. 5; Jat. 3.  
 hache Mān. IX, 7, 8.  
 hatarṇ Gir. XIII, 1.  
 hate Kāl. XIII, 35, 39; Shāh. XIII, 1; Mān. XIII, 7.  
 [ha]to Shāh. XIII, 6.  
 [ha]ṭhni Kāl. IV, 10.  
 haṭhni Dhau. IV, 2.  
 ha(hi)dha Rūp. 4.  
 hapesati Mān. V, 20.  
 hapesadi Shāh. V, 11.  
 h[a]mā Calc. 2.  
 hamiyāye Calc. 3.  
 harapita Shāh. II, 5; Mān. II, 7, 8.  
 hasti Gir. colophon.  
 hasti-da[sa]ṇā Gir. IV, 3.  
 hahati Shāh. V, 11, XI, 23.  
 hā(ho)ti Gir. XIII, 4.  
 -hāpayitu Dhau. Sep. I, 25.  
 hāpayisati Kāl. V, 14; Dhau. V, 2.  
 hāpesati Gir. V, 3.  
 hārāpitāni Gir. II, 6, 7.  
 hālāpitā Kāl. II, 6; Dhau. II, 3; Jau. II, 4.  
 hī *passim*.  
 -hitarṇ Gir. VI, 9; Shāh. VI, 15.  
 -hitatpā Gir. VI, 11.  
 -hitaye Shāh. VI, 16; Mān. VI, 32.  
 hita-sukham Tōp. IV, 5.  
 [hita]-sukhaye Shāh. V, 12.  
 hita-sukhāye Dhau. V, 4, 5, Sep. II, 8; Jau. Sep. II, 12; Tōp. IV, 12, VI, 3.  
 hita-[sukhe] Tōp. VI, 4.  
 hita-sukhena Dhau. Sep. I, 5, II, 3; Jau. Sep. I, 3, II, 3 f.

-hitāya Gir. VI, 14.  
 -hitāye Kāl. VI, 20; Dhau. VI, 7; Jau. VI, 7.  
 -hite Kāl. VI, 19; Mān. VI, 30; Dhau. VI, 4; Jau. VI, 5.  
 -hitena Shāh. VI, 16; Mān. VI, 30; Dhau. VI, 5; Jau. VI, 5.  
 -hitenā Kāl. VI, 20.  
 hida Kāl. VI, 20, IX, 26, 27; Shāh. I, 1, IV, 10, XIII, 9; Mān. I, 1, V, 24, IX, 7, 8, XIII, 9, 10; Dhau. V, 6, VI, 6, Sep. I, 19, II, 9; Jau. I, 1, VI, 6, Sep. II, 14; Tōp. VII, 27; Rum. 2, 4.  
 hidatarṇ Tōp. IV, 7.  
 hidata-pālate Tōp. I, 3, VII, 31.  
 hidatikāye Tōp. III, 22.  
 hidaloka Dhau. Sep. II, 6.  
 hidalokika Kāl. XIII, 18; Shāh. XIII, 12.  
 hidalokika-pālalokikāye Dhau. Sep. II, 3, 9.  
 hidalok[kika]-pālalokike[na] Dhau. Sep. I, 5 f.  
 hidalokike Kāl. IX, 26; Mān. IX, 7.  
 hidalokiko Shāh. XIII, 12.  
 hidalokikya Kāl. XIII, 17.  
 hidalokikye Kāl. XI, 30.  
 hidaloke Mān. XI, 14, XIII, 13.  
 hidalog[arṇ] Jau. Sep. II, 7.  
 hidalogi[kā] - p[ā]l[al][o][k][k][ā][y]e Jau. Sep. II, 12 f.  
 hidalogika - pālalokik[ā] Jau. Sep. II, 4.  
 hi[dal]o[g]ik[a] - pālalokikena Jau. Sep. I, 3.  
 hida-sukhaye Shāh. V, 12; Mān. V, 22, 23.  
 hida-sukhāye Kāl. V, 15.  
 hidā Kāl. I, 1, V, 16, VIII, 22, IX, 26, XIII, 9.  
 hini Kāl. IV, 13; Shāh. IV, 10; Mān. IV, 18.  
 -hini Kāl. IV, 12; Shāh. IV, 10; Mān. IV, 17.  
 hiraṇṇa-paṭividhāno Gir. VIII, 4.  
 hiraṇṇa-paṭividhāne Sōp. VIII, 7.  
 [hi][ra\*]ṇa - paṭiv[ī]dhane Mān. VIII, 35.  
 hiraṇṇa-p[ra]ṭividhane Shāh. VIII, 17.  
 hiraṇṇa-paṭividhāne Kāl. VIII, 23; Dhau. VIII, 3; Jau. VIII, 3.  
 hini Gir. IV, 11; Dhau. IV, 7; Jau. IV, 8.  
 -hīni Dhau. IV, 7.  
 -hīni Gir. IV, 11.  
 hiyarṇ Brah. 4.  
 huta-puluva Kāl. V, 14.  
 huta-puluve Kāl. IV, 10, VI, 17.  
 huta-pruve Mān. IV, 14, VI, 27.  
 huthā Tōp. VII, 15, 20.  
 huvarṇti Dhau. VIII, 1; Jau. VIII, 1.  
 huvāti Sār. 6.  
 [h]uveyā Dhau. X, 3; Jau. X, 2.  
 huveyu Kāl. XII, 34; Mān. XII, 7.  
 huvevu Dhau. Sep. I, 12.  
 huvevū Dhau. Sep. II, 5.  
 husarṇ Brah. 2; Śidd. 5.

husu Kāl. VIII, 22; Mān. VIII, 34; Tōp. VII, 12; Rūp. 2; Mas. 4.  
 hūta-puluva Dhau. V, 3.  
 hūta-puluve Dhau. IV, 3, VI, 1; Jau. VI, 1.  
 hermmeva All. I, 4.  
 h[e]dishe Kāl. XI, 29.  
 hedisānā(ni) Kāl. VIII, 22.  
 hedise Kāl. IX, 25.  
 heta Kāl. IX, 24, X, 28; Dhau. V, 2, XIV, 3; Jau. XIV, 2; Sōp. VIII, 6.  
 hetā Kāl. V, 14, VIII, 23, IX, 25, XIV, 21; All. Qu. 2; Sah. 8.  
 hetute Mān. III, 11; Dhau. III, 3; Jau. III, 4.  
 hetuto Gir. III, 6; Shāh. III, 7.  
 hetuvatā Kāl. III, 8.  
 hedisameva Dhau. Sep. I, 24; Sār. 7.  
 hedisā Sār. 6.  
 hedisāye Dhau. IX, 2; Jau. IX, 2.  
 hedise Dhau. IX, 3; Jau. IX, 3.  
 hemeva Dhau. Sep. I, 24; Jau. Sep. I, 3; Tōp. VII, 25; Ar. I, 5, VI, 4; Sār. 10; Brah. 9, 10; Śidd. 18, 19; Jat. 12, 13, 16, 19.  
 hemevā Tōp. I, 8, VI, 6.  
 heva Kāl. XII, 32; Rām. I, 1.  
 hevarṇ Kāl. III, 6, VI, 17, 19, XI, 29, XII, 33; Dhau. III, 1, 2, V, 1, VI, 1, 4, IX, 1, 5, Sep. I, 14, 18, II, 3, 5, 7, 8, 9, 11; Jau. III, 1, VI, 1, 4, Sep. I, 1, 6, 7, II, 1, 5, 6, 9, 10 f., 13, 16; Tōp. I, 1, II, 11, 15, 16, III, 17, 19, IV, 1, 12, 19, V, 1, VI, 1, 4, 5, VII, 11, 12, 14, 15, 19, 22, 23, 25, 26, 28, 29, 31; All. Qu. 4; Sār. 5, 6; Rūp. 1; Sah. 1; Calc. 3; Mas. 5, 7, 8; Brah. 1, 8, 12; Śidd. 3; Jat. 15, 20, 21.  
 hevarṇmeva Dhau. Sep. I, 13; Jau. Sep. II, 4; All. VI, 2.  
 hevarṇmevā Calc. 8.  
 hevamevā Kāl. XIII, 8.  
 hoti Gir. VIII, 3, XI, 4, XII, 9, XIII, 10; Kāl. IV, 12, VI, 19, VIII, 23, IX, 27, XI, 30, XII, 35, XIII, 37, 38, 13; Shāh. VIII, 17; Mān. IV, 17, VI, 28, VIII, 35, 36, IX, 8, XI, 14, XIII, 8, 11; Dhau. IV, 7, VI, 3, VIII, 2, 3, Sep. I, 8; Jau. IV, 7, VI, 3, VIII, 2, 3, Sep. I, 4, 8; Sōp. VIII, 6, 9; Tōp. IV, 11, VII, 31; Śidd. 13.  
 hotu Kāl. V, 17, VI, 20, XIII, 18; Mān. V, 26, VI, 31, XIII, 13; Dhau. V, 8, VI, 6; Jau. VI, 6; Tōp. VII, 31; Sah. 5.  
 hotū Tōp. II, 16.  
 hosarṇti Tōp. VII, 23.  
 hosati Dhau. Sep. I, 22.  
 hosatū Calc. 4.  
 hosāmi Dhau. Sep. II, 8.  
 hosāmi Jau. Sep. II, 12.  
 hoharṇti Tōp. VII, 25, 26, 27.  
 hveyū Jau. Sep. I, 6, II, 5.



## CORRIGENDA

Introduction, pages xlv-xlvii.—Since I wrote chapter IV of the Introduction, I have lost my belief in the correctness of the meaning 'on tour', assigned to *vyushṭa*, and am now convinced that this past participle has to be taken in the same sense as e.g. in the *Baudhāyana-Dharmasūtra*, IV, 5, 30, viz. 'having spent the night (in prayer)'. Cf. JRAS, 1904. 364 f. (Kielhorn); 1911. 1106 (Fleet); 1916. 113 ff. (Thomas). I would now translate sections J-K of the Sahasrām edict (Text, p. 171) as follows: 'And this proclamation (was issued) by (me after I had) spent the night (in prayer). Two hundred and fifty-six nights (had then been) spent (in prayer).' The translations of the corresponding portions of the Rūpnāth and Brahmagiri edicts (Text, pp. 169 and 177 f.) have to be modified in a similar way. But *vivāsayātha* at Sārnāth (section I, p. 162) and *vivasetavā[ya]* (read *vivasetaviye*) at Rūpnāth (section L, p. 167) probably mean nothing but 'expel ye (schismatic monks or nuns)'; and *vivāsāpayāthā* at Sārnāth (section J, p. 162) would mean 'issue ye orders to expel (schismatic monks or nuns)'. See Thomas, JRAS, 1915. 111 f.

Introduction, page li, lines 14, 15, 17. *For* instruction *read* exhortation.

Introduction, page lxxvi, line 13 from bottom. *Read as follows*: The two Sanskrit masculines *prāṇa* and *vyiksha* are used as neuters: *pānāni* (I, 3, 4) and [*lu*]khāni<sup>2</sup> (II, 6).

Page 2, note 6. *Add*: According to the *Suttanipāta*, II, 7, verse 25, king Okkāka sacrificed many times 100,000 cows.

Page 12, Roman text, line 12. *For* ta<sup>2</sup> (M) etāya *read* (M) ta etāya.

„ „ Cancel note 2.

„ 13, section (M). *For*: For the following purpose *read*: Now for the following purpose.

„ 15, note 7, line 4. *For* XIII, I *read* XIII, l. 4.

„ 56, note 21. *For* the Rāshṭrikas see the Introduction, p. xxxviii, line 2 from bottom.

„ 69, section (M). *For* converts *read* exhorts.

„ „ note 3. *Add*: See also *Kāvyaprakāśa*, sec. ed., p. 57. महा हसन्ति occurs already in the *Mahābhāshya* on Pāṇ. IV, 1, 48, *Vārttika* 3.

„ 73, Roman text, line 9. *For* duva[.a]śa- *read* duva[ḍa]śa-.

„ 95, line 3. *For* (thus) *read* (this).

„ 96, section (N). *For* arise to you *read* arise in you.

„ „ „ (T). *For* badly fulfils this duty *read* fulfils this duty badly.

„ 97, „ (V). *For* edict *read* rescript.

„ „ „ (CC), line 3. *For* thus, as *read* just as.

„ 99, Translation, section (A). *For* (thus) *read* (this).

„ „ „ „ (E), line 2. *For* thus *read* so.

„ 100, section (I). *For* inspire confidence to them *read* inspire them with confidence.



- Page 100, section (J). *For* entertain *read* maintain.
- " " " (K). *For* inspire confidence to those (borderers) *read* inspire those (borderers) with confidence.
- " 100, section (M). *For* inspire confidence to those borderers (of mine) *read* inspire those borderers (of mine) with confidence.
- " 119, Nāgarī text, line 4. *For* सुसूयाया *read* सुसुसाया.
- " " Roman text, line 4. *For* su[sū]yāyā *read* su[sū]sāyā.
- " 133, note 6, line 3. *For* kākāpāda *read* kākāpada.
- " 137, sections (JJ), (KK), and (NN). *For* conversion *read* exhortation.
- " 142, Second Pillar-Edict, Roman text, line 4. *For* sukataṁ *read* sukaṭaṁ.
- " 145, Sixth Pillar-Edict, Nāgarī text, line 3. *For* हेव *read* हेवं.
- " 147, Second Pillar-Edict, Roman text, line 5. *For* sukataṁ *read* sukaṭaṁ.
- " 179, line 19. *For* . . . [ki]tī *read* . . [ki]tī.
- " 184, line 23. *For* tim *read* tīm.
- " 235, second column, line 22 from bottom. *For* [āl]as[y]e[na] *read* [āla]s[y]e[na].







1-2-2  
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